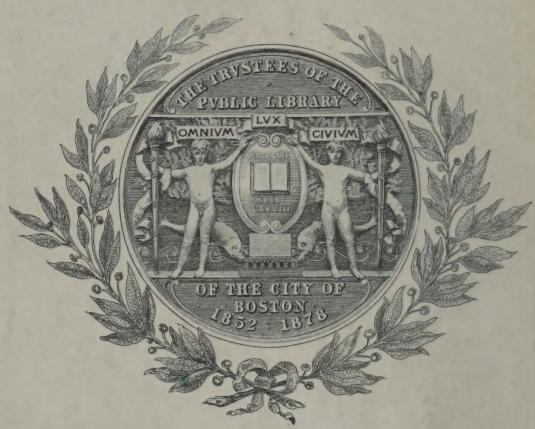


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LECTURES ON THE RECORDER



FLUTE PLAYER FROM A GREEK VASE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (p. xiv)

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(SIX LECTURES
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THE RECORDER

AND OTHER FLUTES

IN RELATION TO LITERATURE

BY
CHRISTOPHER (WELCH, M.A. OXON.

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PREFACE

SHOULD this book fall into the hands of one who looks upon reading as a pastime, or wishes to get information quickly and without trouble, the author hopes that, having read this sentence, he will put the volume down. No attempt has been made to render its pages attractive by imparting to them the graces of style, or pleasant by excluding from them what is dry, dull, and heavy. They abound in notes, digressions, cross-references, and descriptions often tedious and sometimes irrelevant ; in short, they are not intended to either amuse or teach, but to stimulate inquiry ; they are addressed to the studious in the hope that what is advanced in them may be weighed by men of judgement ; the statements brought forward verified, or disproved ; the opinions expressed confirmed, or rejected.

The work is made up out of materials got together for my own gratification. It owes its form, that of Lectures—and, indeed, its existence—to the circumstance that some years ago I was invited to read a Paper before the Musical Association. On considering what subject I should select in response to the compliment, it occurred to me that it might interest the Members if I were to clear away the obscurity and uncertainty in which, at that time, the recorder was enveloped ; accordingly, I put into the form of a Paper some notes I had by me on the construction and history of that instrument. After my Paper had been read and printed in the Proceedings of the Association, I was asked from time to time to bring out what I had written in a separate publication, so as to make it accessible to those who did not possess the volume in which it appeared. The Paper, however, was not long enough to form a book, so that, in complying with the request, I had to consider how to fill a

volume, and I decided to do so by going further into the literary aspect of the flute, and treating of the allusions made to the instrument by our two greatest poets, Shakespeare and Milton.

Whilst commenting on the scene in which Hamlet takes the recorder in his hands and invites his fellow-student to play on it, a subject to which I have devoted a separate Lecture, I have pointed out that Shakespeare intended a band of recorder-players, consisting of at least four performers, to come upon the stage. When *Hamlet* was first played, owing, it has been supposed, to the poor equipment of the theatre in Shakespeare's time, only one Player made his appearance. Even now, the number is usually restricted to two. In the present day, when neither trouble nor expense are spared in mounting the plays of the greatest of our dramatists, it would be a graceful compliment to the art of music, an art to which the drama is deeply indebted, if Shakespeare's design were carried out. Also, when discussing the scene, I have drawn attention to an innovation which, if it has not already been abandoned, it is to be hoped will soon become a thing of the past. I allude to the treatment sometimes meted out by Hamlet to the recorder he has asked to see and the Players he has summoned to his presence. An actor who, having borrowed the flute with which to administer the well-known reproof, takes upon himself to order the Players off the stage, and, when they are gone, breaks in pieces the instrument lent to him, and throws the fragments scornfully away, cannot be surprised if neither musicians in general, nor flute-players in particular, should feel flattered.

When dealing with Shakespeare, I am traversing a field a great part of which has been already more than once trodden, but on turning to Milton, I am on virgin ground. Here a disappointment awaits us. It may be that our anticipations are unduly raised, but one interested in music cannot help expecting that a poet who was a musician, the son of a musician, and, at the same time, a deeply read scholar would be accuracy itself in his references to musicians and musical instruments, and, more particularly, that he would detect and

avoid a grave error, into which pastoral poets of his time had fallen, relating to the instrument which forms the keystone of pastoral poetry—the syrinx. But though the hopes thus raised are not destined to be gratified, I am able to say that I have had to notice but one occasion on which this fearless genius, in his meteor-like flights, has gone beyond the limits of his art, that being in the representation of a musician playing on two instruments at once, a situation which no pencil could portray, no imagination realize.

In the last of my Lectures, I have left the new for the old world, and attempted to throw light on an obscure subject, the use of the flute in the rite of wailing. I have prefaced the inquiry with a brief account of the chief Temple ceremony of the Greeks and Romans, a preliminary which enabled me to show that the importance attached to the flute in the ritual of the Mythological system of religion was due to the power of acting on spirits the instrument was thought to possess. On coming to my problem—why music was employed in wailing—I was hampered by not being able to find a work to which I could refer my readers for an explanation of the original object of the rite, the practice having come to be so universally regarded as the outpouring of grief elaborated into a ceremonial form that its first purpose was overlooked. I was therefore obliged to have recourse to a digression in which to point out that the primary aim of the institution was to bring the dead to life by inducing the spirit to re-enter the body.

On considering the *ululatus*, or wailing cry, which I regard as a vestige of primordial singing, I found myself face to face with a more formidable difficulty, the want of a satisfactory elucidation of the nature and origin of music. The old idea that musical sounds, gaining access to the interior of the body through the openings of the ears, made their way until they came to the spirit, which they ‘touched’, ‘moved’, ‘stirred’, and ‘thrilled’, though it retains its place in our ordinary language, has long been discarded as a belief. Herbert Spencer’s hypothesis that music originated in emotional speech fails to account

for the phenomena to be explained. With the instinct of genius, Darwin perceived that music was older than speech. He hinted at the possibility of 'our semi-human progenitors having practised some rude form of music', and pointed to the warbling of amorous birds and the howling of erotic monkeys. But music, in the earliest state to which we can trace it, was not restricted to the sexual passion; musical sounds formed a language by which appeals were made, not only to the passion of love, but to other passions, unrhythmical music being a language of entreaty, rhythmical, of authority. On the introduction of a belief in the existence of spirits, musical sounds were applied to religion. Unrhythmical music was put to a devotional use—to soothe and supplicate incorporeal beings;—rhythmical, to a magical purpose—to frighten and coerce them;—so that, if this conclusion be well founded, the opinion of those who hold that rhythmical music is out of place in churches rests on a very old basis.

After speech had been devised, the language of musical sounds and a language with which it was associated, the language of gestures, lost their importance;¹ but neither became

¹ There is reason for thinking, at least in my opinion, that the belief in spirits is earlier than speech, but the discussion of the topic is quite foreign to the design of this work; the question, however, is touched on in note 1, p. 408. To my mind, the *ululatus* is a survival of one of the musical sounds by which spirits were addressed before man began to speak. When speech had come into use, words were employed in addressing spirits; the old method, however, of acting on them by music was not entirely abandoned, but was often combined with the new expedient. Of such combination we have examples in the *naenia*, an institution which I have attempted to elucidate, and in the employment of music with words in the rituals of religions. The two methods of appealing to spirits—the earlier, or inarticulate, by music alone, and the later, or articulate, in which music and words are united—still exist side by side in the Irish wake. At Mythological sacrifices, spirits were addressed in four different ways: first, in the gesture language, by movements of the hands and feet in sacred dances; secondly, by musical sounds without words, in the *ὀλολυγή* of women, in after times by the notes of the flute; thirdly, by words alone, in prayers; fourthly, by music and words combined, in Paeans and other religious songs.

At what period the notion arose that action is caused by unseen things

extinct. The valour with which music inspires soldiers on the field of battle, the fury to which it goads revolutionary mobs, the noble emotions it calls up in the patriotic, and the rapture to which it exalts the religious are lingering relics of the power its eloquence once wielded. But though the language of music is not dead, the greater influence it exerts over uncivilized than civilized man is, I fear, an indication, amongst other signs, that it is slowly dying.

The pleasure we derive from hearing music is thought to arise from the awakening of pristine feelings still slumbering within us. In the words of Darwin, 'from the deeply laid principle of inherited associations, musical tones would be likely to excite in us in a vague and indefinite manner the strong emotions of a long past age.' When the strains of music 'compel us to sensations of despair and joy, to exaltation and excitement as through the influence of some potent charm',¹ we are carried back to the infancy of our race. If we cannot hear the voices of our inarticulate ancestors echoing through the night of time, we at least become conscious of how our representatives in ages inconceivably remote could not only move their fellows

which have life, it seems impossible to say. Darwin, in describing an observation he had made (*Descent of Man*, Part I, Chapter ii), gives expression to the surmise that even a dog may fancy that motion is brought about by an invisible being. I have seen my own dog thrown into a state of evident alarm when dead leaves were set in motion by the wind. In Celtic folk-lore, dogs are credited with the power of seeing spirits; it would be interesting to know what gave rise to the belief; would our untutored forefathers have thought that my dog saw a spirit who was moving the leaves? Dogs howl when they see the moon; it has been suggested, even in modern times, that they are adoring that luminary. They howl when in distress, beseeching, seemingly, for deliverance. There is a marked resemblance in sound between the howling of dogs and the human *ululatus*; dogs appear to recognize the similarity, for, when they hear music, they join their voices, chorus like, to those of their masters. But music is an appeal to the emotions, that is, in old parlance, to a spirit. The howling of dogs certainly moves our feelings, or, according to the old theory petrified in our language, *affects* our *spirits*; whereas their barking, which is believed to be an imitation of man's speaking voice (see note 1, p. 372), has no emotional influence.

¹ Herbert Spencer.

without the aid of speech, but could stir psychic depths which words are powerless to reach. 'As Herbert Spencer remarks,' writes Darwin in his *Descent of Man*, 'music arouses dormant sentiments of which we had not conceived possibility, and do not know the meaning; or, as Richter says, tells of things we have not seen and shall not know.' Judged by such views, the more thoroughly he could arouse the 'dormant sentiments', the greater would be the musician; the truer the tale it could unfold 'of things we have not seen and shall not know', the more real would be the music; the more deeply affected he was at what is unfolded, the more musical would be the organization of the listener. Conversely, music which appeals to the intellect, not to the emotions—to the head, not to the heart—would be artificial.

It is needless to say that such questions as those here raised cannot be satisfactorily examined in a paragraph of a preface, or adequately treated in a passing footnote; their investigation requires a separate essay. Such an essay would carry me far beyond the scope of these Lectures; I can only express a hope that the subject may attract the attention of some competent inquirer who will bestow upon it the attention it deserves.

It remains for me to avail myself of a custom now generally adopted and express my obligation to at least some of those to whom I am personally indebted for so kindly gratifying my curiosity. Sir Michael Costa, Sir Charles Newton, M. Gustave Chouquet, Dr. Alexander S. Murray, and Dr. Tyndall are, alas! no longer with us, but I am still able to thank Dr. Cecil H. Smith, Mr. Frederick H. Marshall and Mr. W. Barclay Squire, of the British Museum, Mr. Lehfeldt, of the South Kensington Museum, M. Victor Charles Mahillon, Curator of the Instrumental Museum of the Conservatoire of Brussels, Mr. Henry Balfour, Curator of the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Dr. Edward Barnet Tylor, Professor of Anthropology in the University of Oxford, Mr. Edward Williams Byron Nicholson, Bodley's Librarian, Dr. Robert Henry Codrington, Prebendary of Chichester, Mr. Herbert Paul Richards, of Wadham College,

Oxford, Mr. Percy Lubbock, of Magdalene College, Cambridge, and, above all, my oldest friend, Mr. B. Bickley Rogers. I regret that I have not been able to refer to the work on *Old English Instruments of Music* by the Rev. F. W. Galpin. The omission is not due to a want of appreciation of Mr. Galpin's masterly contribution to the literature of music, but is owing to these Lectures having been in type before that handsome volume appeared.

RICHMOND-ON-THAMES,

January, 1911.

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LECTURE I

LITERARY ERRORS ON THE SUBJECT OF THE RECORDER

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WHAT was a recorder? How many different answers have been given to the question.

An Englishman in search of a reply would turn, as a matter of course, first of all to Johnson's Dictionary, where he would find that the cautious lexicographer, keeping on safe ground, pronounces a recorder to be 'a kind of flute'. But if the inquirer, desirous of testing the accuracy of the Doctor's statement, were to consult Webster, a more modern authority, he would be told that a recorder was 'a kind of flageolet', an explanation altered in a subsequent edition into 'an instrument resembling the flageolet'. Still more inexact is the description given in a later work, the *Century Dictionary*, 1889: a recorder is there said to be 'a musical instrument of the flageolet family, having a long tube with seven holes and a mouthpiece. In some cases an eighth, covered with gold-beaters' skin, appears near the mouthpiece, apparently to influence the quality of the tone'.

Those who have edited books in which the recorder is mentioned have naturally been desirous of giving their readers an idea of the instrument; but what uncertainty and contradiction we find in their statements! For instance, on April 8, 1668, Mr. Samuel Pepys paid a visit to his flutemaker, Drumbleby, 'and did talk,' he says, 'a great deal about pipes; and did buy a recorder, which I do intend to learn to play on, the sound of it being, of all sounds in the world, most pleasing to me.' Now in Bright's *Pepys* (1875) we are informed that 'a recorder was a large flute, blown through

a mouthpiece, like a clarionet in the present day'; but in the still more elaborate edition of the Diary lately brought out by Mr. Wheatley, a recorder is stated to be 'a reed instrument, but in the side near the mouthpiece there was a hole covered with a piece of bladder, which modified the quality of the sound'.

When Queen Elizabeth visited Kenilworth, in 1575, there awaited her a magnificent reception. Even gods and goddesses vied with each other in hailing her with tokens of joy. A chronicler, who goes into minute details of the preparations which were made for the occasion, states that there were erected at the sides of the road by which she would pass, as she approached the castle, seven pairs of posts. On the first pair were 'too cumly square wyre cagez' containing birds, as gifts to Her Majesty from Sylvanus the god of 'Foul'; on the second, 'too great sylver'd bollz' filled with fruit, as gifts from Pomona, the goddess of 'Frutez'; on the third pair, two similar bowls in which was corn as the gift of Ceres. On the fourth, fifth, and sixth pairs were displayed grapes and wine, fish, and arms and armour, as offerings from Bacchus, Neptune, and Mars respectively. 'On the seaventh posts, the last and next too the Castl,' the chronicler states, 'wear thear pight [i. e. placed] too saer Bay braunchez of a four foot hy, adourned on all sides with lutes, viollz, shallmz, cornets, flutes, recorders, and harpes, az prezents of *Phæbus*, the god of Muzik for rejoycing the mind, and of phizik for health to the body.'

I ought to mention that musical instruments were not merely displayed in dumb show; there was in store for the royal guest a 'delicate harmony' of a kind of which I shall have more to say—a concert of flutes. 'At the eend of the Bridge,' continues the chronicler, 'and entree of the gate, waz her Highnes received with a fresh delicate armony of flutz in perfourmauns of *Phæbus* prezents.' She had previously been greeted with 'a delectable harmony of hautboiz, shalmz, cornets and such other looud muzik' after having been saluted by trumpeters with 'a tune of welcum: which, besyde the nobl noyz, was so mooch the more pleazaunt too behold, becauz theez trumpettoourz, being sixe in number, wear every one an eight foot hye, in due proportion of parson besyde, all in long garments of sylk suitabl, each with his silvery trumpet of a five foot long, formed taper wyse, and straight from the upper part untoo the neather eend, whear the diameter was a 16 inches over, and yet so tempered by art, that being very eazy too the blast, they cast foorth no greater noyz, nor a more unpleazaunt soound

for time and tune, than any oother common trumpet, bee it never so artificially formed.'

The note which Mr. Nichols, in his *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*,¹ appends to this passage, shows to what straits commentators have been reduced in their efforts to give an account of the recorder. He has recourse to his imagination, and constructs a recorder out of the allusions made to the instrument by Lord Bacon. He does not even know what the fipple was. Nor is this to be wondered at; for in no dictionary or encyclopaedia with which I am acquainted is there to be found an adequate explanation of the fipple of a flute.² He states that Bacon used the word to denote the mouthpiece of the instrument; but when I quote Bacon's words, as I shall have occasion to do, it will be seen that this was only a bad guess. For enlightenment he has gone, as might be expected, to Johnson's Dictionary, where he has learnt that a fipple is 'a stopper', and that the word is derived from the Latin *fibula*. Although *fibula* signifies a clasp, not a stopper, so great is the weight of Johnson's name that this derivation still passes from dictionary to dictionary.³

¹ Vol. I, p. 433.

² Since the above was written, the letter F has been reached in Dr. Murray's Dictionary, now in course of publication. Here an advance has been made, a fipple being stated to be 'the plug at the mouth of a wind instrument by which the volume was contracted'. Fipple had previously been connected with wind instruments both in the Imperial and in the Century Dictionary, but only in the following vague and unsatisfactory terms: 'a stopper, as at the mouth of a musical wind instrument.'

³ No other derivation of fipple than that from *fibula* has, as far as I am aware, hitherto been proposed.

In Scottish the word fipple signifies 'the under lip in men or animals' (Jamieson's Dict., s.v., 'Faiple'). It is possible that a resemblance may be traced between the section of the fipple, as it appears at the beak of a flute, and an underlip; but I will suggest for the consideration of etymologists that the word may, perhaps, be traced to 'pipe' in the following way. In Somersetshire, when a boy plucks a dandelion, and, pinching the stalk so as to form a reed, proceeds to elicit from it a squeaking sound, he terms the instrument thus constructed a *fib*—that is, clearly, a *pib*, or *pipe* (*confer* 'pibcorn', *infra*, p. 17, note). When he makes (or did make, for the art is becoming extinct) the spirally wound willow bark trumpet, known in Oxfordshire as a Whithorn (see a paper on 'A Primitive Musical Instrument', by H. Balfour, in *The Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist*, October, 1896), but which he calls a May horn, he names the reed by which it is sounded, whether it be made of dandelion or willow bark, the *fib*. Again, if he takes a twig of willow, notches it so as to form the finger-holes and the mouth of a fipple flute, cuts it slantwise at one end for the beak, then, after detaching the bark, which becomes

The information which Mr. Nichols gives his readers is that recorders 'were wind instruments somewhat resembling flutes, or rather clarionets; for by the description which is given of one by Lord Bacon, in the second century of his *Sylva Sylvarum*, at the 159th and 160th experiments, it may be ascertained that the instrument was blown at one end. It appears from the same authority that it consisted of a tube with stops or wind holes, and a fipple, or mouthpiece; the lower end open, like flageolets of the present time. The word "fipple", used by Bacon for mouthpiece, signifies literally a stopper, from the Latin *fibuli*,¹ whence it may be argued that the upper end of the recorder terminated in a cap, from whence issued the pipe that conveyed the breath throughout the whole instrument'.

MISPRINTS IN HAMLET

It is not, however, until we look into Shakespeare that we realize the density of the clouds which envelop the recorder and become fully alive to the need there is of dispelling the darkness in which the instrument is shrouded. On none of the plays of the great dramatist has so much been written as on *Hamlet*; of all the scenes in that much-debated tragedy few have attracted more attention or given commentators more trouble than the recorder scene. In the collection of the plays published by Shakespeare's friends John Heminge and Henry Condell, so well known as the folio of 1623, the passage 'govern these ventages with your fingers and thumb', appears as 'govern these ventiges with your finger and thumb'. Which is right—fingers and thumb, or finger and thumb? Were there several holes for the fingers on the recorder, as on the flute, or was the instrument constructed with two holes only, a hole for a finger and a hole for a thumb, having thus one hole less than the pipe played with the tabour, which has three holes—two for the fingers and one for the thumb? So vague was the information at the command of commentators that they have never settled the matter, there being modern editions of Shakespeare, including that of Mr. Dyce, who has taken great pains with the text, in which we still read 'finger and thumb'.

But a more knotty question awaited the commentators. *Hamlet* a tube, constructs a fipple out of the piece of wood above the mouth by removing a slice to form the flue, he designates the fipple, which, like the reed of the May horn, makes the tube yield sound, the *fib* of the instrument. Thus we have *fipple*, *fib*, *pib*, *pipe*.

¹ Obviously a misprint of *fibula*.

was first published separate from the other plays ; it appeared in a series of editions of a quarto size. The first quarto, which came out in 1603, is a bastard version of the tragedy ; it is generally regarded as a surreptitious issue, based either on recollection or on notes taken during the representation. It was followed in the next year, 1604, by a second quarto 'according to the true and perfect coppie' of the play. In the spurious edition, the quarto of 1603, there is no mention of the fingers and thumb, the passage reading ' 'Tis but stopping of these holes ' ; but in the quarto of 1604, the first edition of the true copy, we read govern these ventages, not with your fingers and thumb, but with your fingers and ' the umber '. There was, then, no hole on the recorder for the thumb, the ventages being closed by the fingers with the assistance of the umber. What was the umber ? Here was a problem ! In the absence of fact to fall back upon, fancy was ready with an answer : the umber, she whispered, was a key ; whereupon the commentators proceeded to exercise their acumen and to display their learning as follows :—

'The umber,' says Mr. Steevens, 'may probably be the ancient name for that piece of movable brass at the end of a flute which is either raised or depressed with the finger. The word *umber* is used by Stowe, the chronicler, who, describing a single combat between two knights, says : "He brast up his umber three times." Here the umber means the *visor of the helmet*. So, in Spenser's *Fairy Queene*, Book III, c. i, st. 42 :—

But the brave maid would not disarmed be,
But only vented up her *umbriere*,
And so did let her goodly visage to appere.

Again, Book IV, c. iv :—

And therewith smote him on his *umbriere*.

Again, in the second book of Lidgate on the Trojan War, 1513 :—

Through the umber into Troylus' face.'

Tollet, another well-known commentator, writes thus : 'If a *recorder* had a brass key like the *German flute*, we are to follow the reading of the quarto ; for then the *thumb* is not concerned in the government of the ventages or stops. If a *recorder* was like a *tabourer's pipe*, which has no brass key, but has a stop for the thumb, we are to read, "Govern these ventages with your finger and thumb." In Cotgrave's Dictionary, *ombre*, *ombraire*, *ombriere*, and *ombrelle* are all from the Latin *umbra* and signify a *shadow*, an umbrella, anything that shades or hides the face of the sun ; and

hence they have been applied to anything that hides or covers another ; as, for example, they may have been applied to the brass key that covers the hole in the German flute.’¹

I feel tempted to give other quotations, but, not to be wearisome, I will pass on, only adding that I have met with but one writer whose ideas on the subject of the recorder are clear and correct.² The chief object of this Lecture is to show how pardonable are the wanderings of which I have given samples, inasmuch as the authorities on musical matters to whom laymen would naturally turn for guidance, have themselves gone hopelessly astray. In carrying out my design, I shall first classify flutes in a way suitable for my purpose, then quote passages from old writers in which the recorder is mentioned, next give a brief historical account of the instrument, and finally point out and trace to their source the errors into which Sir John Hawkins, Dr. Burney, Mr. William Chappell and Carl Engel have fallen.

CLASSIFICATION OF FLUTES

‘Flute’ was formerly a generic term like the Greek *αὔλος* and the English ‘pipe’. It was applicable to most, if not to all, of the members of the wood-wind, including those blown with a reed ; a sense in which we still use it when we speak of the May flute, the Straw flute, the Eunuch flute, or the flutes of the ancients. In the present day, however, the word is usually restricted to instruments the sound of which is produced by the impact of a jet of air on a cutting edge.

I shall divide flutes, thus defined, into three classes, basing my classification on the way in which the flue, throat, or fissure, from which the jet issues, is formed.

In the first, it is formed by the nostril of the performer ; in the second, by the muscular action of the lips ; in the third, by inserting into the instrument itself a plug, or a plate, which partially blocks, and so narrows, the tube.

I shall call members of the first class *nostril* or *nose flutes* ; of the second, *lip flutes* ; of the third, *fipple flutes*, fipple being the technical name of the plug by which the tube is reduced in size.

The nostril or nose flute does not come within the scope of our

¹ ‘The umber’ is, beyond all doubt, nothing but a misprint of ‘thumb’. See below, p. 170, note 3.

² Mr. Albert Way, in a note on the word in his invaluable edition of the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, published by the Camden Society (1843-65).

inquiry. It is in use chiefly, but not exclusively, in the islands of the Pacific Ocean; in Europe it is only to be found in museums and in the cabinets of collectors.¹

With the lip or mouth flute we are all familiar, for a member of the family, the transverse or German flute, with its diminutives the piccolo and the fife, is in daily use amongst us. To this class belongs the Pan flute, as well as the Egyptian nay.

The fipple flute, with which this Lecture will chiefly deal, is now wellnigh extinct; not that the construction of sound producers on its principle has ceased; far from it, they are made in thousands, from the Liliputian whistle an inch long up to its Brobdingnagian descendant, the organ-pipe, thirty-two feet high. But, if we except the so-called flageolets which decorate our shop windows, the fipple flute only survives as a finger-holed instrument in actual use in the little six-holed pipe so often heard in the streets of London, which, though known in this country by the contemptuous appellation of the penny whistle, still bears in France the name which our Gallic neighbours formerly assigned to its once popular predecessor, 'The English Flute.'

QUOTATIONS FROM OLD WRITERS

Having now explained the meaning I attach to the expressions lip flute and fipple flute, terms which I shall often use in this Lecture, I will proceed to cite passages from old writers in which mention is made of the recorder.

I have already given a quotation in which the recorder and the flute are named together, the presents offered to Queen Elizabeth, as she approached Kenilworth in 1575, comprising both recorders and flutes. They are also both mentioned in the list of instruments for which John Milton, the great poet's father, is credited by Lane with writing music.² In Drayton's *Polyolbion* (1613-22) we find the recorder associated not only with the flute but with the fife, there being amongst the instruments played by the English in their musical contest with the Welsh, recorders, flutes, and fifes; whilst

¹ The nose flute is described in Ellis's *Polynesian Researches*, chap. viii; in *Hawkesworth's Voyages*, Vol. II, p. 205; in a paper entitled 'Notes on the Asiatic Relations of Polynesian Culture', published in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, May, 1882, and in M. Victor Mahillon's *Catalogue du Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire de Musique de Bruxelles*, second edition, pp. 176, 408. A general account of the instrument is given in the writer's *History of the Boehm Flute*, third edition, pp. 257 to 267.

² See below, p. 254, note 1.

the tabourer's pipe, an instrument of the fipple flute family, is also included :—

So were there some again, in this their learned strife,
Loud instruments that loved, the cornet and the *fife*,
The Hoboy, sagbut deep, *recorder* and the *flute* :
Even from the shrillest shawm unto the cornamute.
Some blow the bagpipe up, that plays the country round,
The Taber and the *Pipe* some take delight to sound.

Running back rather more than a century, we come to Hawes's *Passetyme of Pleasure*, a 'boke' made in the twenty-first year of the reign of Henry VII (1506).¹ In this poem there is an allusion to the characteristic for which the recorder was so celebrated, its sweetness :—

There sat dame Musyke with all her mynstracy ;
As tabours, trumpettes, with pipes melodious,
Sakbuttes, organs, and the *recorder swetely*,
Harpes, lutes, and crouddes ryght delycyous ;
Cymphans, doussemers, wyth clavicimbales glorious.
Rebeckes, clavycordes, eche in theyr degre,
Did sytte aboute theyr ladyes mageste.

Possibly of about the same period as *The Pastime of Pleasure* is a passage with which, as it has been so often repeated, most musicians are familiar. I allude to the lines on the recorder from the 'Proverbis in the garet at the New lodge in the parke of lekingfelde', quoted by Mr. William Chappell in his *Popular Music of the Olden Time*. These so-called proverbs are said to have been written on the walls of an upper room in the Manor House of Leckington (a Yorkshire residence which belonged to the Percy family) in the reign of Henry VII. And here I must commence my ungracious task of pointing out mistakes. It will be recollected that the second line of the proverb devoted to the recorder is stated to run thus : 'Manifold fingering and stops bringeth high notes from its clear tones.' Mr. Chappell placed the word 'notes' in a parenthesis,² it having been interpolated to make sense, 'bringeth high from its

¹ Stephen Hawes studied at Oxford, then travelled on the continent, and afterwards became groom of the chamber to Henry VII. On the queen's death, in 1502, he received four yards of black cloth for mourning, but he does not appear to have received any cloth when the king died, in 1509, from which it is inferred that he no longer held the appointment. *The Pastime of Pleasure* has been reprinted by the Percy Society (Vol. XVIII). The passage quoted above occurs in the sixteenth chapter of the poem.

² See below, p. 122.

tones' being unintelligible. The line so printed has passed into other books, until the parenthesis has been dropped, so that the reader is not aware that the word 'notes' did not originally form part of the text. Now, on referring to the manuscript¹ from which the proverbs are taken, we find neither 'high', 'notes', nor 'tones', the line having been misinterpreted in the following way:—

The word 'high' was formerly often spelt 'hy'. It is so spelt in a proverb preceding that which we are considering:—

A Shawme makithe a sweete sounde for he tunithe Basse,
It mountithe not to *hy*, but kepithe rule and space.²

But, on looking at the 'hy' in the proverb relating to the recorder, we see a line drawn horizontally over the 'y'. This is an indication that the letter 'm' is omitted, 'hȳ' so written being an abbreviation, a common one, of the word 'him', which was once spelt 'hym'; the whole proverb reading thus:—

The recorder of his kynde the meane³ dothe desyre,
Manyfolde fyngerynge and stoppes bryngithe hȳ from [him from—
i. e. from him] his tunes clere.

Who so lyst to handill an instrument so goode
Must se in his many fynyngyne y^t he kepe tyme, stop and moode.

¹ Royal MS. 18, D. II, British Museum.

² The two remaining lines of this proverb are of interest, inasmuch as they seem to contain an allusion to the tendency of the shawm to fly into the twelfth above the note fingered, a peculiarity of which Denner availed himself in the construction of the clarinet:—

Yet yf it be blowne with a to vehement wynde,
It makithe it to misgoverne out his kynde.

³ The proverb refers to a member of the recorder family, either the alto or the tenor recorder, when it was played as a solo instrument. The alto viol was called the mean; amongst the strings of the viol there were two means, the second string being known as the small, the third as the great, mean. The recorder named in the proverb is said of its kind to desire the mean, that is, to take the mean part when played in a concert of recorders. In singing, we are told, the mean might be either the alto or the tenor part, but in the following verses (quoted in Collier's *Annals of the Stage*, Vol. I, p. 70) by John Heywood, a musician of the household of Henry VIII, the mean is confined to the alto, there termed the counter:—

Longe have I bene a singinge man,
And sondrie partes ofte I have songe,
Yit one parte since I first began
I cold nor can sing, olde or yonge;
The meane, I meane, which parte showthe well
Above all partes most to excell.

We will now pass to an earlier enumeration of musical instruments, that found in the *Squyr of Lowe Degre*.¹ The date of this romance,

The base and treble are extremes,
 The tenor standethe sturdilie,
 The counter reignethe then me semes;
 The meane must make our melodie.
 This is the meane, who meanthe it well,
 The parte of partes that doth excell.
 Of all our partes, if any jarre,
 Blame not the meane being songe trewe;
 The meane must make, it maye not marre;
 Lackinge the meane our mirth adewe;
 Thus showthe the meane not meanlie well,
 Yet doth the meane in this excell.
 Marke well the mannour of the meane,
 And therebie tyme and tune your songe;
 Unto the meane where all partes leane,
 All partes are kepte from singinge wrong.
 Though singinge men take this not well,
 Yet doth the mean in this excell.
 The meane in compasse is so large
 That everye parte must joyne thereto;
 It hath an oer in everie barge,
 To saye, to singe, to thinke, to do.
 Of all these partes no parte doth well
 Without the meane, which dothe excell.
 To highe, to lowe, to loude, to softe
 To fewe, to manie at a parte alone
 The meane is far melodious [ofte]
 Then other partes lackinge that one:
 Wherebie the meane comparethe well
 Among all partes most to excell.
 The meane in losse, the meane in gaine,
 In wealthe or in adversitie;
 The meane in healthe, the meane in paine,
 The meane meanethe alwaies equitie.
 The meane thus ment may meane full well
 Of other partes most to excell.
 To me and myne with all the reste,
 Good Lorde, graunte grace, with heartie voice
 To singe the meane that meanethe best,
 All other partes in the beste for to rejoyce:
 Which meane in meaninge meanethe well,
 The meane of meanes that doth excell.

Finis Mr. Haywoode.

¹ Ritson's *Metrical Romances*.

like that of the proverbs at Leckingfield, is conjectural ; but 1475, ten years before the accession of Henry VII, has been named as probable :—

There was myrth and melody
With harp, getron and sautry,
With rote, ribible and clokarde,
With pypes, organs and bumbarde,
With other mynstrelles them amonge,
With sytolphe and with sautry songe,
With fyddle, *recorde*, and dowcemere,
With trompette and with claryon clere,
With dulcet pipes of many cordes.¹

I must not omit to notice that 'recorder' occurs in a work where its presence is an indication that the word was not confined to England in the fifteenth century, but was known also in Scotland ; in the *Buke of the Howlate, maid be Holland*, not only is 'recorder' to be found, but, possibly, though this is very doubtful, 'fife'. Mention is also made of a wind instrument very rarely named, the *lilt-pipe*. Good reasons have been adduced for the belief that *The Houlate* was written not far from 1450, so that it is about a quarter of a century earlier than *The Squire of Low Degree*.²

All thus our ladye they lofe, with liking and list,³
Menstralis and musicians mo than I mene⁴ may,
The psaltery, the citholis,⁵ the soft cytharist,⁶
The croude, and the monycordis, the gythornis⁷ gay,
The rote, and the *recordour*, the ribup,⁸ the rist,⁹
The trump, and the taburn,¹⁰ the tympane but tray ;

¹ *Of many cordes*, that is, of many accords, or sweet sounds.

² 'The Houlate' (*Anglice*, the Owl) was first printed in Pinkerton's *Scottish Poems* (Vol. III, p. 179), afterwards by Lang, and again by the Hunterian Club. In 1893 an edition of the text (*Holland's Buke of the Houlate*, by Arthur Diebler) was published at Leipsic, in which two MSS., one written in the early part of the sixteenth century by John Asloan, the other in 1568 by George Bannatyne, are carefully collated. Certain differences noted by Diebler are given below.

³ Pinkerton, 'lift.'

⁴ 'Mene'—i. e. 'mention.'

⁵ Bannatyne MS., 'cytholis'; Asloan MS., 'sytholis.'

⁶ Bannatyne MS., 'cytharist'; Asloan MS., 'sytharist'; Pinkerton, 'atherift.'

⁷ Asloan MS., 'gyttyrnis.'

⁸ Pinkerton, 'ribus'; Lang, 'ribupe.'

⁹ Pinkerton, 'rift.'

¹⁰ Asloan MS., 'the trumpe and the talburn.'

The *lilt pype* and the lute, the cithill¹ in fist,
 The dulscate,² and the dulsacordis, the schalm³ of assay;
 The amyable organis usit full oft,
 Clarions⁴ loude knellis,
 Portativis⁵ and bellis,
 Cymbaclanis⁶ in the cellis
 That soundis so soft.⁷

If we turn from Scotland to the opposite extremity of Britain, Cornwall, there too we meet with 'recorder'. The word occurs in a Miracle Play in the Cornish language. The date of the Play is uncertain, but Mr. Norris, by whom it has been edited, is of opinion that it is not much, if any, older than the fifteenth century; 'certainly,' he writes, 'it cannot be assigned to a period earlier than the fourteenth century':—

REX DD

whethoug menstrels ha tabours
 trey-hans harpes ha trompours
 cythol crowd fylh ha savtry
 psalmus gyttrens ha nakrys
 organs in weth cymbalys
recordys ha symphony.⁸

¹ Asloan MS., 'fydill,' a reading undoubtedly preferable to 'cythil', that of the Bannatyne MS., the 'cytholis' having been already mentioned in the third line. It can certainly be said of the fiddle that it is played in the fist, or closed hand. Pinkerton, however, gives, instead of 'in fist', 'and fift'; so that if he is correct the fife is here named.

² Asloan MS., 'dulset.'

³ Pinkerton, 'schalin.'

⁴ Asloan MS., 'claryonis'; Pinkerton, 'clarionis.'

⁵ Pinkerton, 'portatibus'; Asloan MS., 'portatiuis'; as printed for the Hunterian Club, 'portatisis.'

⁶ Pinkerton, 'cymbaellonis'; Asloan MS., 'cymbaclanis'; in the Bannatyne MS., apparently altered into 'cymbaclasnis'. Two forms of mediaeval *cymbala*—one consisting of plates of metal, the other of small bells fastened together—are described and figured by Engel (*Catalogue of the Instruments in the South Kensington Museum*, p. 111, and *Handbook of Musical Instruments*, p. 105). The instrument here mentioned, however, was, I take it, neither of these, but the *cymbalum* of a monastery. This was a bell, or pulsatile instrument of some sort, suspended in the cloister and struck with a hammer or mallet to summon the monks to meals in the refectory. The *cella* or *cellarium* of a religious house was the cellar; not the wine-cellar only, it included the *promptuarium*, or storehouse for food in general. But the word *cella* was also used to denote the monastery itself, and, more particularly, the open space, *interior ambitus*, or quadrangle, round which the cloisters were placed. See Du Cange, s.v. 'Cella.'

⁷ Bannatyne MS., 'so oft'; Pinkerton, 'so oft'; Asloan MS., 'so soft.'

⁸ *The Ancient Cornish Drama*, edited and translated by Mr. Edwin Norris, Vol. I, p. 150.

Mr Norris translates the passage thus :—

KING DAVID

Blow minstrels and tabours ;
 Three hundred harps and trumpets ;
 Dulcimer, fiddle, viol, and sawtry,
 Shawms, lutes, and kettledrums ;
 Organs, also cymbals,
 Recorders, and symphony.

THE FLUTE IN CHAUCER

We are now drawing near to Chaucer's time, but in Chaucer we look in vain for the word 'recorder', that instrument being called the flute. It is often alluded to ; for instance, a prominent figure amongst the pilgrims to Canterbury is the flute-playing squire, a fresh, curly-haired young gentleman about twenty years of age, dressed in the height of fashion, bedecked with flowers white and red, and so well educated that he could write, draw, and dance, the first named being an attainment by no means common in those days outside the Church. His chief occupation was singing and playing the flute, to which he devoted the greater part of the day. But these pastimes were not a mere excuse for idleness ; he had acquired a knowledge of music of which few amateur flute players in the present day can boast ; 'he could songs make and well indite,' we are told, a statement implying that he could compose and reduce to notation, if not harmonize, melodies. Nor did his accomplishments involve the slightest taint of effeminacy. He is described as a man of middle height, of great strength and wonderful activity, a good and graceful rider, as well as a joust—*that is, a man skilled in the mock combats with lance and sword so common in the Middle Ages ;* moreover, notwithstanding his youth, he had taken part in a military raid on horseback in France, and had borne himself well on the occasion.

'Singing he was or *floytinge* al the day ;
 He was as fresh as is the month of May.
 Short was his gowne with sleves long and wide,
 Wel coude he sit on hors, and fayré ryde.
 He coude songes make, and wel endyte,
 Juste and eeke daunce, and well purtreye and wryte.'¹

In *The Romaunt of the Rose*, which is a translation from the French, we read of 'floytes' and 'floutours',² or flutes and flute

¹ *Canterbury Tales*, Prologue, 91.

² *Floutours*, line 763. The word in the original French is *fléutours*.

players. The 'floytes' are named in the description of Wicked Tongue.¹ It is, of course, not to be expected that a man with such a name would have music in his soul, much less be able to play the flute. Accordingly, we find that

Discordaunt ever fro armonye,
And distoned² from melodye,
Controve³ he wolde and foulé fayle
With hornpypés of Cornewayle.
In floytés made he discordaunce,
And in his musik with mischaunce,
He wolde seyn,⁴ with notés newe,
That he [ne] fond⁵ no woman trewe.

But it is to *The House of Fame*⁶ that we naturally turn in the expectation of finding the recorder mentioned, for there Chaucer saw so prodigious an assembly of musicians that they seem to have been as countless as the sands of the sea. Those of them who are classified were divided into three bands, separated from each other by a wide interval—harpers, wood-wind pipers or flute players as I shall call them using the word in its wider acceptation, and trumpeters. It can occasion no surprise that the flute players formed a vast multitude many times twelve thousand in number, Three of them are mentioned by name, but, with one exception, owing to the metamorphoses they have undergone at the hands of transcribers, it is not possible to identify these celebrities with certainty. The first, Atiteris, Atyterys, or Cytheris, may be, and probably is, the great pastoral flute player, Tityrus, with the once common prefix 'A' added to the word.⁷ The second, Pseustis, Procerus, or Presentus as the word is written in different manuscripts, seems to be hopeless. As Tityrus is a name by which Virgil is known, we naturally think of Virgil's prototype in Greek pastoral poetry, Theocritus; but Theocritus was a Sicilian, not an Athenian as Pseustis, Procerus, or Presentus is represented to be. Mr. Skeat records the guess that Thespis may be meant; I will hazard the conjecture, in the absence of a better suggestion, that Timotheus⁸

¹ Line 4,247.

² *Distoned*, 'made different in tone, out of tune. Cotgrave gives: "Des-tonner to change or alter a tune, to make it higher or lower."—SKEAT.

³ *Controve*, 'compose or invent tunes.'—SKEAT.

⁴ *Seyn*, say.

⁵ *Fond*, found.

⁶ Book III. 111.

⁷ Mr. Skeat proposes Tyrtæus.

⁸ Timotheus was not an Athenian by birth; but he left his home in Boeotia when he became so celebrated as a flute player.

may be intended, although Pronomus would more nearly resemble Procerus or Presentus. In the third, Marcia, we cannot fail to recognize our unfortunate brother flute-player Marsyas. It is true that Chaucer assigns to him the feminine gender, but, notwithstanding the change of sex, there can be no doubt of his identity, for there is an unmistakable allusion to the shameful treatment he received at the hands of Apollo, who, in a trial as to which could produce the better effect on their respective instruments, the lyre and the flute, finding the opinion of the judges going against him, proceeded to use his voice in addition to his lyre, an artifice unworthy of an honest man much less a god, and having thus got a decision in his favour, tied poor Marsyas to the nearest tree and deprived him of his skin without further ceremony.

Ther saugh I than Atiteris,
And of Athenes dan Pseustis,
And Marcia that lost her skin,
Bothe in face, body, and chin,
For that she wolde envyen,¹ lo!
To pypen bet than Apollo.²

Chaucer mentions the names of three trumpeters and four harpers whom he heard, but he does not make any remarks on their performance, except in one case, that of Orpheus, of whom he writes that he played full craftily, and that his harp sounded both well and sharp. It is disappointing that so little is said about the instruments. In addition to the three bands already specified—the harpers, the flute players, and the trumpeters—there was a group of performers on unclassified instruments, or ‘sondry gleës’, who were more numerous than the stars (‘mo than sterrés been in hevene’); yet not one of their ‘gleës’ is described, or even named, the poet declining to go into particulars in order to save his readers trouble

¹ *Envyen*, to contend; strive for the mastery. A word now shortened into ‘vie’.—Skeat. See also Richardson’s Dict., s.v. ‘Vie.’

‘And among other mirth Mr. Ackworth *vyed* wives, each endeavouring to set his own wife out to the best advantage, he having as they said an extraordinary handsome wife.’—*Pepys’s Diary*, May 18, 1660.

² I ought not to omit to add that Chaucer makes mention of performers on wind instruments of Dutch—that is, German—nationality:—

Then saugh I famous, olde and yonge,
Pypers of the Duche tonge,
To lerne love-daunces, springes,
Reyes and these straunge thinges.

Reyes are round dances—i. e. dances in a ring.—SKEAT.

(‘for ãse of yow’), as well as to prevent loss of time, and sagely adding :—

For tyme y-lost, this knowen ye,
By no way may recovered be.

So customary, however, was it for mediaeval poets to give lists of contemporaneous instruments that one feels tempted to suspect that Chaucer’s reticence was due rather to consideration for himself than his readers : *qui s’excuse s’accuse*.

The flute players, although not so numerous as the unclassified musicians, still numbered tens of thousands ; but of all the instruments played in their monster wood-wind band, the names of only five are given, the cornmuse, the shawm, the flute, the lilt-pipe, or liltling-horn as it is here termed, and the cornstalk flute :—

Tho saugh I stonden hem behinde,¹
Afer fro hem, al by themselve,
Many thousand tymés twelve,
That maden loudé menstralcyes
In cornémuse and shalmýs,
And many other maner pipe
That craftely begunne to pipe,
Both in doucet and in rede,²
That ben at feastés with the brede³
And many *floute* and liltling-horne,⁴
And pypés made of greené corne,
As han thise litel herdegromes
That kepen bestés in the bromes.

¹ *Hem behinde*, behind them—that is, behind the harp players.

² *Both in doucet and in rede*. It has been suggested that *doucet* may be the name of a musical instrument—the *doucette*. In *The Houlate*, as we have just seen, there is named an instrument termed the *dulsate*, or *dulset*. Another explanation has been offered by Willert, that both *doucet* and *rede* are used adjectively—thus, ‘in doucet’ would have reference to dulcet or sweet instruments, such as the various members of the flute family ; ‘in rede,’ to instruments whose sound is produced by means of a reed. See the note on the passage in Skeat’s *Chaucer*.

³ *Brede*, roast meat.—Skeat.

⁴ The word ‘lilt’ usually signifies a bright, cheerful tune, especially one that sounds high and sharp. ‘To lilt’ is to execute such a tune ; it may be used of human singing, of the warbling of birds, or of the sound of a musical instrument, e. g. :

What shepherd’s whistle winna *lilt* the spring ?—RAMSAY.

Come then, my Flute, and let’s begin

To *lilt* ‘She rose and let me in’.—JAMES MACAULAY.

It is possible that the word *lill*, the technical name of the hole in the bag-pipe (the thumb-hole at the back of the chanter), with which the highest note of the instrument is produced, is connected with ‘lilt’ :—

Although the word recorder is not to be found in Chaucer, I shall be able to adduce evidence, only presumptive, it is true, but still more or less satisfactory, that it was in use in his time. The

‘He had the finest finger for the back *lill* between Berwick and Carlisle.’—Willie’s tale in Scott’s *Redgauntlet*.

To what instrument the designation lilt-pipe, or lilting-horn, was given is uncertain. The shepherd’s pipe has been proposed (see Grove’s Dict., s.v. ‘Lilt’) and the bagpipe has been named (Jamieson’s Scottish Dict.). As the lilt-pipe is here mentioned by Chaucer in connexion with the flute, the idea suggests itself that the three-holed pipe played with the tabour may be intended. In favour of this view it may be urged that the tabourer’s pipe is called in French the *galoubet*, a name it owes to its merry, sportive sound, the word being derived, according to Chouquet (*Catalogue of the Musical Instruments in the Museum of the Conservatoire of Paris*), from the Provençal *gal*, gay or joyous, and *oubet* for *aubet*, a diminutive of *auböi*, hautboy. The name hautboy (*haut bois*) is particularly appropriate to this little flute, it being an octave above the piccolo, and thus the highest of all wind instruments.

But could the tabourer’s pipe be termed with propriety a horn? It could only claim to be entitled to this appellation on account of its bell, or horn-shaped mouth. The application by Chaucer of the word horn to the lilt-pipe seems to me to point to an instrument in which a pipe is combined with a horn, the pibcorn (i. e. pipe-horn) or hornpipe. The hornpipe is associated with dancing, and I suggest that ‘lilting horn’ means ‘dancing horn’, and ‘lilt pipe’, ‘dance pipe’; for lilting is not confined to music, but is used of leaping lightly, as of deer bounding over a fence, or of dancers who are said to lilt their feet. Thus Wordsworth, in the ‘Redbreast’:

Whether the bird flit here or there,
O’er table *lilt*, or perch on chair.

It is usually believed that the hornpipe is named under its ordinary title in *The Romaunt of the Rose*: ‘With hornpypes of Cornewayle’; but as some maintain that Chaucer wrote not ‘horn’, but ‘corn’ pipes, the word in the original French being *estives*, or straw flutes (see Skeat’s note on the passage), it cannot be said with certainty that ‘pypés made of greené corne’ may not be meant. But see below, p. 278, note. Like the lilting-horn in *The House of Fame*, in *The Romaunt of the Rose*, the horn or corn-pipe is associated with the flute, the line in which it is mentioned being followed by ‘In floytés made he discordaunce’.

The hornpipe is named in the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, where it is rendered into Latin by *Palpista* on the authority of Robertus Kylwarbi. The word *Palpista* I cannot discover elsewhere; possibly, however, *Salpista* may be intended, although *Salpista* is usually used to signify a trumpeter rather than a trumpet.

In Scotland the pibcorn is known under the name of the *Stock and Horn*, the stock being the thigh-bone of a sheep or a piece of elder. The following quotation from Ramsay’s ‘Gentle Shepherd’ shows that the stock and horn was a shepherd’s instrument, that a performance on it could be called

Promptuarium, or *Promptorium*, *Parvulorum* is the earliest English Latin dictionary extant. Its compiler, a Dominican friar of Lynn in Norfolk, unfortunately knew little of, and possibly cared nothing for, musical instruments. He was an anchorite or recluse; and, as such, had been consigned with the consent of his superior, sealed with all the solemnity of a religious service, to a self-imposed imprisonment. Immured in a cell,¹ or 'stodyyng howse' (as he would have us understand the word cell to signify), which he could not quit, except in case of necessity, without the permission of the bishop, he seems to have regarded fluting and fiddling as but vanities of this wicked world. The date of the *Promptorium* is known with tolerable certainty to be 1440, just forty years after Chaucer's death.

whistling, and, by inference, that it might be the 'shepherd's whistle' of the passage from Ramsay quoted above:—

When I begin to tune my stock and horn,
 Wi' a' her face she shaws a cauldrie scorn.
 Last night, I play'd—ye never heard sic spite!
 O'er Bogie was the spring and her delyte;—
 Yet tauntingly she at her cousin speer'd,
 'Gif she could tell what tune I play'd?' and sneer'd.
 Flocks wander where ye like, I dinna care,
 I'll break my reed and never whistle mair.

It is believed by Engel that, under the name of the 'corne pipe', the stock and horn is mentioned, along with the recorder, in an enumeration of instruments played by the following extraordinary octet party composed of Scotch shepherds, described in the *Complaynt of Scotland* (1548): 'The fyrst had ane drone bagpipe, the next hed ane pipe maid of ane bleddir and of ane reid, the third playit on ane trump, the feyerd on ane corne pipe, the fyfth playit on ane pipe maid of ane gait horne, the sext playt on ane recordar, the sevint plait on ane fiddil, and the last plait on ane quhissel.' An interesting and very complete account of the instrument is given in a paper by Henry Balfour, Esq., on 'The Old British Pibcorn or Hornpipe and its affinities', in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XX, p. 142. See also Stainer and Barrett's *Dictionary of Musical Terms*, s.v. 'Hornpipe,' and Engel's *Catalogue of the Instruments in the South Kensington Museum*, pp. 293 and 373, where the lines from Ramsay are quoted.

¹ The opinion has been expressed that the compiler of the *Promptorium* was 'starved to death between four walls', but Mr. Way gives no credence to the story. It is a false inference, he thinks, from the statement that he was 'inter quatuor parietes pro Christo inclusus'. It seems that the door of an anchorite's abode could not be opened without breaking a seal which was affixed to it, food being handed in at the window. Friar Geoffrey had, no doubt, got leave to immure himself in a study-house, as he calls it, in order to devote his life to the compilation of his lexicon.

Both 'recorder' and 'flute' are found in the lexicon. Recorder, which is distinguished as 'lytyl pype', is translated by *canula*, a word used by Papias when referring to the instrument on which the chorus-flute player (*choraules*, or *choraula*) used to play.¹ But, for the purpose of our inquiry, the importance of the entry in the *Promptorium* lies in the circumstance that an earlier work, the *Campus Florum*, is cited as the authority for the rendering. Much uncertainty prevails respecting the *Campus Florum*, but Leland conjectures that Thomas Gualensis, or Walleys, to whom it has been attributed, flourished about the time of Edward II, whilst two writers give 1359 as its probable date,² so that, assuming, as we have a right to do, that its author mentioned the recorder by name, we can here trace back the word to the middle of the fourteenth century.

On turning in the *Promptorium* to 'flute', we should naturally expect to see *tibia*, *fistula*, or the Low Latin word *flauta*, as its equivalent; but, strange to say, neither of them is given, *tibia* being reserved for 'trumpe' and *fistula* for 'pype', whilst *flauta* is not named; but in two manuscripts *flautorium*, a word I have not seen elsewhere, is added. The Latin synonyms for 'flute' are three in number. The first, *cambucus*, is given on the authority of

¹ 'Canula, fistula, Gallice Flute. Instrumentum musicum. Papias in MS. Bituric. *Choraules, Princeps chori, vel qui Canulis, id est fistulis canit. Choraule enim Græce Canula dicitur.*'—Du Cange. The Papias here named, who was an Italian grammarian of the eleventh century, wrote for the instruction of his children a Latin lexicon. According to Way, this lexicon supplied the ground-work of the Dictionary or *Vocabularium* of Ugutio, Bishop of Ferrara, who flourished in the next century. It is conceivable that the author of the *Campus Florum* might have derived the word *canula* from one of these works.

² Appendix to the *Promptorium*, edited by Way, p. lxxxiv. The *Campus Florum* is referred to on page after page of the *Promptorium*. Mr. Way suggests the possibility of the work being known under some other title. A treatise, entitled *Campus Florum*, in the library of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, has been examined by him, and proves to be quite different from the *Campus Florum* used in the compilation of the *Promptorium*. The *Campus Florum* so often quoted there seems to have been a vocabulary or dictionary. Whilst I was preparing the second edition of this Lecture for the press, my attention was drawn by Mr. John Finn, to whom I have often been indebted for kind assistance, to the statement in a newly-published work, Mr. Grattan Flood's *History of Irish Music*, that the recorder is mentioned in the *Manipulus Florum*, a treatise devoted to the explanation of Bible words and texts, but I have not verified the statement. The *Manipulus Florum* was begun in 1280, and finished in 1306, more than thirty years before Chaucer was born.

Robertus Kylwarbi. As Robertus Kylwarbi was made Archbishop of Canterbury in 1272, a cardinal in 1278, and died soon afterwards, we have now got as far back as the thirteenth century. The word *cambucus* is not to be found in Du Cange ; but *cambuca* occurs, not, however, as the name of a musical instrument, but of the crozier, or bishop's pastoral staff. Possibly *cambucus* may be a scribe's error for *sambucus*, this being the name of the elder-tree, whose branches, when the pith was removed, furnished (and still furnish for boys) a ready-bored tube, for the construction of flutes. *Sambuca*, which was also used to denote the elder,¹ is given in the *Promptorium* as the Latin equivalent of another wind instrument, the 'schalmuse', or shawm,² although the name *sambuca* was more commonly applied, both in classical times and in the Middle Ages, to a stringed instrument of the harp kind ; indeed, in the *Promptorium* itself, *sambuca* stands for lute ; also, on the authority of Robertus Kylwarbi, for lay harp.

The second of the three synonyms for the flute is *ydraula*. This word appears elsewhere in the *Promptorium* as the Latin for 'organ pype', so that we here have a confirmation of correctness of the opinion that 'flue-pipe' was, at first, 'flute pipe.' The authority given for this use of the word *ydraula* is that of William Brito, who died in 1356. Thus it would seem that in the fourteenth century organ pipes were called flutes.

Calamaula, the third synonym, is also written in mediaeval Latin *Calamaulis*, *Calamellus*, and *Calamella*. It is the word which gave its name to the *chalumeau*, or shawm (old French, *chalamelle*). And here there peeps out a vestige of the almost incredible rancour with which the early Christians assailed the flute. It is true that we no longer meet with the fierce invective of Saint Epiphanius, nor the coarse insults, too gross for modern ears, of Saint Clement of Alexandria ;³ a thousand years had softened the asperity of fanaticism into the mild indictment that the flute was a gugaw. Under cover of an illustration of the use of the word *calamaula*, the wily 'ankyr' introduces a monkish '*Versus. Pastor sub caula bene*

¹ 'Sambuca in musicis species est symphoniarum. Est etiam genus ligni fragilis unde et tibiae componuntur,' Isidore, quoted by Du Cange. '*Sambuca* is the Ellerne tree brotyll, and the bowes therof ben holowe, and voyde and smothe ; and of those same bowes ben pipes made, and also some maner symphony, as Ysyder sayth,' Trevisa's translation of Bartholomaeus. (See Hawkins, chap. lx, also *supra*, p. 158, note.)

² Cerone, in a work written in Spanish, and published at Naples in 1613, includes the *Sambuca* in a list of wind instruments. (Hawkins, chap. cxxiii.)

³ See below, Lecture VI, pp. 331, 334.

cantat cum calamaula’, which he translates thus : ‘The scheperd vndyr þe folde syngythe well wythe hys gwgawe þe pype.’ On turning in the vocabulary to ‘gugaw’ in order to ascertain what meaning Brother Galfridus attached to the word, the reader is informed that gugaw is the same as flute, and, it is added, fiddle ¹ (*giga*) ! It is only fair, however, to Friar Geoffrey, to whose meekness and modesty his book testifies, to say that he assigns the responsibility of stigmatizing the flute and the *giga* as gugaws to the ‘*garulus sophista*’, as Bishop Bale calls him, Robertus Kylwarbi.

‘Flute,’ we may reasonably suppose, came over with William the Conqueror, but ‘recorder’ appears to be a word of English growth. Although it crossed the Channel, for we meet with it in Praetorius, it never took root in foreign soil. How, when, or where it originated it is impossible, in the present state of our knowledge, to say ; but I have just traced it, without going beyond well-known channels, to the fifteenth, and, by inference, to the fourteenth century. Possibly, a special search would show that it was in use at a still earlier period. On the other hand, as we look in vain for it in an Anglo-Saxon dictionary, we may assume that it did not come into existence until after the Norman Conquest. The verb, to record, was formerly in common use in the sense of to sing like a bird ;

¹ ‘GUGAW, *idem quod* FLOWTE, pype, *supra* in F ; *et giga*, KYLW.’ On this entry in the *Promptorium*, Mr. Way remarks as follows : ‘Various etymologies have been proposed of the word “gugaw”, in its ordinary sense ; “*Crepundia*, toys, or gugawes for children, as rattles, clappers, &c.”—“*Junius*,” by Higins. “*Babiole*, a trifle, whim-wham, gugaw, or small toy for a child to play withall.”—COTG. Skinner suggests Anglo-Saxon *gezaf, nugae*, or *heawgas, simulacra*, or the French word *joyau*, but *gogue* or *gogaille* seems more nearly to resemble it, and signifies, according to Roquefort, “*bagatelle, plaisanterie. Gogoyer, se réjouir*,” &c. It would seem, however, that the word is here given as synonymous with flute, and the inquiry suggests itself whether it had originally denoted some musical instrument, and thence been used in a more general signification. According to Roquefort, there was a wind instrument called *gigue*, and this statement corresponds with the observation of Ferrari, that *giga*, Ital., may be derived from *γίγας*, a kind of flute. It is singular that, according to Brockett and Jamieson, a jews’ harp is called in North Britain a gewgaw ; but in that instance, as likewise here, in the *Promptorium*, it seems probable that the word is used merely in reference to that with which idle disport may be taken, like trifles in childhood.’ I may add that, according to Engel (*History of the Violin Family*, p. 97), the Swedes at the present day call the jews’ harp *giga*, or *mungiga*. Moreover, the gittern has been termed *giga* by old writers. See Way’s note on Gyterne in the *Promptorium*. It is, therefore, far from certain that by *giga* Friar Geoffrey meant fiddle, as I have assumed.

thus a recorder is a warbler, a truly appropriate name for so sweet and flexible a pipe.¹

¹ The word was employed without restriction in speaking of singing birds. It was applied to the song of the nightingale :

to the lute
She sung, and made the night-bird mute,
That still *records* with moan.

SHAKESPEARE, *Pericles* IV. Prol. 25.

To that of the lark :

to hear the lark
Record her hymns and chant her carols blest.

FAIRFAX, *Tasso*.

To the warbling of birds in general :

Hark, hark ! Oh, sweet, sweet !
How the birds *record* too !

BEAUMONT and FLETCHER, *The Pilgrim* v. 4.

Amongst bird-fanciers, recording was confined to a technical meaning ; it denoted the first attempts of a bird to sing, a use of the term extending back as far as Palsgrave's time : ' I recorde as yonng byrdes do, *Je patelle*. This byrde *recordeth* allredy ; she will synge within a whyle : *Cest oyeselet patelle desja, elle chantera avant quil soyt longtemps*.' When used of human singing, it would seem that recording could not with propriety be applied to singing in general, but was restricted to humming, or at least to such singing as was soft and low. In *Monsieur Thomas*, one of Beaumont and Fletcher's plays, Thomas refuses to allow two of his comrades, who were to watch at night beneath a lady's window, to sing, but gives them leave to record :

Thomas. By no means ; no, boys ;
I am the man reserved for air, 'tis my part ;
And if she be not rock my voice shall reach her.
Ye may *record* a little, or ye may whistle,
As time shall minister : but for main singing,
Pray ye satisfy yourselves : away, be careful.

I am aware that a commentator has sought to explain the passage by supposing that ' ye may record a little ' means ' ye may play a little on the recorder ', but there is nothing to show that Thomas's friends were provided with recorders, or that they knew how to handle such instruments. In another passage sometimes quoted, recording is usually taken to indicate the warbling of a human songster :

The nymph did earnestly contest
Whether the birds or she *recorded* best.

BROWNE, *Britannia's Pastorals*, Book II, Song IV.

The nymph, however, was not singing, but performing on a pipe of the Pan flute, here called a quill, that is, a reed, or cane (*calamus*), partly filled with water, as the context shows :

'twas her usual sport,
Sitting where most loquacious birds resort,

DESCRIPTION OF THE RECORDER

The instrument to which the name recorder was applied belonged to the fipple flute family. It was distinguished from other members of that family by the number of its holes. At the commencement of the sixteenth century there were, ~~we are told by Virdung~~, fipple flutes with three, four, five, six, seven, eight, and sometimes, but rarely, even more than eight holes. Only such of them as were pierced with not less than eight holes—seven for the fingers and one at the back for the thumb—could with propriety be termed recorders.

Although the holes in use on the recorder did not exceed eight in number (except in the rare case of certain contra-bass recorders), in France the instrument was styled the nine-holed flute (*la flûte à neuf trous*). The misnomer arose from the following circumstance. The lowest hole of the recorder was closed with the little finger. To bring it within reach of that short digit, this hole was placed at

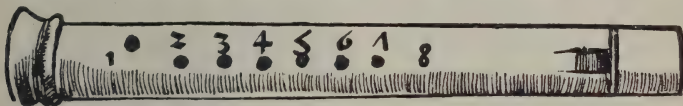


FIG. 1.—DIAGRAM OF RECORDER, REDUCED, AFTER VIRDUNG

the side of the instrument, out of line with the other holes. But there were left-handed recorder players—that is, persons who placed the left below the right hand. A left-handed player would, of course, require the hole for the little finger to be on the left side of the tube. As in the sixteenth and in the early part of the seventeenth century the recorder was in one piece only, it was not possible for a left-handed player to meet the difficulty by turning the foot, or lowest joint, of his instrument to his little finger, as did the left-handed player on the one-keyed flute. The recorder manufacturer

To imitate their warbling in a quill
 Wrought by the hand of Pan, which she did fill
 Half full with water: and with it hath made
 The nightingale (beneath a sullen shade)
 To chant her utmost lay, nay, to invent
 New notes to passe the others instrument,
 And (harmlesse soule) ere she would leave that strife
 Sung her last song and ended with her life.
 So gladly choosing (as doe other some)
 Rather to dye than live and be o'ercome.



FIG. 2.—RIGHT- AND LEFT-HANDED WAY OF PLAYING THE RECORDER,
AFTER VIRDUNG

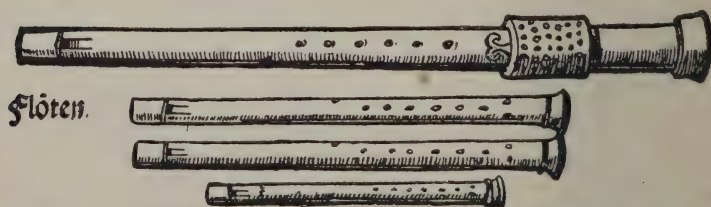


FIG. 3.—RECORDERS FOR A QUARTET, REDUCED, AFTER VIRDUNG

therefore used to make special provision for a left-handed player. This was done by boring a duplicate hole on the left side of the instrument for the little finger, then closing it with wax, a material

which could easily be removed and used to fill the corresponding hole on the other side. Thus, although eight only were required by the player, the recorder was pierced with nine holes.

Nearly four hundred years ago these particulars were not only described in words, but were represented in pictures. In Sebastian Virdung's *Musica getutscht*, printed at Basle in 1511, is an engraving (Fig. 1), portraying in a diagrammatic form a recorder with its eight holes; the duplicate perforation for the little finger being reckoned as one, whilst the hole for the thumb (Fig. 1, 8) is brought by the draughtsman from the back to the side of the instrument in order to render it visible. Another drawing (Fig. 2) explains the use of the duplicate hole. In the first of the two illustrations the instrument is in the hands of a right-, in the second, of a left-handed player.

In the days of the recorder, it must be remembered, the different families of instruments were kept apart, each family constituting a separate band; moreover, just as there was a chest for the viols made to be played together, so was a set of recorders kept in a case of its own. Here, again, we get information from Virdung. 'Generally,' he tells us, 'one makes four flutes in one case, or six; this is called a set—two discant, two tenor, and two bass.' Further, he gives a drawing of the four instruments required to form the recorder quartet (Fig. 3).

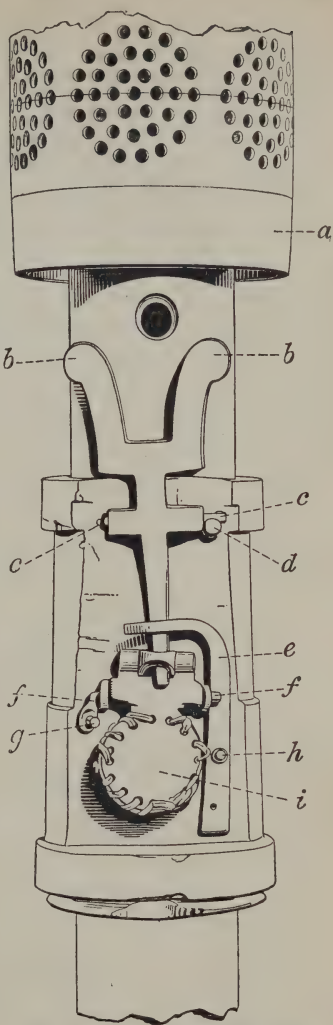


FIG. 4.—MECHANISM OF OPEN-STANDING KEY.

a. Box moved upwards to show the mechanism; b. b. cusps of key; c. axle on which the first lever works; d. pin to keep the lever in its place; e. spring to keep the key open; f. axle on which the second lever works; h. pin to fasten the spring to the wood; g. pin to fasten the axle to the wood; i. valve of key.

On account of the large size of the bass flute, it was not possible for the little finger to reach its hole on that instrument. To meet this difficulty recourse was had to an open-standing key, provision being made for both right- and left-handed players by furnishing the touch of the key with two cusps. In the drawing of the bass flute from Virdung (Fig. 3), the cusps only are visible, the other parts of the key being concealed from view by a perforated box, or fontanelle, with which it is covered. The box was necessary as a protection for the mechanism, which, without it, would have been extremely liable to injury, not only on account of its delicate construction, but more especially because the spring, which kept the key open, was particularly exposed, as it was not placed under the lever, pressing it upwards, as in the case of the C and C sharp keys in the foot of our eight-keyed flute, but passed over the lever and pressed it downwards.

It is of importance for the explanation of a key which I shall presently describe that this construction should be understood. I have, therefore, with the kind assistance of Mr. Lehfeldt, had a drawing (Fig. 4) prepared showing the mechanism of such a key as it appears in a flute in the South Kensington Museum. A glance at it will show that on pressing the little finger on either of the cusps (*b*, *b*), the first lever would turn on its axle (*c*), raise the spring (*e*), and lift the second lever, which, turning on its axle (*f*), would close the valve (*i*).

HENRY VIII AND THE RECORDER

Turning to England in 1511, the year in which Virdung's work was printed, we find the recorder at the very zenith of its popularity. The throne was filled by a flute player. Henry VIII was in the twenty-first year of his age and the third of his reign. Richly endowed with mental gifts, the handsomest prince of the time, bluff but affable, gay and jovial, prodigal of his father's treasures, devoted, like Chaucer's flute-playing squire, to jousting,¹ a martial exercise

¹ A joust, or just, was a set to, a mock combat, between two knights only; a tournament, between several at the same time. The lances employed in the contest, which was usually on horseback, were rarely sharp, the jousting lance terminating in a head called the coronal, or coronoll, fitted with from two to four blunt iron points. As the champions, when charging each other, rode parallel to a barrier, which each of them kept on his left hand, the coronal struck the combatant on the left side, on which account the armour made for jousting was strengthened on that side, more especially the helmet, the breathing apertures of which were commonly placed on the right side only.

in which his herculean strength enabled him to prove almost invariably the victor, he was his people's idol. His proficiency in music is usually ascribed to the circumstance that he was trained as an ecclesiastic, it having been only through the premature death of his brother Arthur, that he came to the throne. It should, perhaps, rather be attributed to the motive which we may imagine to have influenced the squire in Chaucer—the love of the art. Had he not been designated for the see of Canterbury he would, doubtless, have been a musician.

It is not for me to remind the Musical Association of Henry the Eighth's skill on the virginals, the lute, and the clavichord ; of his sight singing ; of his setting of songs and making of ballads ; of his 'two full masses, everie of them five parts, which were soong oftentimes in his chappell, and afterwards in diverse other places.' When musicians hear him reviled and loaded with invective, whilst the benefits we owe to his ability, to his courage, and to his resolution are studiously and ostentatiously denied him, they should call to mind that he gave offence to two classes which those who desire to stand well with posterity, if wise, would not fail to propitiate—churchmen, and members of the softer sex ; nor should they overlook the significant circumstance that he retained his popularity to the day of his death. More especially am I, as a flute player, bound to repeat the solemn admonition, let him that is without sin cast the first stone at him. Not only was practice on the recorders and flute his daily task,¹ but he was the possessor of a collection of instruments of the flute family the like of which the world has never seen. They were a hundred and fifty-four in number, seventy-six of them being recorders. No less than twenty-seven were of ivory. Some had tips of silver gilt, others of gold itself. They were provided with

The importance of this arrangement is illustrated in the tragic occurrence alluded to in p. 31, note. The coronal is there termed the cronacle.

¹ 'From thense' [that is, from Greenwich, in 1510, the second year of his reign] 'the whole court remooved to Windsor, there begining his progresse, and exercising himselfe dailie in shooting, singing, dansing, wrestling, casting of the barre, plaieing at the *recorders*, *flute*, virginals, in setting of songs, and making of ballads ; he did set two full masses, everie of them five parts, which were soong oftentimes in his chappell, and afterwards in diverse other places.' —HOLINSHED, *Chronicles*, Vol. III, p. 557. We may take it for granted that by *flute* Holinshed means transverse flute. In another passage quoted below, p. 241, he applies the term to the transverse instrument. Lord Bacon speaks of flutes and recorders, at the same time using the words in the same sense as Holinshed. See p. 112.

cases lined with purple, green, black, and crimson velvet. The woods mentioned as employed in their construction are box, walnut, oak, and ebony ; two were made of glass, and one of wood ' painted like glass ', Van Wilder, the lutenist, had them in his custody, as is shown in the Harleian MS., from which the following list, made after the accession of Edward VI, is extracted :—

Harl. MS.
1419. a.

INVENTORY OF HENRY THE EIGHTH'S WARDROBE.

folio 200. INSTRUMENTES AT WESTMINSTER IN THE
CHARGE OF PHILIPP VAN WILDER.

- f. 202.^b *Item* v Cases w^t flutes and in everie of iiii of the saide }
Cases iiii flutes and in the vth three flutes }
Item one Case furnisshed w^t xv flutes in it
Item one Case w^t tenne flutes in it the same are caulled }
pilgrim staves and the same Case furnisshed con- }
teinethe butt vj hole pipes }
Item one Case w^t vj flutes in hitt
Item v flutes of Ivorie tipped w^t golde enameled black }
w^t a Case of purple vellat garnisshed at both }
thendes w^t Silver and guilte the same Case }
furnisshed conteneth but iiii hole pipes }
Item foure flutes of Ivorie tipped w^t golde in a Case }
covered w^t grene vellat }
Item one Case w^t vj recorders of Boxe in it
Item viij Recorders¹ greate and smale in a Case couered }
w^t blacke Leather and lined w^t clothe }
- f. 203. *Item* two base Recorders of waulnuttre one of them }
tipped w^t Silver the same are britt redde woodde }
Item foure Recorders made of okin bowes
Item vj Recorders of Ivorie in a case of blacke vellat
Item one greate base Recorder of woode in a case of }
woode }
Item foure Recorders of waulnuttree in a Case couered }
w^t blacke vellat }
Item ix Recorders of woode in a Case of woode

¹ A highly interesting set of eight recorders of the sixteenth century, with the original case, is preserved in the Germanisches Museum at Nuremberg. The set consists of one sopranino, two sopranos, two altos, two tenors, and one bass. The sopranos are a fifth, and the altos an octave, below the sopranino, the tenors being an octave below the sopranos, and the bass an octave below the altos. See Mahillon's *Catalogue of Instruments in the Conservatoire of Brussels*.

- f. 205. *Item* a Case coured w^t crimeson vellat havinge locke and
all other garnishements to the same of Silver
gilte w^t viij recorders of Ivorie in the same Case
the twoo bases garnished w^t Silver and guilte
Item one case of blacke leather w^t viij recorders of boxe
Item a case of white woode w^t ix recorders of boxe in the
same
Item a case coured w^t blacke lether w^t viij recorders of
woode in it
Item A litle case coured w^t blacke lether w^t iij recorders
of Ivorie in it
Item one flute and vi piphes of blacke Ibonie tipped
withe Silver thone of the piphes lackinge a
tippinge at one ende in a bagge of redde leather
Item iij fflutes of glasse and one of woode painted like
glasse in a Case of blacke leather
Item iij fflutes of woode in a case of blacke Leather
Item iij flutes in a redde leather bagge

What induced Henry VIII to take up the recorder does not appear ; but his father, Henry VII, seems to have shown a partiality to the instrument. Henry VII is often charged with avarice, but it is only just to mention that no trace of this vice can be found in his treatment of those connected with music ; it is admitted, however, that he was the first English king after the accession of Henry III whose expenditure was not in excess of his income ; whereas, the unthinking multitude, blind to the axiom, the richer the rich, the better for the poor, expect princes to squander, regarding, not him who gathers, but him who scatters, as their benefactor. We are assured by a distinguished historian¹ that Henry VII often rewarded with generosity, that on occasions of ceremony he displayed the magnificence of a great monarch, that his charities were many and profuse, and are reminded that his chapel at Westminster still remains a monument of his opulence and taste.

The record of his privy purse expenses teems with instances of his generosity to musicians. Not only were the makers of songs and ballads, the Queen's 'fideler', and the 'Princesse stryng mynstrels' rewarded, but no matter whither he went, the local band was seldom forgotten. The shamews (shawms) of Madiston (Maidstone), the waits of Canterbury, of Dover, of Coventry, and of Northampton were amongst the recipients of his bounty. Nor were the humblest passed over ; two shillings were given 'to a woman that singeth with a fidell'. A recorder player is mentioned by

¹ Lingard.

name ; ‘ To Arnolde player at recorders, 20 shillings’. Considering that ‘ Arnold Jeffrey, organ player’, received only ten shillings ‘ for a quarter’s wages’, the gift was bestowed with no niggard hand.

Under date of February 14, 1492, Henry being then at the Tower, there is a still more remarkable entry : ‘ To the childe that playeth on the records, 20 shillings.’ We here catch sight of a youthful genius whose talent met with a truly royal recognition. Two months later, on April 16, by which time the court had removed to Richmond,¹ there occurs the following : ‘ To Gwillim for

¹ Richmond was then known as Sheen ; it was not termed Richmond until nine years afterwards, when Henry having ‘ finished much of his new building at his Mannor of Shine’ (the previously existing palace had been burnt down), ‘ it pleased him to command that it should be called his Mannor of Richmond, and not otherwise’, thus honouring it with his own title, he having been Duke of Richmond before he came to the throne. Had Richmond Court, as the palace was styled, been allowed to stand, England would be enriched with another monument of the ‘ opulence and taste’ of the monarch, ‘ all’ of whose ‘ acts’, we are asked to believe, ‘ were tinged’ with ‘ the low and grovelling passion of avarice’. The drawings which have come down to us of the exterior of the building show that it was not only highly picturesque, but most interesting from an architectural point of view, whilst a description, written two years after its completion, bears testimony to the splendour of the interior. The great hall was hung with costly arras on which were worked representations of many ‘ battals and seages’, as those of Troy and Jerusalem, and contained ‘ pictures of the noble kings of this realme in their harnes and robes of goold’, including a portrait of Henry himself, so that the whole room ‘ was most glorious and joyefull to consider and beholde’. The gem of the edifice, however, appears to have been the chapel with its hangings of cloth of gold, its gold-encrusted and bejewelled altars, and its walls painted with figures of those English kings who had been canonized for saints. When we add the attractions of the gardens, in which were pleasant ‘ gallerys and housis of pleasure to disporte in, at chesse, tables, dise, cardes, bylys, bowlyng aleys, butts for archers, and goodley tennis plays’—to say nothing of the beauties of the site, amongst other charms the silver Thames flowing in full view from the windows—it can occasion no surprise that Richmond Court was a favourite resort, not only of Henry VII, but of Henry VIII, Mary, Elizabeth, Edward VI, Prince Henry, son of James I, and of Prince Charles, afterwards Charles I, who formed there a collection of pictures, the dispersion of which is said to have thrown back the national taste for generations. From the particulars of the valuation made by order of the Long Parliament, by whom the materials of the beautiful mansion were sold for £10,000, we learn that, when the survey was made, the great hall was ornamented with eleven statues, and the chapel fitted with handsome cathedral seats, and a fair case of carved wood for a pair of organs. Even the commissioners appointed to make the valuation unconsciously plead for the fair pile, as Lord Bacon calls it. In addition to other commendations, they speak of its ‘ fourteen turrets which very much

flutes with a case, 70 shillings.' For what purpose could these instruments have been intended? They were not for the use of the future Henry VIII, for he was only ten months old. Is it possible that the Solomon of England aspired to govern the ventiges? The flutes were not a common set, if we may judge from a comparison of the price paid for them (£3 10s.) with that given for a pair of clavychords (10s.), or that at which three lutes were brought (13s. 4d. each), one of them, purchased in 1501, being for my Lady Margaret, another, in 1505, for my Lady Mary, Henry's two daughters.

Henry VIII played on both the recorder and the flute. In his time the flute—that is, the transverse or lip flute—was a keyless cylindrical tube pierced with a mouth-hole and six finger-holes, such as is represented in Fig. 5. The instrument here depicted may well have been made in his reign, for it bears the name of Rafi, a maker who is said to have flourished in France at the beginning of the sixteenth century. It was in the Loan Collection of Musical Instruments shown in 1885 at the Albert Hall, where I had the drawing taken. At that time it belonged to Count Correr; it is now in the Museum of the Conservatoire of Brussels. A similar instru-

adorn and set forth the fabric of the whole structure, and are a very graceful ornament unto the whole house, being perspicuous to the country round about'. A solitary gateway which led from the palace to the green, still surmounted by the arms of Henry VII, is the sole surviving relic of the glories of Richmond Court. When the flutes were purchased (April 18, 1492) Sheen was on the eve of a grand fête, given, it is believed, in celebration of the capture of Grenada from the Moors. So prolonged were the festivities that the 'great and valiant justing', sometimes within the precincts of the palace, sometimes without upon the Green, was kept up for a whole month. It was on this occasion that in a tilt between Sir James Parker and Hugh Vaughan, the former was killed in the way so quaintly described by Stow: 'The cause of his death was thought to belong of a false helmet which by force of the Cronacle' [see p. 27, note] 'fayled, and so he was stricken into the mouth, that his tongue was borne unto the hinder part of the head, and so hee died incontinently.'



FIG. 5.—KEY-
LESS CYLIN-
DRICAL FLUTE.



FIRST FLUTE.



THIRD FLUTE.



SECOND FLUTE.



FOURTH FLUTE.

FIG. 6.—ANGELS PLAYING A FLUTE QUARTET. From a Manuscript Service Book in the Library of the Abbey of St. Gall (1562). The original is charmingly coloured.

ment is figured by Virdung (1511), by whom it is termed the *Zwerchpfeiff*. A little later (1529) we have in Agricola the drawing of a quartet of such flutes (Fig. 70, p. 232), whilst beautiful pictures in which they appear may be seen in a manu-

script service book (1562) belonging to the Abbey of St. Gall, amongst them there being a representation of a quartet party of angels, two masculine and two feminine (judging from the way their hair is dressed) in full blast (Fig. 6). An Air de Cour for such a combination from Mersenne's *Harmonie Universelle* is given in facsimile in Fig. 7, and in modern notation, for which I am indebted to Dr. Turpin, in Fig. 8. The number of lip flutes, however, played together was not confined to four; it varied like that of recorders. M. Mahillon mentions that in the early part of the seventeenth century a concert of transverse flutes was composed of two sopranos four altos or tenors, and two basses.

As regards the instruments termed flutes in the inventory of the wardrobe of Henry VIII, it is of course impossible to say with absolute certainty which of them were lip and which fipple flutes; we know, however, that in Lord Bacon's time flute was used to denote the lip flute in contradistinction to the recorder. It seems reasonable to suppose that the flute with the six fifes¹ in the bag

¹ In some household expenses of Henry VIII, quoted by Collier in his *Annals of the Stage*, a fifer is mentioned by name:

4 Drumslades, each	31s.
Jaques, a phipher	31s.

We hear of the king's fifer in the expenses of the Princess (afterwards Queen) Elizabeth for the year 1553—the last year of the reign of Edward VI—but whether or not Mr. Jaques was the player alluded to does not appear, we only have:—‘Paid to the King's Majesty's dromer and phiphe 20s.’ In the first year of Queen Mary the names of flute-players are given: ‘Players on the fluyt, Oliver Rampons, fee £18 5s. 0d., Pier Guye, fee £30 8s. 4d.’ In the fourth year of Elizabeth (1561) the charge for ‘fluytes’ was £213 6s. 8d. There is a more detailed entry in the accounts for 1571:—‘Itm to the Fluytes, being vj in nombre, viz. Guyllam Duvet at 14d. per diem. Pyro Guye at 2s. 8d. per diem. Thomas Pagynton at 12d. per diem. Allen Robson at 12d. per diem. James Furyarte at 20d. per diem, and Nicholas Lanyer at 20d. per diem for his wages—for his bowrde wages 7l. 11s. 8d. and for his liveryes yerely 13l. 6s. 8d. In all per Ann. 188l. 4s. 2d.’ Ten years later (1581) the charge was higher; there was paid ‘To Flutes including Nich. Lanere and P. Guy £236 0s. 4d.’

There is nothing to indicate whether the flute-players here named played on lip or fipple flutes; possibly, however, like Henry VIII, they played on both kinds. In the accounts of Charles I, however, the distinction is made, he having in his pay, exclusive of fifers, six flute and six recorder players, as under:—

Musicians for the Flutes.

James Harding,	Andrea Lanier,
Peter Guy,	Nich. Guy,
Innocent Lanier,	Will. Noak.

Musicians for Recorders.

Jerome Bassano,	Jno. Hussey,
Rob. Baker,	Antonio Bassano,
Clement Lanier,	Rob. Baker, jun.

Air de Cour pour les Flûtes d'Allemand.

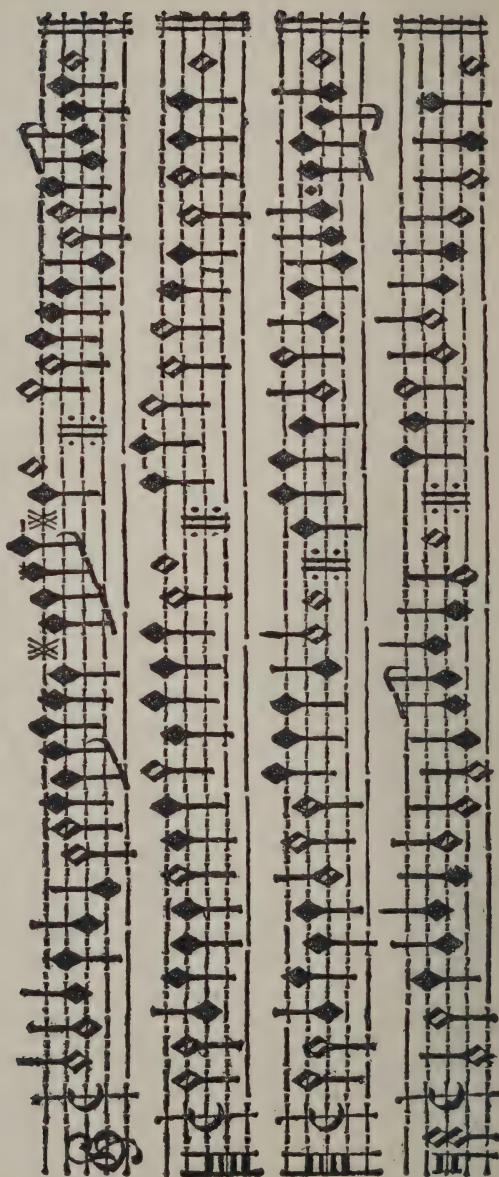


FIG. 7

Air de Cour pour les Flûtes d'Allemand. (In Modern Notation.)

The image displays a musical score for a piece titled "Air de Cour pour les Flûtes d'Allemand." The score is written in modern notation and consists of four staves, each labeled with a number (1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th) indicating different parts or variations. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals, arranged in a structured manner typical of musical notation. The staves are arranged vertically, with the 1st staff at the top and the 4th staff at the bottom. The notation is clear and legible, showing the progression of the music across the staves.

FIG. 8

of red leather, as well as the four flutes by themselves in a red leather bag, the three flutes in a case of black leather, and the three flutes of glass and one of wood painted like glass were lip flutes. In the absence of evidence we may surmise that the first two items—the five cases, four of which contained four flutes each, the fifth three flutes, and the case with fifteen flutes in it—refer to lip flutes. Here we have nothing but conjecture to guide us in forming an opinion, but we can say that the pilgrims' staves with their six holes were in all likelihood lip flutes; on the other hand, the five flutes of ivory tipped with gold, and pierced with only four holes, were perhaps ruspfeifs (Fig. 10), or little flutelets (Fig. 15).

Mr. William Chappell considers that the 'Pilgrim staves' were probably six feet long. I am not aware that this idea rests on any other foundation than the circumstance that the staff which forms one of the badges of a pilgrim is usually represented as being of great length. To me, I confess, it would not seem unlikely that the flutes 'caulled pilgrim staves' corresponded to the instruments which we term walking-stick flutes, and the French cane flutes (*canne-flûtes*)—that is, flutes constructed in the form of walking-sticks. Such instruments used to be not uncommon. In one museum alone—that of the Conservatoire of Paris—there are no less than seven of them: a *canne-flûte*, a *canne-flageolet*, a *canne-flûte à bec*, a *canne-clarinette*, a *canne-cors d'harmonie*, a *canne-trompette*, and also a *canne-pochette*, that is, a kit, or dancing-master's fiddle. Clinton, the flute-player, had a flute-case made in the form of a closed umbrella. As the pilgrim staves belonging to Henry VIII are described as six-holed pipes, they were probably lip, or transverse flutes. Henry VIII possessed a case of shawms 'caulled pilgrim staves'.

The notion has got abroad that the staves used by pilgrims were bored so as to form flutes. I have taken the trouble to trace the myth to its source, and find that it originated, like the story of the three black crows, in a series of misconceptions and exaggerations, as follows:

Mersenne gives a description and drawing of an instrument named the *courtault*. He explains that it is nothing but a bassoon, or fagotto, shortened, adding that it is made of a single cylindrical piece of wood, and resembles a thick stick (*un gros bâton*), whence it comes to pass, he continues, that some persons make of these instruments great walking Staves (*grands Bourdons*) like those of the pilgrims of St. James. In figuring the instrument, Mersenne says that it will suffice to represent it without superfluity, meaning,

no doubt, without the additions superimposed to make it resemble a pilgrim's staff, such as the knob or ball, called the apple, with which the pilgrim's staff was ornamented at its upper end. His words are : ' Il est fait d'un seul morceau de bois cylindrique, et ressemble à un gros baston ; de la vient que quelques-uns en font de grands Bourdons semblables à ceux des Pelerins de saint Jacques. Mais il suffit de le représenter sans superfluité par la figure B.E.'

The first contribution to the legend was made by Sir John Hawkins, who in his *History of Music* (second edition, p. 611) gives the following account of Mersenne's statement : ' Mersennus adds that there are some persons, who, by excavating a stick or walking-staff, have wrought it into an instrument of this latter kind ' (a *courtant*) ' thereby making of it a kind of Bourdon, like those used by the pilgrims to the body of St. James at Compostella, for the purpose of recreating themselves on a walk.' Next comes Mr. Fosbrooke, by whom (*British Monachism*, p. 469) what Sir John wrote is converted into the following : ' Sir John Hawkins says that the pilgrims to St. James of Compostella, excavated a staff, or walking-stick, into a musical instrument for recreation on their journey.' Finally, Southey, when composing his ' Pilgrim to Compostella ', consulted Mr. Fosbrooke's work (see his note on the lines I am about to quote), and then wrote in the introduction to the poem :

Something there is, the which to leave
Untold would not be well,
Relating to the Pilgrim's staff

.
And the staff was bored and drilled for those
Who on a flute could play,
And thus the merry Pilgrim had
His music on the way.

Thus, in passing through the hands of three writers, Mersenne's allusion to the circumstance that a certain kind of bassoon was sometimes so constructed as to resemble the staff of a pilgrim of St. James was converted into the statement that a pilgrim of St. James was furnished with a staff so drilled and bored that it could be used as a flute. That pilgrims were in the habit of singing both for the purpose of obtaining alms and for recreation when travelling in companies, there seems no doubt. Moreover, in a passage quoted by Mr. Fosbrooke (*British Monachism*, p. 471), they are represented as sometimes playing on wind instruments ; not, however, on their staves, but on bagpipes which they carry in their bosoms. The

passage is taken from a dialogue between, as Mr. Fosbrooke thinks, 'a captious disciple of the *great Heresiarch* (as Wickliff was styled) and Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the reign of Henry IV.' The captious gentleman, addressing the archbishop, assails pilgrims as follows : 'Also, sir, he says I knowe well, that whan diverse men and women will go thus after their own willes, and findyng out one

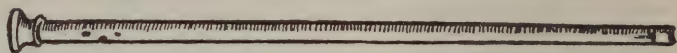


FIG. 9.—SCHWEGEL, REDUCED, AFTER VIRDUNG



FIG. 10.—RUSPFEIF, AFTER VIRDUNG

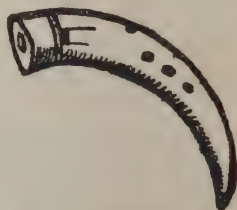


FIG. 11.—GEMSEN HORN, AFTER VIRDUNG



FIG. 12. RUSPFEIF, AFTER AGRICOLA



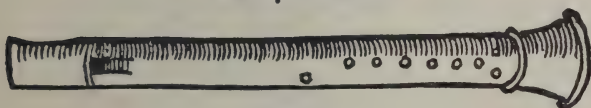
FIG. 13.—GEMSEN HORN, AFTER AGRICOLA

pilgrimage, they will orden with them before to have with them, both men and women, that can well synge wanton songes ; and some other pilgremis will have with them bagge pipes, so that every towne they come throwe, what with the noyse of their singyng and with the sound of their pipyng and with the jangling of their Canterbury bellis, and with barking out of doggis after them, that they make more noise than if the kinge came there awaye with all his clarions, and many other menstrelles. . . . The archbishop in his reply admits the use of bagpipes : 'That Pilgremys have with them

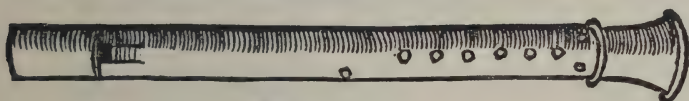
syngers, and also pipers, that whan one of them that goeth barefoote striketh his too upon a stone and hurteth him sore, and maketh him to blede, it is well done, that he or his fellow begyn than a songe, or else take out of his bosome a bagge-pipe, for to drive away with soche myrthe the hurte of his fellow.'

To return to Virdung. In addition to the four recorders, Virdung gives a representation of the three-holed flute, better known in England as the tabourer's pipe, which he terms the Schwegel (Fig. 9),

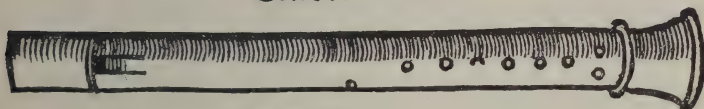
**Vier Floten.
Discantus.**



Altus



Tenor.



Bassus.

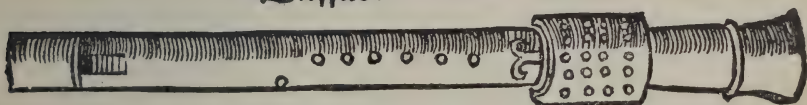


FIG. 14.—RECORDERS FOR A QUARTET, AFTER AGRICOLA

and of two other small instruments which we can identify as belonging to the fipple-flute family, the mouth being in each case distinctly indicated. They are both furnished with four holes and are named respectively the Ruspfeif, or Black pipe (Fig. 10), and the Gensen, or Chamois, horn (Fig. 11). The latter seems, like the ocarina, to have no opening at its lower end.

THE RECORDER IN AGRICOLA, PRAETORIUS, AND MERSENNE

After an interval of seventeen or eighteen years, Virdung's work was followed by the *Musica Instrumentalis* of Martin Agricola. In the first edition of this book (1528), the instruments for the recorder

quartet, the discant, the alto, the tenor, and the bass flute, as well as the Ruspfeif and the Gemen horn, are shown in engravings, differing but little from those of Virdung (Figs. 12, 13, and 14); but from a later edition, bearing the date of 1545, the Ruspfeif and the Gemen horn have disappeared, their place being taken by another four-holed flute more highly finished, the Klein Flötlein, or (if I may be permitted to coin a word), Little Flutelet (Fig. 15).

The Germans, it seems, had no special appellation to distinguish the recorder from other fipple flutes; but in France the instrument was called, as I have already said, the nine-holed flute. The name had been given to it before 1530, for we find it in Palsgrave's *Lesclarcissement de la langue Francoyse*, which bears that date. In the English-French vocabulary contained in the work is the following entry: 'Recorder a pype fleute a ix neufte trous.' We can place reliance on Palsgrave. He was not, like the compiler of the *Promptorium*, a recluse, bred in the country, and only able to express himself in the vernacular he had learnt in his childhood, but a highly

Klein Flötlein mit vier löchern.

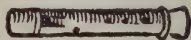


FIG. 15.—THE LITTLE FLUTELET

educated man, born in London, who had seen much of the world. He was a B.A. of Cambridge and an M.A. of Paris, having studied at both Universities; in addition, he had become incorporated at Oxford, where he took the degree of B.D. Not only did he hold several benefices, including that of St. Dunstan's in the East, to which he was collated by Cranmer, but he was chaplain to Henry VIII. Moreover, he had been appointed instructor in French, or 'scholmaster', to the Lady Mary, Henry's younger sister (whom I have just mentioned, incidentally, in connexion with a lute), previously to her marriage with Louis XII, and had accompanied her to France on the occasion in 1514. As he was thus about both the English and French Court, he had exceptional opportunities of making himself acquainted with the recorder and its representative in Paris, *la flûte à neuf trous*.

The last work I have mentioned in which the recorder was figured was the 1545 edition of Agricola's *Musica Instrumentalis*. If we pass over a period of seventy-five years we come to the *Theatrum Instrumentorum* or *Sciagraphia* of Michael Praetorius (Wolfenbüttel, 1620). In Plate IX of this invaluable record of musical instruments

in use early in the seventeenth century, Praetorius gives a representation, drawn to scale, of the instruments required for a fipple

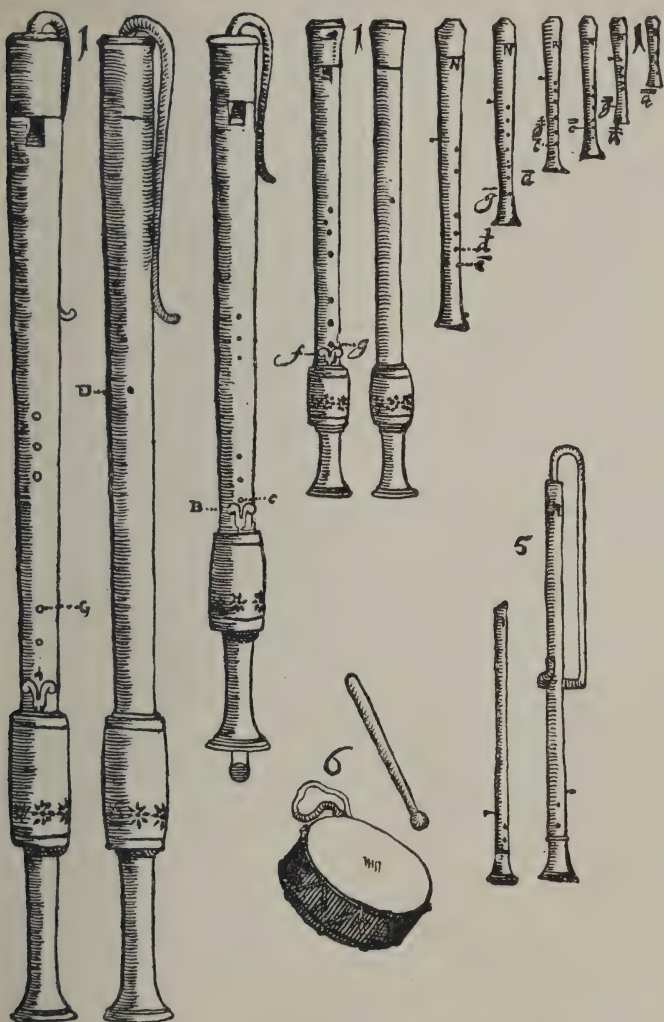


FIG. 16.—1. FIPPLE FLUTES, COMPLETE COMPASS; 5, 6. PIPES AND TABOUR.
FROM PLATE IX OF PRAETORIUS

flute band of complete compass (Fig. 16, 1), from the little flutelet to the contrabass or great bass recorder. One member of the fipple flute family—a comparatively recent invention of French origin,

the flageolet—we miss ; but the tabourer's pipe, here called the Stamentien Pfeiff, which Praetorius connects with England, reappears. Even this little instrument had a concert of its own, the family being three in number—the discant, the tenor, and the bass. Two of them, the discant and the bass, as well as the tabour and its stick, with which the performer accompanied himself, are shown in the engraving (Fig. 16, 5, 6).

A detailed account of these instruments does not come within either the limits or the scope of this Lecture ; but they have been described by M. Victor Mahillon, who, in his *Catalogue du Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire de Musique de Bruxelles* (Vol. I, second edition, p. 239), gives the key, compass, and length of each. Praetorius enumerates them as follows :—

- ' 1. The Little Flutelet, a Quinta-decima,¹ that is, two octaves higher than the Cornet.
- ' 2. The Discant Flute, a fourth lower.
- ' 3. The Discant Flute, a fifth lower than the first kind.
- ' 4. The Alto Flute, an octave lower than the first kind.
- ' 5. The Tenor Flute, a fifth lower than the fourth kind.
- ' 6. The Basset Flute, a fifth lower still.
- ' 7. The Bass Flute, a fifth lower than the sixth kind.
- ' 8. The Great Bass Flute, an octave lower than the sixth kind.'

It will be observed that although only eight flutes are mentioned, eleven figures appear in the plate. In two cases, those of the Basset and the Contrabass Flute, it is obvious that two representations of each instrument are given—one of the front, the other of the back. Two peculiarities of construction, not hitherto depicted, will be noticed—the tube with which the bass and the contrabass are furnished to take the breath from the performer's mouth up to the fipple (shown in use in Fig. 32, p. 71), and the foot, which projects from the lower end of the bass, for resting the instrument on the ground.

Praetorius states that a set of fipple flutes, complete in compass, could be purchased at Venice (in the seventeenth century the Italians were the most celebrated makers of wood-wind instruments) for about eighty thalers, and informs us that a full flute band would consist of twenty-one instruments, as follows : two of Nos. 1, 2, and 3 ; four of Nos. 4, 5, and 6 ; two of No. 7 ; and one of No. 8.²

¹ In the orchestra of Monteverde's *Orfeo* there was an instrument designated 'Un Flautino alla vigesima seconda'. (See Hawkins, Book XII, chap. cviii.)

² *Syntagma*, Tom. II, p. 13 bis.

To those who share the opinion of Cherubini, that nothing but two flutes could be worse than one, the idea of one-and-twenty flute-players all in a row would be indeed appalling ; however, I have met with evidence of the existence of a still larger fipple flute band, a band numbering thirty or forty performers. It is to be found in one of the two works published by Burney, giving a description of the tours he made on the Continent in order to collect materials for his *History of Music*.¹ It is true that Burney had no knowledge of the instruments he was describing, but his account of them is so precise as to leave no doubt but that they were intended to be played together ; indeed, notwithstanding their great number, size, and weight, there was a case so designed as to take the whole of them, a proof that they formed but one set. Referring to his visit to Antwerp, Burney writes :

‘ After this I went to a very large building on a quay, at the side branch of the Scheld, which is called the Oosters Huys, or Easterling’s House ; it was formerly used as a warehouse by the merchants trading to Lübec, Hamburg, and the Hanseatic towns ; it is a very handsome structure, and has served, in time of war, as a barrack for two thousand men. I should not have mentioned my visiting this building, if I had not found in it a large quantity of musical instruments of a peculiar construction. There are between thirty and forty of the common flute kind, but differing in some particulars ; having, as they increase in length, keys and crooks, like hautboys and bassoons ;² they were made at Hamburg, and they are all of one sort of wood, and by one maker. CASPER RAVCHS SCRATENBACH was engraved on a brass ring or plate, which encircled most of these instruments ; the large ones have brass plates pierced, and some with human figures well engraved on them. These last are larger than a bassoon would be, if unfolded.³ The inhabitants say that it is more than a hundred years since these instruments were used, and that there is no musician at present in the town who knows how

¹ *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces*, 1773, Vol. I, p. 41. The instruments are also alluded to by Fétis (*History of Music*, Vol. V, p. 133). One of them is preserved in the Museum of the Conservatoire of Brussels (No. 188).

² The keys, like those of hautboys, were the keys of the bass recorders already described (p. 25). They resembled the keys of hautboys in their position, function, and in having cusps for right or left-handed players (see the drawing of a hautboy on the title-page of *The Compleat Flute Master* (*infra*, p. 76). The tubes which reminded Burney of the crooks of bassoons were the pipes for the conveyance of the wind from the performer’s mouth to the top of the flute. Burney’s remarks show conclusively that the bass fipple flute was an instrument unknown to him.

³ These were Contrabass, or Great Bass Flutes.



FIG. 17.—CONTRABASS FLUTE WITH PEDALS, REDUCED IN SIZE, AFTER MERSENNE

d. Tube to carry up the wind; Z. box to cover keys. The circle opposite d represents the thumb-hole at the back.

to play on any one of them, as they are quite different from those now in common use. In times when commerce flourished in this city, these instruments used to be played on every day by a band of musicians, who attended the merchants trading to the Hans towns, in procession to the Exchange. They now hang on pegs in a closet, or rather press, with folding doors, made on purpose for their reception; though in the great hall there still lies on the floor by them a large single case, made of a heavy and solid dark kind of wood, so contrived, as to be capable of receiving them all; but which, when filled with these instruments, requires eight men to lift it from the ground. It was of so uncommon a shape that I was unable to divine its use, 'till I was told it.'

Let us turn to France. Mersenne's great work, the *Harmonie Universelle*, is dated 1636, sixteen years after the *Theatrum Instrumentorum* of Praetorius; but the manuscript is believed to have been finished at least seven years before the work was printed. From Mersenne we learn that in his time the recorder was known in France by three appellations—the flute of England (*la fluste d'Angleterre*), the nine-holed flute (*la fluste à neuf trous*), a name which was in use, as we have seen, a century earlier, and the sweet flute (*la fluste douce*), the last being the designation most frequently used by that author.

Recorders are divided by Mersenne into two sets—a great and a little set; but as the great begins where the little set leaves off,

the complete compass still comprises eight instruments. Here I will again refer you to M. Victor Mahillon, who, in the work just cited, enters into the particulars of the two sets, confining myself to one recorder only, respecting which, as it is of exceptional interest, I will ask you to allow me to trespass on your time by saying a few words.

The instrument in question (Fig. 17) was the contrabass of a great set which Mersenne informs his readers was sent from England to one of the kings of France. Mersenne gives no further information on this point, but conjecture would, of course, point to Henry VIII, as the sender, and to Louis XII, who married that monarch's sister, the Princess Mary, as the recipient. It was pierced with eleven instead of eight holes, so that three notes could be produced below what would otherwise be its downward limit. One of the three extra holes was closed by adding a second to the ordinary key of the bass flute, already described,¹ the two others by the strange expedient of pedals or levers acted on by the feet.² As the performer sat behind the flute (see Fig. 32, p. 71), the pedals were probably either at the sides or at the back of the instrument, not, as represented in the drawing, in front. The size or shape of the holes they closed seems to have excited the astonishment of Mersenne. They were, he declares, like windows.

Mersenne gives a special drawing of the mechanism of the keys of this flute, his object being, he tells us, to enable his countrymen 'to make others like them'. His representation of the mechanism of the two keys closed with the little finger is usually looked upon as a great puzzle, so much so that it is sometimes thought that they were in an injured state when the drawing was made. The difficulty in understanding their action arises partly from the circumstance that Mersenne has made a slip in his description, representing them as kept closed by their springs, whereas they were undoubtedly kept open, partly because an acquaintance with the mechanism of ancient openstanding keys is necessary to render their construction

¹ *Supra*, p. 25.

² In the National Museum at Munich there is a bass recorder with four keys, but neither of them is played with the feet, two being acted on by the little finger, and two by the thumb, of the same hand. A contrabass with four keys, preserved in the Musée du Steen, Antwerp, measures 8 ft. 8 in. (2 m. 62 c.)


Its lowest note is . See Mahillon's *Catalogue du Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire de Bruxelles*, Vol. II, pp. 295, 297.



FIG. 18.—MECHANISM OF KEYS OF CONTRABASS FLUTE, AFTER MERSENNE

P. Box shifted upwards to show mechanism; Q. cusps of keys played with the little finger; R. ends of springs; S. T. valves of keys; V. X. pedal keys.

intelligible. On comparing them with the drawing of the key of the flute in the South Kensington Museum (Fig. 4, p. 25) it will be seen that they are constructed on the same principle, the two curved, wire-like pieces (R) crossing the levers at right angles, their free ends suggesting the idea that they are broken fragments, being the springs by which the keys are kept open.

A chapter is devoted by Mersenne to the Tabourer's pipe. He calls it the three-holed flute (*la fluste à trois trous*), the term *galoubet*, by which it is now usually designated in France, seemingly not being in use in his time. He discusses the surprising extent of its compass, mentions the extremely high notes he had heard elicited from it by an Englishman, John Price by name, and suggests that three-holed flutes should be constructed in sets, unaware, apparently, that the idea had been carried out in Germany.

There is given in the *Harmonie Universelle* a composition written for four recorders; it forms one of three examples of concerted flute music to be found in that work, the two others being for German flutes and flageolets respectively. These examples seem to have been specially composed for Mersenne's book, as illustrations of the method of writing for the several combinations named. Mersenne assures his readers that the composer, le Sieur Henry le Jeune, was

well acquainted with the staff (*portée*), and the compass of such instruments; but as he adds that those who may desire other examples should consult the 'Masters of the Art', we may conjecture that Mr. Henry, the younger, was not a professional flute-player. I have reproduced in *facsimile* the three quartets as short but curious specimens of early seventeenth-century instrumental music; I give them in modern dress also, Dr. Turpin having been so good as to put them into our score.¹ Dr. Turpin calls attention to a point in the harmony of the composition for recorders (Fig. 19), consecutive fifths between parts one and three in bars six and seven.

THE FLAGEOLET

Before passing on, I will say a few words on another member of the fipple flute family, the flageolet, chiefly in order to draw attention to a misapplication of the name; a misapplication which has become almost universal. The term flageolet is now constantly applied to any fipple flute, especially if it be of small size. For instance, in a work by an able writer already referred to, a recorder is said to be 'nothing else but a big flageolet'; again, about a hundred years ago an instrument maker named Bainbridge styled a nondescript double fipple flute which he brought out, a double flageolet; in fact, as far back as the seventies of the eighteenth century, the author of a book on musical subjects uses 'common flute' and 'flageolet' (meaning by common flute the *flûte à bec*) as synonymous² terms. The difference, however, between a flute and a flageolet is unmistakable. It has nothing to do with the size of the instrument, but lies in the number and position of the finger-holes. The holes of the flageolet are six in number; but six holes alone are not sufficient to constitute a flageolet, two of the six must be at the back of the tube, where they are closed with the thumbs of the player. Yet how often do we hear the tin whistle (Fig. 22) called a flageolet; indeed in Grove's Dictionary this instrument is cited as an example of the flageolet in its simplest form. But all six of its holes are in front; it is therefore not a flageolet; its proper name is the six-holed flute. Of this there cannot be the slightest doubt. Mersenne, in describing the flageolet, gives both a drawing (Fig. 23) and a table of fingering of the instrument, but

¹ The composition for four German flutes is reproduced in Figs. 7, 8; that for flageolets in Figs. 19, 20.

² See below, p. 150.

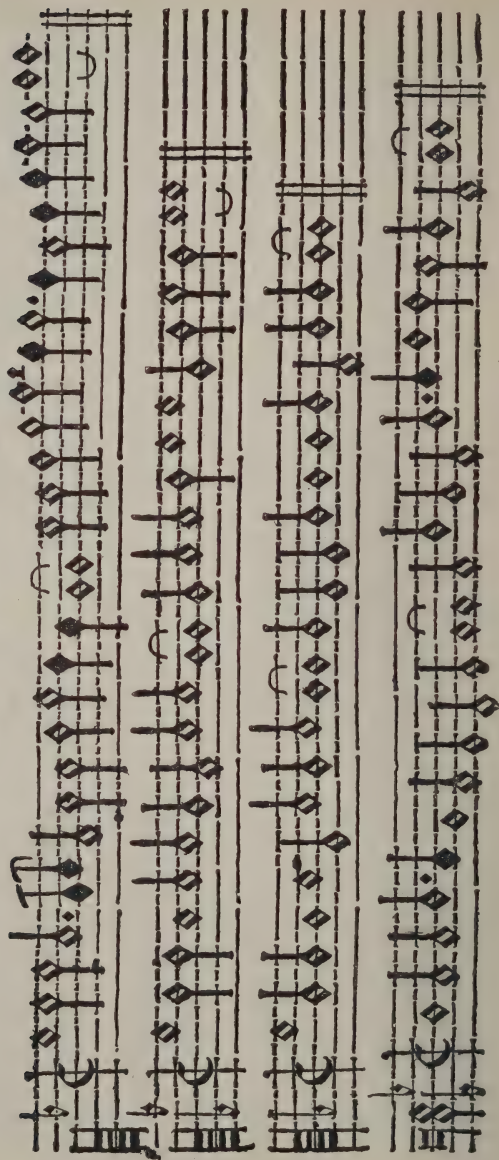
Gaude pour les Flûtes douces.

Fig. 19

Gavotte pour les Flûtes douces. (In Modern Score.)

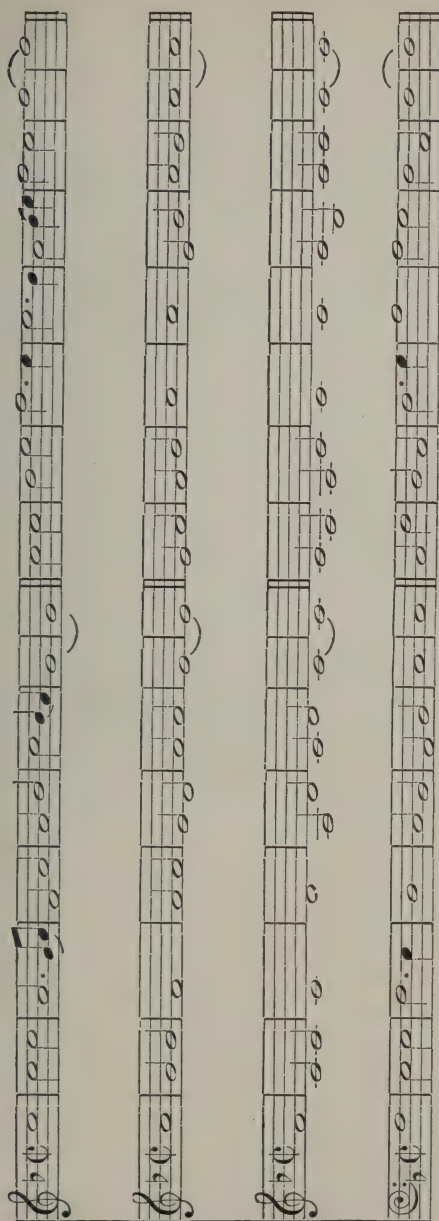


FIG. 20

when he comes to the six-holed flute (*la flûte à six trous*) he gives the fingering only, explaining that the figure is unnecessary inasmuch as the six-holed flute only differs from the flageolet in having its six holes in front, whereas in the flageolet four are in front and two at the back.

The origin of the flageolet is not, like that of the recorder, involved in obscurity ; we know the approximate date of its invention, and even the name of the inventor. It was invented by the Sieur



FIG. 21.—FRONTISPIECE OF GREETING'S *Pleasant Companion*

It shows how to support the flageolet with the little finger of the right hand.

Juvigny who is recorded to have played it in the Balet 'avec une grande musique', given at the Louvre in 1581, by Louise de Lorraine on the occasion of the marriage of her sister with the Duc de Joyeuse. It is said to have sprung out of an instrument called the flageol, or larigot.¹ A flageol, or larigot, described and figured by M. Victor Mahillon is a fipple flute made of the thigh-bone of a sheep pierced with six holes, two of them being at the back.

¹ *Catalogue du Musée du Conservatoire Royal de Bruxelles*, Vol. II, p. 300. The larigot, or more correctly the arigot, or harigot, appears to have been a shepherd's and cowherd's instrument. It is chiefly known in connexion with the saying, *boire à tire-larigot*, meaning to drink to excess. *Flûter*, to flute, is also used to denote drinking freely ; see below, p. 186. Opinions on the origin of the word flageol are given on p. 186. In a passage quoted in a note on p. 186 mention is made of a silver flageol.

The date of the specimen is 1608, so that, unfortunately, it was made after the invention of the flageolet. The flageolet seems



FIG. 22.—MODERN SIX-HOLED
FLUTE, MISCALLED
A FLAGEOLET

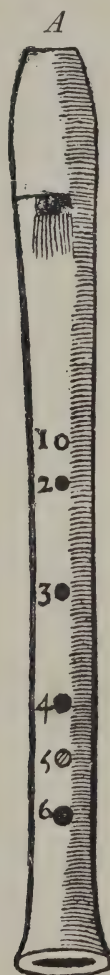


FIG. 23.—FLAGEOLET, AFTER MERSENNE
The ciphers numbered 1 and 5 denote the position
of the holes at the back of the instrument.

to have been some time in making its way into Germany, for it is not noticed by Praetorius, writing nearly forty years after it had been played at the Louvre. Like most other instruments, the

flageolet had a concert of its own. A set of flageolets of different lengths, four in number, is to be seen in the Museum of the Conservatoire of Paris, and a vaudeville for such a combination is given by Mersenne (Fig. 25). Dr. Turpin who has kindly reproduced it in a modern form (Fig. 26) points out an early use of the $6/4$



FIG. 24.—FLAGEOL AFTER MAHILLON

Vaudeville pour les Flageolets.



FIG. 25

chord in the first chord of the last bar but one, and adds 'the accidentals I give are right, as at the time of these pieces the \natural was either not invented, or only just beginning to be used, the \sharp being still employed instead. Some flats I have marked b ? I think should be inserted'.

The flageolet is not yet quite extinct; it still sometimes finds a place in quadrille bands, to which it is a more refined adjunct than the comparatively coarse and noisy cornet which has taken

Vaudeville pour les Flagecollets. (In Modern Notation.)

The musical score is arranged in four systems, each containing four staves. The first system is numbered 1 through 4 on the left. The notation includes treble and bass clefs, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature (C). The music features various note values, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. The second system begins with a repeat sign (double bar line with two dots) and includes a B-flat with a question mark (B^b?) in the first staff. The third system also begins with a repeat sign and includes a B-flat with a question mark (B^b?) in the first staff. The fourth system concludes with repeat signs at the end of each staff.

FIG. 26

its place. A modern flageolet is represented in Fig. 27. It will be observed that it differs from the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century flageolets depicted in Figs. 23 and 29, in being furnished with holes closed with keys, in addition to the six open holes acted on by the fingers and thumbs, and that the beak of the earlier instruments has given place to a head-joint longer and larger than all the rest of the flageolet. The object of the enlargement is to admit of the formation of a chamber for the reception of a sponge to suck up the moisture of the breath. The chamber seems to have first made its appearance in the bird flageolet.



FIG. 27.—MODERN FLAGEOLET

Possibly it will be asked what is a bird flageolet, and in what does it differ from an ordinary flageolet. A bird flageolet differs from an ordinary flageolet in being more slender in shape and more chaste in tone. The distinction is made perfectly clear in Diderot and d'Alembert's *Encyclopaedia*. 'There are two sorts of flageolet,' says the writer, 'one called the bird flageolet (*le flageolet d'oiseau*), the other the great flageolet (*le flageolet gros*). The bird flageolet (Fig. 28) is the smaller; it is composed of two portions which take apart; one, the flageolet proper, composed of the mouth and the canal pierced with holes, the other, the wind-passage, formed of a small tube and a pretty large cavity in which is enclosed a little sponge which allows the air to pass but retains the moisture of the breath . . . The great flageolet (Fig. 29) only differs from the preceding in not having an air-passage, and in being beaked and all in one piece . . . Both the flageolets have the same fingering, and all that we are about to say is common to both,

except that the sounds of the bird flageolet are lighter, more delicate, have less body, and are listened to with greater pleasure: it is called the bird flageolet because it was used for whistling canaries, linnets, and other birds before the bird-organ (*la serinette*) was employed, which is less perfect but saves much trouble.'

In the Library of the British Museum there is a small volume on the bird flageolet. It is entitled 'The Bird Fancier's Delight, or Choice Observations and Directions Concerning the Teaching of all sorts of Singing [Birds] after the Flagelet and Flute¹ when rightly made as to Size and Tone . . . London Printed for I. Walsh at the Ha[rp and Hoboy in Catharine Street] in the Strand and I. Hare at the Viol and Flute in [Freeman's Yard in Cornhill² near] the Royal Exchange.' On the title-page is a representation of a bird flageolet (Fig. 30) and two canaries. The preface is of interest on account of its bearing on a point in the history of the flute. There is evidence that at a certain period of the seventeenth century the fipple flute had almost fallen into disuse, at least as far as amateurs were concerned. An explanation is offered in this preface of the disfavour in which it was held, it being attributed to the



FIG. 28.—BIRD FLAGEOLET



FIG. 29.—GREAT FLAGEOLET

adoption for the instrument of the dot system of notation. As a player taught on the dot system was unable to read music written or printed in the ordinary way, it is not unlikely that the reason given was well founded.³ It will be understood, of course, that

¹ The flageolet was not the only instrument with which singing birds were taught. Small and delicate pipes, often of ivory, which are in existence, some pierced as recorders, others as six-holed flutes, are believed to be intended for bird whistles.

² The words enclosed in brackets are wanting in the copy of this book in the Library of the British Museum, the title-page being imperfect. I have taken the liberty of restoring it.

³ 'Tis still in memory, the old manner of Playing the Flute, which was by way of Dots, a memorial of which remains in the Gamut for that Instrument to this time, but it being so impracticable and never to be attain'd at sight, that the use of the Instrument was almost lost, till introduced by the Gamut rules, which has not only brought it much in vogue, but the Performers on it are as ready at sight as on any other Instrument, 'tis not doubted but the like Improvement will be made on the Flagelet by this Method . . . all Lessons or Aires that are made for the Flute may now be play'd on the Flagelet, which

when the *Bird Fancier's Delight* appeared, although the flute had been emancipated from the thralldom of this pernicious system, the flageolet was still immeshed in its toils. Attempts, however, were made to set it free; for instance, in a book on the flageolet in the



FIG. 30.—BIRD FLAGEOLET, FROM *The Bird Fancier's Delight*

Library of the British Museum, though the tunes are printed in the dot way, it is stated in the title that a table of fingering in 'the violin way' (that is, in the ordinary notation), is given,¹ and in the *Bird Fancier's Delight* all the music is thus printed. When the dot system was first applied to the flute there is, as far as I know, no record to show, but it died hard, for Sir John Hawkins speaks of books of flute music printed on that system in a way which seems to indicate that they were common in his time; in fact, he states that the last of them, entitled, *The New Flute Master*, was brought out as late as 1704. It will be seen from a page of flageolet music (Fig. 31), which I take from Greeting's *Pleasant Companion*, that by this justly condemned system, the player did not read notes, but fingerings. The six lines correspond to the six holes of the flageolet. A dot placed above either of the lines indicates that

must of Consequence be very gratefull to all Lovers of the Instrument, the improvement of which is owing to the Ingenious Mr. Hill, who has made several Incomparable Peices for the Flagelett, and is an excellent performer on it, and to encourage the Lovers of it, he is willing to instruct in this new Method, any that are desirous to learn.' *Preface to the 'Bird Fancier's Delight'.*

¹ 'Youth's Delight on the Flagelet the second part Containing the newest lessons with easier Directions than any heretofore. Being the 9th Edition with

Additions of y^e best and newest Tunes Allso a scale of the Gamut the Violin way. Sold by JOHN CLARKE at the Golden Viol in St. Paul's Church Yard.'

In another copy, stated to be the third part and the eleventh edition, the reference to 'the gamut the violin way' is omitted. When this copy was issued John Hare, afterwards so well known in connexion with Walsh, had acquired Clarke's premises in St. Paul's Churchyard, the publisher's imprint being :—'Printed for and are to be sold by John Hare, at y^e Viol in St. Paul's Churchyard and at his shop in Freeman's Yard in Cornhill nere the Royal Exchange, Musical Instrument Seller 1697.'

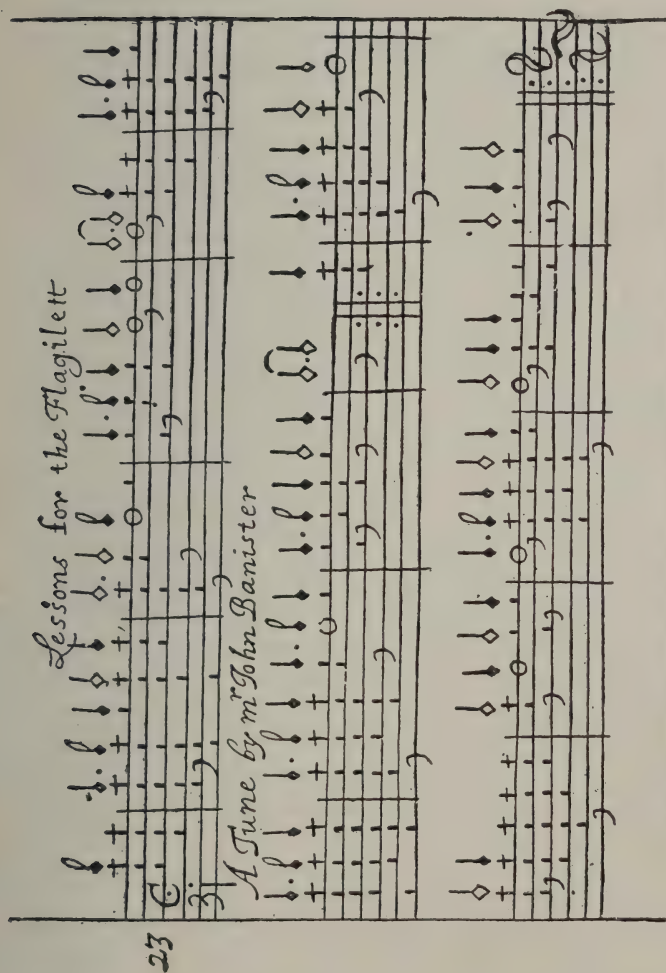


FIG. 31.—AN EXAMPLE OF THE DOT NOTATION FOR THE FLAGEOLET

the hole is to be closed. When there is no dot, the hole remains open. A cross shows that the note should be played an octave higher, which was done by blowing stronger and partly uncovering the top hole, the player turning up the thumb by which it was closed and pinching the flageolet with the thumb-nail; hence such notes were called the pinching, or pinched notes. The curved lines resembling commas denote that grace-notes are to be introduced.

PURITAN ATTACK ON THE FLUTE

Whilst the fipple flute was quietly developing on the Continent, in England the storm, which wrought such havoc with art in the fourth century, when Christianity first began to feel her power, was preparing again to burst. The clouds gathered in the reign of Henry VIII; they did not disperse until Charles II ascended the throne. Had the Puritans succeeded in retaining the upper hand, the flute would have been involved in the fate to which their 'squeaking abomination', the organ, had already succumbed. On this point the exponents of their opinions spoke with no uncertain voice. Prynne brings up the attack on the flute by St. Clement of Alexandria which I have already mentioned,¹ repeats the *dictum* of St. Chrysostom that 'Cymbals, Pipes, and filthy songs are the very pomps, and hodgepodge of the Devil²'; and shows that by the Canons of St. Paul, as given in the *Apostolical Constitutions* (Book VIII, ch. xxxii), flute-players were to be refused the rite of Baptism.³ Bilney, who gave his life at the stake for his opinions, 'could abide, we are told in Fox's *Book of Martyrs*, 'no swearing nor singing . . . And when Dr. Thurlby, afterwards bishop, the scholar living in the chamber underneath him,' at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, 'would play upon his recorder (as he would often do) he would resort strait to his prayer.'⁴ Stephen Gosson, a converted actor and playwright,

¹ *Supra*, p. 20.

² 'Cymbala, tibiae, et cantica turpia Diaboli pompa et farrago.' *Histrio-Mastix*, Part I, Act v, Scene 10.

³ 'If a Stage player, be it a man or woman, a Chariotor, gladiator, race-runner, a fencer, a practiser of the Olympian games, a fluteplayer, a fidler, a harper, a dancer, an alehouse-keeper, come to turne Christian; either let him give over these professions, or else be rejected.'

"Scenicus si accedat, sive vir sive mulier, auriga, gladiator, cursor stadii, ludius, Olympius choraules, cytharedus, lyristes, saltator, caupo, vel desistat, vel rejiciatur," Clemens Romanus, Const. Apost. i. viii. c. 38. Canones Varii Pauli Apostoli, p. 120.' PRYNNE, *Histrio-Mastix*, Part I, Act vii, Scene 3.

⁴ Fox's *Book of Martyrs*, edited by Catley, 1837, Vol. IV, p. 621.

educated at Oxford, in his essay entitled 'The Schoole of Abuse', included pipers, as he termed flute-players, in a list of 'Caterpillars of a Commonwealth'. According to him, piping formed a link in a chain which connected poetry with perdition: 'You are no sooner entred [in the Schoole where so many abuses flourish] but libertie looseth thee reynes and geves you head, placing you with poetrie in the lowest forme, when his skille is shovne too make his scholer as good as ever twangde: he prefers you to pyping, from pyping to playing, from play to pleasure, from pleasure to slouth, from slouth to sleepe, from sleepe to sinne, from sinne to death, from death too the Divel.'

Gosson does not confine his attack on the flute to religious considerations, he gives vent to his contempt for the flute music of the time. Referring to Terpander, who is credited with quelling a tumult with his flute, he exclaims: 'Terpandrus when he ended the brabbles at Lacedemon neither piped Rogero nor Turkelony.'¹ 'Homer with his musicke cured the sick souldiers in the Grecians camp, and purgeth every mans tent of the plague. Think you that these miracles could be wrought without playing of daunces, dumpes, pavins, galiardes, measures, fancyes, or newe steynes?' He is indignant at the complexity of the music and musical instruments of the period: 'The Argives appointed by their lawes great punishments for such as placed above 7 strings upon any instrument. Pythagoras commanded that no musition should go beyon his diapason. Were the Argives and Pythagoras now alive, and saw how many frets, how many stringes, how many stops, how many keyes, how many cliffes, how many moodes, how many flats, how many sharps, how many rules, how many spaces, how many noates, how many restes, how many querks, how many corners, what chopping, what changing, what turning, what wresting and wringing

¹ Rogero and Turkulony were popular dance tunes in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The figure of Turkulony, or Turquy longe le basse, is given in the *Shakespeare Society's Papers*, Vol. I, p. 25. The tune is printed in *Chappell's National English Airs* (p. 130), where will be found the following quotation, in which both Rogero and Turkulony are mentioned:—'or do as Dick Harvey did, that having preacht and beat downe three pulpits in inveighing against dancing, one Sunday evening, when his wench or friskin was footing it aloft on the greene, with foote out and foote in, as busy as might be at *Rogero*, *Basilino*, *Turkelony*, *All the flowers of the broom*, *Pepper is black*, *Greene Sleeves*, *Peggie Ramsey*, he came sneaking behind a tree, and lookt on; and though he was loth to be seene to countenance the sport, having laid God's word against it so dreadfully; yet to shew his good will to it in heart, hee sent her eighteen pence in hugger mugger, to pay the fiddlers.' The tune of Rogero is stated to be in William Ballet's Lute Book.

is among our musitions, I believe verily they would cry out with the country man, “*Heu, quod tam pingui macer est mihi taurus in arvo.*” ’

Before the Puritan tempest which raged in England had died down, instrumental music was beginning to enter on a new phase. Musicians were becoming alive to the importance of the effects which could be obtained by blending instruments of different families ; broken music, as the result of such commingling was called, was coming more and more into vogue ; the bands of haut-boys, cornets, and flutes were breaking up and disappearing, only such members of each family surviving as were best adapted for the new combinations. The dawn of this musical era may be discerned in the following remarkable passage in Bacon’s *Sylva Sylvarum*, a work published in 1627, the year after the author’s death :—

‘ All concords and discords of music are, no doubt, sympathies and antipathies of sounds. And so, likewise, in that music which we call broken music, or consort music, some consorts of instruments are sweeter than others, a thing not sufficiently yet observed : as the Irish harp and base viol agree well : the recorder and stringed music agree well : organs and the voice agree well, etc. But the virginals and the lute ; or the Welsh harp and the Irish harp ; or the voice and pipes alone agree not so well ; but for the melioration of music, there is yet much left, in this point of exquisite consorts, to try and inquire.’¹

‘ The melioration of music ’ resulting from the experimental inquiry in the ‘ point of exquisite consorts ’, to which Bacon here directs attention, led to the development of the modern orchestra.

BOOKS OF INSTRUCTION FOR THE FLAGEOLET AND RECORDER

The change was soon reflected in books of instruction. In these we find no mention of discant, alto, tenor, or bass instruments ; the family is reduced to a single member. The first of them at present known was printed by John Playford, and sold at his shop near the Temple Church. The little volume is entitled ‘ The Pleasant Companion, or New Lessons and Instructions for the Flageolet by Thomas Greeting, Gent’. It is of general interest on account of the connexion of the author with Samuel Pepys, the famous diarist. From an entry in the Diary—‘ Greeting’s Book, 1s.’—we learn that Pepys bought a copy on the 16th of April, 1668. A copy in the Bodleian Library, once the property of Narcissus Luttrell, afterwards of Mr. Douce, is dated 1675 ; one belonging to Dr. Cum-

¹ Bacon’s *Natural History*, Century II, 278.

mings, 1680; one in the Library of the British Museum, 1682. It appears, however, from Kidson's *British Music Publishers* that *The Pleasant Companion* came out as early as 1661, Kidson giving the following dates for various editions, 1661-66-72-75-80-82-83-88. Fétis (*Dic. s.v. Greeting*) supposes the work to be a translation of an earlier book in Latin, entitled *Directiones ad pulsationem elegantis et penetrantis instrumenti, vulgo flageolet dicti: Socius jucundus, seu nova collectio lectionum ad instrumentum flageolet*, Londini, 1667. But it is more likely that the *Socius jucundus* was a Latin version of *The Pleasant Companion*, the latter being seemingly the earlier of the two.

In his introductory remarks Greeting writes, 'The Flageolet is an Instrument that may very fitly be term'd *A Pleasant Companion*, for it may be carried in the Pocket, and so without any trouble bear one Company either by Land or Water. It hath this advantage over other instruments, that it is always in Tune, which they are not.'¹ The statement here made that the flageolet is always in tune is often misunderstood, it being thought to mean that perfect intonation is claimed for it; Greeting, however, is only drawing attention to the circumstance that the flageolet is free from the drawback there was to the stringed instruments of the period, such as the lute, which it was necessary to put in tune before beginning to play; a disadvantage of so serious a character that it was humorously said that one who played for eighty years spent sixty of them in tuning. That the flageolet not only could be, but actually was, 'a Companion either by Land or Water' is literally true. Pepys was seldom without one no matter whither he went. He had one with him at the Green Dragon on Lambeth Hill²; in a boat³ on the Thames; at a drinking house⁴ near Temple Bar; at the

¹ These words are slightly varied in a later edition.

² 'Thence to the Green Dragon, on Lambeth Hill, both the Mr. Pinkney's, Smith, Harrison, Morrice, that sang the bass, Sheply and I, and there we sang all sorts of things, and I ventured with good success upon things at first sight, and after that *I played on my flageolet*, and staid there 'till nine o'clock, very merry and drawn on with one song after another till it came to be so late.' Jan. 16, 1659-60.'

³ 'Then I went and paid £12 17s. 6d. due from me to Captⁿ Dick Mathews according to his direction the last week in a letter. After that I came back by water *playing on my flageolette*.' Jan. 30, 1659-60.

⁴ 'Thence Swan and I to a drinking-house near Temple Bar, where while he wrote *I played on my flageolet* till a dish of poached eggs was got ready for us, which we eat, and so by coach home.' Feb. 9, 1659-60.

Echo,¹ presumably in St. James's Park ; on a journey on horseback from Cambridge to London ;² on board ship ;³ in a coach ;⁴ and when going to see the Princess Dowager's house at the Hague ;⁵

¹ 'And so went to Mr. Gunning's to his weekly fast, and after sermon, meeting there Monsieur L'Impertinent, we went and walked in the park till it was dark. *I played on my pipe at the Echo*, and then drank a cup of ale at Jacob's. So to Westminster Hall, and he with me.' Feb. 17, 1659-60.

Pepys had played in St. James's Park about a fortnight before, but in recording the circumstance does not refer to the echo (see p. 63, n. 1). It may be worth mentioning that at the present time there is an echo in a certain part of this park. One crossing the enclosure from the Duke of York's Steps to the bridge over the ornamental water, when about one-third of the distance from the entrance to the enclosure, may hear the stroke of Big Ben repeated with great distinctness.

² 'Up by four o'clock, and after all was ready, took my leave of my father, whom I left in bed, and the same of my brother John, to whom I gave 10s. Mr. Blayton and I took horse and straight to Saffron Walden, where at the White Hart, we set up our horses, and took the master of the house to show us Audley End House, who took us on foot through the Park, and so to the house, in which the stateliness of the ceilings, chimney-pieces, and form of the whole was exceedingly worth seeing. He took us into the cellar, where we drank most admirable drink, a health to the King. Here *I played on my flageolette*, there being an excellent echo.' Feb. 27, 1659-60.

³ 'After dinner to ninepins, and won something. The rest of the afternoon in my cabin writing and *piping*.' May 1, 1660.

⁴ 'So I got the Captain to ask leave for me to go, which my Lord did give, and I taking my boy and the Judge Advocate with me, went in company with them. The weather bad ; we were sadly washed when we came near the shore, it being very hard to land there. The shore is, as all the country between that and the Hague, all sand. The rest of the company got a coach to themselves ; Mr. Creed and I went in the fore part of a coach wherein were two very pretty ladies, very fashionable and with black patches, who very merrily sang all the way and that very well, and were very free to kiss the two blades that were with them. *I took out my flageolette and piped*, but in piping I dropped my rapier-stick, but when I came to the Hague, I sent my boy back again for it and he found it, for which I did give him 6d., but some horses had gone over it and broke the scabbard.' May 14, 1660.

⁵ 'Here [at the Princess Dowager's house] I met with Mr. Woodcock of Cambridge, Mr. Hardy and another, and Mr. Woodcock beginning we had two or three fine songs, he and I and W. Howe to the Echo, which was very pleasant, and the more because in a heaven of pleasure and in a strange country, that I never was taken up more with a sense of pleasure in my life.' May 17, 1660.

'I left the Parson and my boy and went along with Commissioner Pett, Mr. Ackworth, and Mr. Dawes his friends, to the Princess Dowager's house again. Thither also my Lord Fairfax and some other English Lords did come, to see it, and my pleasure was increased by seeing of it again. Besides we

in fact, there is only one occasion recorded on which he had not his flageolet at hand when he wished to play.¹ Nor was Pepys the only player who carried a flageolet, Banister, the leader of the king's band, had one with him when dining with Pepys.² The circumstance that the flageolet was played by so distinguished a musician as Banister, 'the great master of musique', as Pepys calls him, is a proof that the instrument was far from being despised in the seventeenth century. Moreover, we find Thomas Blagrave, also one of His Majesty's music, as well as a gentleman of the Chapel Royal, giving Pepys a lesson on the flageolet.³ Blagrave, though not so great a man as Banister, was of sufficient importance to be buried in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey and to have his portrait placed in the Music School at Oxford.

Pepys had flageolets of two kinds which he styles great and little respectively. The latter, which corresponded to the bird flageolet of the next century, he calls a 'low pipe', meaning by low, not deep in pitch, but gentle, soft, or murmuring in tone. It would appear that Pepys became acquainted with the charms of the low flageolet in some way not mentioned, for having occasion one day to pass along the Strand, where his flute-maker, Drumbleby, carried on business, he called, both going and returning, to consult him on the subject. Drumbleby told him of a way of making such an

went into the garden, wherein are gallant nuts better than ever I saw, and a fine Echo under the house in a vault made on purpose with pillars, where *I played on my flageolette* to great advantage.' May 18, 1660.

¹ 'Drank my morning draft at Harper's, and was told there that the soldiers were all quiet upon promise of pay. Thence to St. James's Park, and *walked there to my place for my flageolet*, and then played a little, it being a most pleasant morning and sunshine.' Feb. 3, 1659-60.

Pepys had not far to go to fetch his flageolet; he was living at the time in Axe Yard, King Street, Westminster.

² 'At home to dinner, whither comes and dines with me W. Howe, and by invitation Mr. Harris and Mr. Banister, most extraordinary company both, the latter for musique of all sorts, the former for everything: here we sang, and Banister played on the theorbo, and afterwards *Banister played on his flageolet*, and I had very good discourse with him about musique, so confirming some of my new notions about musique that it puts me upon a resolution to go on and make a scheme and theory of musique not yet ever made in the world. . . . Thus spent the afternoon most deliciously, and then broke up and walked with them as far as the Temple, and there parted.' March 29, 1668.

³ 'Thence to my wife, meeting Mr. Blagrave, who went home with me, and *did give me a lesson upon the flageolet*, and handselled my silver can with my wife and me.' June 21, 1660.

instrument, but whether the way consisted in constructing a cavity to receive a sponge for absorbing the moisture of the breath and so preventing it from clogging the narrow flue and small mouth of the little pipe, does not appear. He also showed him how two flageolets (no doubt a great and a little one) could be fastened together, so that music played on one of them (the great) could be echoed—that is, repeated in a fainter tone—on the other. This echoing should be carefully distinguished from the principle of the harmonic flute (*flûte d'accord*) and Bainbridge's miscalled double flageolet, the object of both of these instruments being to enable a player to produce two notes at the same time, not to repeat a note in a different tone. The flageolets of which Drumbleby spoke were not united to each other with a view of playing them together, but in order to play on them alternately without it being necessary to put one down and take up the other.¹ The little flageolet was not a novelty, Pepys mentions a Mr. Overbury who had one which was just as low and agreeable to the ear as his own.²

Greeting was introduced to Pepys by Drumbleby, the object

¹ 'Up, and all the morning at the office very busy, and at noon by coach to Westminster, to the 'Chequer, about a warrant for Tangier money. In my way both coming and going I did stop at Drumbleby's, the pipe-maker, there to advise about the making of a flageolet to go low and soft, and he do shew me a way which do do, and also a fashion of having two pipes of the same note fastened together, so as I can play on one, and then echo it on the other, which is mighty pretty.' Jan. 20, 1667-68.

On the 5th of February Pepys walked to Drumbleby's to inquire, we may suppose, what progress had been made in the execution of the order for a low pipe we may assume that he had given on the 20th of January. He called there again on Friday the 11th of April, for I have little doubt that '*piper*' in the following rough note is intended for *pipe-maker*:—'At noon with W. Penn to Duke of York, and attended Council. So to *piper* and Duck Lane and there kissed bookseller's wife, and bought Legend. So home, coach. Tailor. Mrs. Hannam dead. News of peace. Conning my gamut' (the gamut of his recorder which he had purchased on the previous Wednesday). On his way from the Council at Whitehall to Duck Lane (now Little Britain Pepys would go along the Strand and so would pass Drumbleby's.

By the Monday following the new flageolet was ready: 'So to Lord Crew's (calling for low pipe by the way)'—and on the next Wednesday Pepys gives us his opinion of his purchase: 'After playing a little on *my new little flageolet that is so soft that it pleases me mightily*, betimes to my office.'

² 'And so to my cousin Turner's again, and there find my Lady Mordaunt, and her sister Johnson; and by and by comes in a gentleman, Mr. Overbury, a pleasant man, who plays most excellently on the flagelette, a little one, that sounded as low as one of mine, and mighty pretty.' March 9, 1668-69.

of the introduction being nothing less than that he should teach Mrs. Pepys to play the flageolet. The first intimation we have that Mrs. Pepys contemplated so important a step as taking up the flageolet is in the mention of a design on Pepys's part to bespeak two flageolets of the same tone and pitch with a view, we may take it for granted, to future duets with his wife ;¹ but, instead of two, he appears to have ordered one only made to suit that which he already possessed (see note 3) ; a few months afterwards, however, he purchased of Greeting a costly pair of the great kind, made of ivory.² Pepys stipulated that Mrs. Pepys should be taught 'to take out any lesson of herself', a phrase the meaning of which is not explained in the Diary, but which may perhaps signify that she should be able to read music without having the tunes, or lessons as they were called, reduced to the dot notation.³ As a matter of fact, although Mrs. Pepys was not too fond of practice,⁴ so successful was her master that after a few months' instruction, she was able

¹ 'So I passed my time in walking up and down, and among other places to one Drumbleby, a maker of flageolets, the best in towne. He not within, my design to bespeak a pair of flageolets of the same tune, ordered him to come to me in a day or two, and so I back to the cabinet-maker's and there staid.' Feb. 11, 1666-67.

² 'Up and comes the flageolet master, and brings me two new great Ivory pipes which cost me 32s., and so to play.' July 19, 1667.

³ 'Up and there comes to me Drumbleby with a flageolet, made to suit my former and brings me one Greeting, a master, to teach my wife. I agree by the whole with him to teach her to take out any lesson of herself for £4. She was not ready to begin to-day, but do to-morrow.' Feb. 28, 1666-67.

'Being returned, I find Greeting, the flageolet-master come, and teaching my wife ; and I do think my wife will take pleasure in it, and it will be easy for her and pleasant. So I, as I am well content with the charge it will occasion me.' March 1, 1666-67.

By 'lesson' Pepys means 'tune'. All the tunes in Greeting's *Pleasant Companion* are headed 'Lessons for the Flagilett', and in *The Vademecum for the Lovers of Musick*, 'Lessons for the Rechorder.'

⁴ 'So by coach to my periwig maker's and tailor's, and so home, where I find my wife with her flageolet master, which *I wish she would practise.*' April 3, 1667.

'And so I home to dinner, where I find my wife's flageolette master, and I am so pleased with her proceeding, though *she hath lost time by not practising*, that I am resolved for the encouragement of the man to learn myself a little for a month or so, for I do foresee if God send my wife and I to live, she will become very good company to me. . . . After dinner . . . late at my office at business, and so home to supper and to sing a little with my dear wife, and so to bed.' May 8, 1667.

to take out a tune,¹ to read at sight, and to keep time.² Pepys frequently chronicles his satisfaction at the progress she was making,³ but Greeting's method of teaching does not always meet with his approval. In describing one of the lessons he took of him (for Greeting afterwards taught the great Diarist himself)⁴ he writes—

¹ 'So home . . . and there to supper, and my wife to her flageolet, wherein she did make out a tune so prettily of herself, that I was infinitely pleased beyond whatever I expected from her, and so to bed.' May 22, 1667.

'Make out' is an erroneous transcription. Pepys wrote 'she did take out', not 'she did make out'.

'After the play we home, and there I to the office and despatched my business, and then home, and mightily pleased with my wife's playing on the flageolet, *she taking out any tune almost at first sight, and keeping time to it*, which pleases me mightily. So to supper and to bed.' Sept. 12, 1667.

² 'Here I meet Mrs. Turner and my wife as agreed, and together home, and there my wife and I part of the night at the flageolet, *which she plays now anything upon almost at first sight, and in good time*.' Sept. 11, 1667.

³ 'I home to the office, and after having done business there I home to supper, and there mightily pleased with my wife's beginning the flagellette, believing that she will come to very well thereon.' March 4, 1666-67.

'At home find Mr. Holliard, and made him eat a bit of victuals. Here I find Mr. Greeten (*sic*), who teaches my wife on the flageolet, and I think she will come to something on it.' March 13, 1666-67.

' . . . I to the office, finished my letters, and then to walk an hour in the garden talking with my wife, whose growth in musique do begin to please me mightily.' May 18, 1667.

'So to the office, and there [Sir] W. Pen and I did some business, and then home to dinner, where my wife pleases me mightily with what she can do upon the flageolet, and then to the office again and busy all the afternoon.' June 25, 1667.

'I to my tailor's about turning my old silk suit and cloak into a suit and vest, and thence with Mr. Kinaston (whom I had set down in the Strand and took up again at the Temple gate) home, and there to dinner, mightily pleased with my wife's playing on the flageolet.' June 26, 1667.

'There set him [Creed] down, and to my office, where busy late until my eyes began to ake, and then home to supper: a pullet, with good sauce, to my liking, and then to play on the flageolet with my wife, which she now does very prettily, and so to bed.' July 30, 1667.

'And so home to supper and to bed, after a little playing on the flageolet with my wife who do outdo therein whatever I expected of her.' Sept. 9, 1667.

⁴ 'Sheply being gone, there come the flageolet master, who having had a bad bargain of teaching my wife by the year, she not practising so much as she should do, I did think that the man did deserve some more consideration, and so will give him an opportunity of 20s. a month more, and he shall teach me, and this afternoon I begun, and I think it will be a few shillings well spent . . .—then to my office doing some business, and so to my house, and with my wife to practice on the flageolet a little, and with great pleasure I see

'and now to learn to set anything from the notes upon the flageolet, but, Lord ! to see how like a fool he goes about to give me direction would make a man mad.'¹ The meaning of 'to set anything from the notes upon the flageolet' is not clear ; perhaps there may be an allusion to the transposing of music in order to bring it within the compass of, or into a key suitable for, the flageolet ; perhaps it may refer to the dot notation. Before taking leave of Greeting, I ought to add that he played the violin,² and very well too ; also that he provided quadrille bands ; on two occasions when Pepys gave a dance he procured the music, and, on one of them, took part in it himself.³

that she can readily hit her notes, but only want of practice makes her she cannot go through a whole tune readily. So to supper and to bed.' May 17, 1667.

¹ It is conceivable that Greeting forgot that he was instructing a musician who played the lute, the viol, and the violin, and contemplated making 'a new scheme and theory of musique' ; hence, perhaps, the explosion of offended dignity at his way of giving Pepys direction. On no other occasion does Pepys express dissatisfaction with his instructor, though he mentions Greeting's lessons several times ; for instance : 'Up betimes, and comes my flagelette master to set me a new tune, which I played presently.' Again : 'Up, and then comes Greeting my flagelette master, and I practised with him.' Again : 'This morning Greeting come, and I with him at my flageolet.' Again : 'Up, and to my chamber, and by and by comes Greeting, and to my flageolet with him with a pretty deal of pleasure.' Again : 'Up, and Greeting comes, who brings me a tune for two flageolets, which we played, and is a tune played at the King's playhouse, which goes so well, that I will have more of them, and it will be a mighty pleasure for me to have my wife able to play a part with me, which she will easily, I find, do.' Again : 'Up, and Greeting comes, and there he and I tried some things of Mr. Locke's for two flageolets, to my great content, and this day my wife begins again to learn of him ; for I have a great mind for her to be able to play a part with me. . . . So to the office again all the afternoon till night, very busy, and so with much content home. and made my wife sing and play on the flageolet to me till I slept with great pleasure in bed.'

² 'Then home again, and there heard Mr. Caesar play some very good things on the lute together with myself on the viol and Greeting *on the viallin*.' July 8, 1667.

³ The first of the two dances was given on returning from the theatre ; but in Pepys's time theatrical performances began at three o'clock (the dinner hour being twelve), and did not usually last much longer than two hours and a half : 'And so I took coach and away to my wife at the Duke of York's house, in the pit, and so left her ; and to Mrs. Pierce, and took her and her cozen Corbet, Knepp and little James, and brought them to the Duke's house ; and, the house being full, was forced to carry them to a box, which did cost

Greeting's *Pleasant Companion* is styled 'New Lessons and Instructions for the Flageolet', a title which seems to imply the existence of an older instruction-book for the instrument. The word 'Lessons', however, is used in such books in the sense of 'Tunes', so that the *Pleasant Companion* may be a new collection of tunes—*nova collectio lectionum*, as the work is styled in the Latin title—and yet the first printed directions for playing the flageolet. Be this as it may, we next come in point of time to a tutor for the recorder which claims to be the first essay of the kind for that instrument. It is dated 1679, and is entitled 'A Vade Mecum for the Lovers of Musick, shewing the Excellency of the Rechorder: with some Rules and Directions for the same, Also, some New Ayres never before Published.' In addition to introductory matter, it contains thirty-six pages of tunes, the name of the composer being given below the tune, whilst all the pages are headed 'Lessons for the Rechorder'. The tunes are printed in the ordinary notation, the fingering of each note being indicated beneath it for the first twenty-six pages,

me 20s., besides oranges, which troubled me, though their company did please me. Thence, after the play, stayed till Harris was undressed, there being acted *The Tempest*, and so he withall, all by coach, home, where we find my house with good fires and candles ready, and our Office the like, and the two Mercers, and Betty Turner, Pendleton, and W. Batelier. And so with much pleasure we into the house, and there fell to dancing, having extraordinary musick, two violins, and a base viollin, and theorbo, four hands, the Duke of Buckingham's musique, the best in towne, *sent me by Greeting*, and there we set in to dancing. By and by to my house, to a very good supper, and mighty merry, and good musick playing; and after supper to dancing and singing till about twelve at night; and then we had a good sack posset for them, and an excellent cake, cost me near 20s., of our Jane's making, which was cut into twenty pieces, there being by this time so many of our company, by the coming in of young Goodyer and some others of our neighbours, young men who could dance, hearing of our dancing; and anon comes in Mrs. Turner, the mother, and brings with her Mrs. Hollworthy, which pleased me mightily. And so to dancing again, and singing, with extraordinary great pleasure, till about two in the morning, and then broke up; . . . and they being gone, I paid the fiddlers £3 among the four, and so away to bed, weary and mightily pleased, and have the happiness to reflect upon it as I do sometimes on other things, as going to a play or the like, to be the greatest real comfort that I am to expect in the world, and that it is that that we do really labour in the hopes of; and so I do really enjoy myself, and understand that if I do not do it now I shall not hereafter, it may be, be able to pay for it, or have health to take pleasure in it, and so fill myself with vain expectation of pleasure and go without it.' Jan. 6, 1667-8.

The terms of the Duke of Buckingham's music which Greeting sent (£3 amongst the four players) were evidently very high, for on the occasion of

after which the pupil is left unaided in this respect. John Hudgebut, by whom the little book was brought out, kept a shop at the Golden Harp and Hautboy in Chancery Lane near Fleet Street, where he sold all sorts of instruments, including recorders and flageolets. Like Hare and Walsh, he was an illiterate man, as his introductory remarks addressed to all 'ingenious' lovers of music too plainly show. The address contains a base attack on the flageolet, which Hudgebut endeavours to bring into contempt by alleging that it was a flunkey's instrument. Although he does not mention Greeting's *Pleasant Companion* by name, his allusions to it are too apparent to need pointing out, as will be seen from the part I am about to quote of this contemptible but curious production :—

... Of Instruments (though there be several species) there is none which comes nearer in Imitation to the Voice (which is the Design and Excellency of all Musick) then that which we call Wind Instruments, as the Flagilet, Rechorder, &c. as taking its inspiration immediately from thence, and naturally dissolving into the same. Of these, though the Flagilet like Esau hath got the start, as being of a more Antient

a previous dance Pepys thought 30s. too much for 'four fiddlers that play well'. He writes: 'So to bed myself, my mind mightily satisfied with all this evening's work, and thinking it to be one of the merriest enjoyment I must look for in the world, and did content myself therefore with the thoughts of it, and so to bed; only the musique did not please me, they not being contented with less than 30s.'

The dance at which Greeting played was preceded by a dinner party, given at the usual hour, twelve o'clock. The dancing did not begin until night, so that there was a pretty long interval to get through without any afternoon-tea to help to pass away the time: 'Up, and to the office till noon, when home, and there I find my company come, . . . I had a noble dinner for them, as I almost ever had, and mighty merry, and particularly myself pleased with looking on Betty Turner, who is mighty pretty. After dinner, we fell one to one talk, and another to another, and looking over my house, and closet, and things. . . . And thus till night when our musick come, and the Office ready and candles, and also W. Batelier and his sister Susan come, and also Will. Howe and two gentlemen more, strangers, which at my request yesterday, he did bring to dance, called Mr. Ireton and Mr. Starkey. We fell to dancing, and continued, only with intermission for a good supper, till two in the morning, the musick being Greeting, and another most excellent violin, and theorbo, the best in town. And so with mighty mirth, and pleased with their dancing of jigs afterwards several of them, and, among others, Betty Turner, who did it mighty prettily; and, lastly, W. Batelier's "Blackmore and Blackmore Mad"; and then to a country dance again, and so broke up with extraordinary pleasure, as being one of the days and nights of my life spent with the greatest content; and that which I can but hope to repeat again a few times in my whole life.' March 2, 1668-9.

standing. The Rechorder like Jacob hath got the Birth-right, being much more in Esteem and Veneration, with the Nobility and Gentry, whilst the Flagilet sinks down a Servant to the Pages and Footmen.

But we do not design in lessening the Flagilet to exalt the Perfections of the Rechorder; we will allow the Flagilet all its just attributes, and see if the Rechorder do not equal or excel them.

The Flagilet is a good Companion being easily carried in the Pocket, so is the Rechorder: The Flagilet is always in Tune so is the Rechorder: Besides the Sweetness of the Sound, which is much more Smoother and Charming, and the Extent and Variety of the Notes, in which it much excells the Flagilet.

As all Instruments have found great access as well as Improvements in this Nation, this of the Rechorder hath not found the least encouragement, being into the favour of Ladies, and made the Gentleman's *Vade Mecum*.

On this success and good Entertainment of the Recorder I have attempted to shew my zeal for its Improvement, hoping all Ingenious Gentlemen will pardon the deficiency of the performance, considering it is the first Essay of this kind: and all Ingenious Artists whose Tunes I have made use of in this Collection, will likewise be so Generous by all such erratas (sic) as they shall discover in the Printed Notes, which I shall endeavour to Rectify in the next Edition.

JOHN HUDGEBUT.

There is no frontispiece to the *Vade Mecum*, but after it was published Hudgebut became possessed of the plate of an engraving which would not only have suited it both in shape and size but was obviously intended for such a work, it being labelled 'Lessons for the Recorder' (Fig. 32). It was engraved in 1682, three years after the *Vade Mecum* was brought out. In the picture, four half-fledged angels are assembled at a table for a recorder quartet, one of them being depicted in the act of playing the bass recorder, a point of special interest. Three of the players appear to be going through some manuscript parts on their respective instruments; the fourth has placed his recorder on the table, his part lying unrolled by the side of it. One of his hands is uplifted as if to beat time, the other holds a music-book from which he is reading. From a similar book which lies open on the table we learn that 'Lessons for the Recorder' was the headline of the tunes. A pen and ink are ready for making corrections, should any be required, or may be intended to suggest that the lessons have only just been written, and so are quite new.

I became acquainted with the engraving many years ago, long before I discovered the *Vade Mecum* in the Bodleian Library, it having been inserted in the title-page of the *Thesaurus Musicus*, a book printed for Hudgebut (Fig. 33). Recognizing its importance



FIG. 32.—RECORDER QUARTET PARTY, FROM THE TITLE-PAGE OF HUDGEPUT'S *Thesaurus*

THESAURUS MUSICUS:

BEING, A

COLLECTION of the Newest SONGS

PERFORMED

At Their *Majesties Theatres*; and at the *Conforts* in
Viller-street in *York-Buildings*, and in *Charles-street*
Covent-Garden.

WITH A

Thorow-Bafs to each SONG for the *Harpficorn*, *Theorbo*, or *Bafs-Viol*.

To which is Annexed

A *Collection* of *Aires*, Composed for two *Flutes*, by several Masters.

THE FIRST BOOK.



L O N D O N,

Printed by J. Heptinstall for John Hudgebut. And are to be Sold by John Carr, at
the *Middle-Temple Gate* in *Fleetstreet*, and by John Money, Stationer at the Miter
in *Miter Court* in *Fleet-street*. And at most Musick-Shops in Town. 1693.

FIG. 33.—TITLE-PAGE OF HUDGEBUT'S *Thesaurus Musicus*, REDUCED 10

in solving the enigma of the recorder, I obtained permission at the British Museum, where I first saw it, to have a copy of it taken. I did not, of course, fail to perceive that the engraving could not have been designed for the place it occupied ; it was unsuited to the book, as well as too broad for the page ; the excuse for inserting it in the *Thesaurus* being, seemingly, that the book contained some duets for two flutes.¹ Whether Hudgebut acquired the plate with a view to the second edition of his *Vade Mecum* which, as he states in the address, he had in contemplation, but having abandoned the idea of bringing it out, resolved to utilize the engraving to ornament the title-page of his *Thesaurus*, must be left to conjecture.

A frontispiece representing a recorder concert would not be very appropriate to a book like Hudgebut's *Vade Mecum* which was a code of instructions for a solo instrument. The *Vade Mecum*, however, was followed by another instruction-book—Salter's *Genteel Companion*—in which the recorder of the period was portrayed. On examining the instrument as it is depicted in the copy of the book in the Library of the British Museum (Fig. 34) it will be noticed that the duplicate hole for the little finger is no longer needed, the tube being constructed in three separate pieces, so that, by turning the foot, or lowest joint, in which it is pierced, the position of the hole can be changed at will, to suit the requirements of a right or a left-handed player.

The recorder is in the hands of a gentleman arrayed with the flowing periwig, the many-buttoned coat, the lace cravat, the ruffles, the breeches, the stockings, and the shoes of the period. He is seated on a Cromwell chair, with his legs negligently crossed, his attitude indicating that he believes himself to be a perfect master of the instrument. The gentleman is not alone. On the opposite side of a table at which he is sitting is a lady, presumably his wife, to whom he appears to be giving instruction. She, also, is elegantly attired. Her gown is low, with hanging sleeves, the under-sleeves, which are full, puffed, and frilled, being, seemingly, of cambric, or a similar fabric, whilst a panier attached to the bodice, after drooping in graceful folds at the side, is caught up at the back, the end falling almost as low as the hem of the petticoat. Her hair, turned back at the sides, is dressed in a projection behind ; curls, natural or artificial, overhanging her forehead. Over her head is a mantilla ; eardrops adorn her ears ; a necklace of pearls, such as

¹ The duets are by Mr. Pesable, Mr. Robert King, Mr. Godfrido Finger, Mr. John Banister, and Mr. Keen.



FIG. 34.—FRONTISPIECE OF *The Gentle Companion*, FROM THE COPY IN THE LIBRARY OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM

THE
Genteel Companion;
 Being exact Directions for the
RECORDE:
 With a Collection of the Best and Newest *Tunes* and *Grounds* Extant.

Carefully Compos'd and Gather'd by *Humphry Salter*.

LONDON, Printed for *Richard Hunt* and *Humphry Salter*, at the *Late*
 in *St. Pauls Church-Yard*. 1683.

FIG. 35.—TITLE-PAGE OF *The Genteel Companion*



FIG. 36.—TITLE-PAGE. THE INSTRUMENTS REPRESENTED ARE THREE FLUTES AND A HOUTBOY

the brush of Lely so often depicted, surrounds her neck ; and gloves, or mittens, seem to envelop both hands and arms. She has laid down her flute, and is leaning her head on her right arm, the elbow resting on the table. Her eyes are fixed on a music-book which lies open before her, whilst her left hand is raised with a gesture of rapt attention as she listens to the notes which we may imagine to be issuing from the gentleman's recorder, as if endeavouring to profit to the utmost by the lesson she appears to be taking.

I ought not to pass on without mentioning that in a copy of *The Genteel Companion* which belonged to the late Mr. Taphouse, instead of the picture just described (Fig. 34), that represented in Fig. 32 appears as the frontispiece. Mr. Taphouse accounted for its presence there by supposing that some enterprising person had cut it from the title-page of Hudgebut's *Thesaurus* and inserted it in *The Genteel Companion* to make up an imperfect copy. Whether Mr. Taphouse's explanation is correct is for experts to decide ; I may say, however, that a comparison I have made of the contents of the two copies of *The Genteel Companion*, that belonging to Mr. Taphouse and that in the British Museum, shows that they differ in other particulars than the frontispiece, and that Mr. Taphouse's copy, although it has the same title-page with the same date, belongs to an earlier issue of the work.

Another circumstance worth noting is the influence which the title (*The Pleasant Companion*) of Greeting's instruction-book for the flageolet exercised over the names of subsequent Tutors for the recorder, *Companion* being borrowed from it by Salter for *The Genteel Companion* and by Playford for a work I am about to speak of, *The Delightful Companion*, whilst Hudgebut's predilection, *Vade Mecum*, is only a synonym for a pocket companion. 'Delightful' is obviously a plagiarism of 'Pleasant' ; in 'Genteel' there may be an allusion to Hudgebut's assertion that the recorder was held 'in esteem and veneration with the Nobility and Gentry', and an indirect blow aimed at the flageolet as having sunk down to be 'a Servant to the Pages and Footmen'.

THE RECORDER CHANGES ITS NAME

The change in the manufacture of the recorder indicated in the drawing of the instrument given in *The Genteel Companion* was not the only change which the recorder was destined to undergo. The change of which I have now to speak is a change to which musical instruments are especially liable—a change which renders a

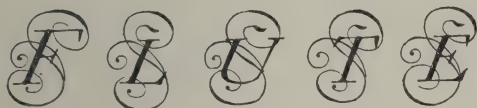


FIG. 37.—FRONTISPIECE

The flute-player is standing near a sheet of water. In the popular mind, water imparts a charm to music. Wearing a hat affects the sound of the flute, as heard by the player, so he has placed his hat on the ground by the side of his music-book the better to appreciate the effect of the water, or, perhaps, to hear an echo which may be supposed to be caused by a rocky eminence on the opposite side of the water. The engraving is by John Smith (1652-1742).

Directions

for Playing on the



WITH

A Scale for Transposing any
Piece of MUSICK to y^e proper-
est Keys for that Instrument.

*To which is Added,
A Fine Collection of
Minuets, Rigadoons, Marches
and Opera Aires*

By Judicious Masters.

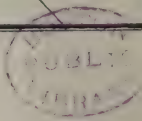
*Engrav'd, Printed and Sold at the Printing-Office in
Bow Church Yard LONDON. Where Books of Instruc-
tions for any Single Instrument may be had. Price 1^s 6^d.*

FIG. 38.—TITLE-PAGE



H. Roberts fecit

FIG. 39.—FRONTISPIECE



T H E

Complete Flute Master

Containing

The Best & Easiest Rules to Learn

That Favorite Instrument

with Variety of

Genteel Airs, Opera Tunes, Minuets, Marches &c

of the most Eminent Authors

Price Eighteen Pence.

Printed and Sold by

John Tyther

At the Violin, German Flute and Hautboy

facing New Broadstreet Moorfields

L O N D O N.

Where may be had Choice of new Music for all Instruments.
Likewise Books of Instructions, for any single Instrument.

Price. 1^l 6^s.

FIG. 40.—TITLE-PAGE

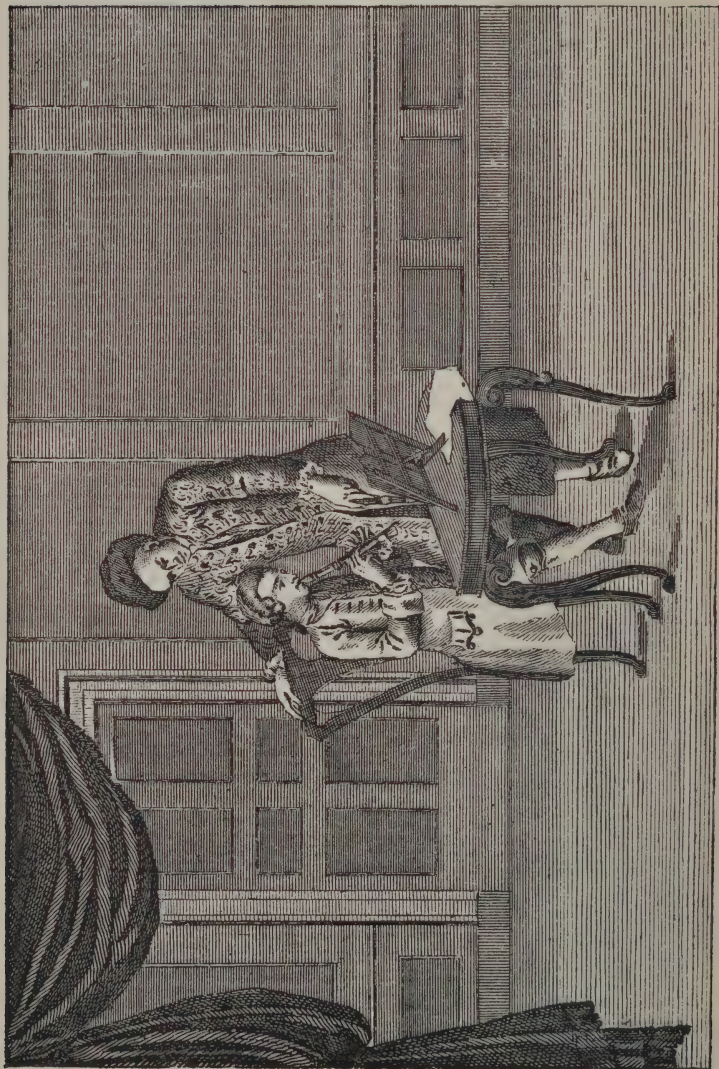


FIG. 41.—FRONTISPIECE

COMPLETE INSTRUCTIONS,

for the

Common Suite,

*Containing the Easiest and most modern Methods for
Learners to play, carefully corrected by eminent Masters.*

TO WHICH IS ADDED —

A favorite collection of Minuets, Marches, Song-Tunes, &c.

Properly disposed for that instrument, Pr. 1/6.

London.

*Printed, & sold by, Longman and Broderip, N^o. 26. Abchurch-lane,
where may be had a new Edition of Instructions for all Instruments.*

Fig. 42

satisfactory investigation of their history generally difficult and sometimes impossible—a change of nomenclature: the recorder was about to drop its name and revert to its old appellation of flute. At first, when the change commenced, the instrument was styled indifferently the recorder or the flute. Here, again, information comes to us from books of instruction. A work in the Library of the British Museum bears the following title: *The Delightful Companion: or, Choice new lessons for the Recorder or Flute*.¹ Again, an instruction-book formerly belonging to Mr. Taphouse (Fig. 36) is entitled *The Compleat Flute-Master*, but relates to the art of playing ‘the rechorder’.² Soon ‘recorder’ entirely disappears. *The Music-Master*, which came out in 1731, is a collection of codes of instruction for different instruments—the hautboy, the German flute, the violin, and others. Neither in the title-page (Fig. 38) of the instructions for the flute, nor in the instructions themselves, does the word recorder occur, whilst the frontispiece (Fig. 37) shows that the instrument is, in its essentials, no other than that represented in Salter’s *Genteel Companion*. We have a somewhat later example in Tyther’s *Complete Flute-Master*³ (Figs. 39 and 40). So rapid and so complete had been the metamorphosis that neither Hawkins nor Burney, the former born in 1719, the latter in 1726, seems to have entertained the faintest suspicion that ‘the flute’, with which they were so familiar, had once been known as the recorder.⁴

¹ The full title of the copy in the British Museum is ‘The Delightful Companion: or, Choice new lessons for the Recorder or Flute, to which is added, several lessons for two and three flutes to play together. Also Plain and Easie Instructions for Beginners, and the several graces proper to this Instrument. The Second Edition Corrected. London, Printed for John Playford, at his Shop near the Temple Church; and for John Carr at his Shop at the Middle-Temple Gate 1686.’ The book was advertised and published in 1684.

² The *Compleat Flute-Master* must have been issued later than 1690, that being the earliest date given of the year in which Walsh, whose name appears on the imprint, began business. The title confirms the opinion of Hare and Walsh expressed by Sir John Hawkins. ‘They were both,’ he says, ‘very illiterate men, neither of them was able to form a title-page according to the rules of grammar, and they seemed both to be too penurious to employ others for the purpose.’ A specimen of Walsh’s bombastic style will be found below, p. 152 n.

³ Tyther’s *Complete Flute-Master* was probably brought out between 1740 and 1760, the former being the earliest, and the later the latest, date given by Kidson of the period during which Tyther carried on business.

⁴ Some instruments shown as recorders would be more correctly named if they were termed flutes, as they are not old enough to have been called recorders, either by those who made or those who played them.

It was not only in England that the recorder had changed its name, in France also a new appellation had been assigned to it. It is true that it was still termed *la flûte douce*, but *la flûte d'Angleterre* and *la flûte à neuf trous* had been abandoned to make way for *la flûte à bec*,¹ or the beaked flute. By 1735 this expression had found its way into England, or at least into Scotland.² It does not, however, seem to have come into general use in this country in the eighteenth century, notwithstanding that Hawkins pronounced it to be 'the most proper and discriminating appellation' for the instrument; but in the present day it is often employed.

DECAY AND EXTINCTION OF THE RECORDER

Another change—the last, alas!—extinction, was awaiting the recorder. Just as the harpsichord was giving way to the pianoforte, so the recorder, yielding to the inexorable law of the survival of the fittest, was succumbing to its rival the German flute, the surpassing beauty of its tone failing to ward off its impending fate. An indication that its career was drawing to a close is to be found in another change of name; the German flute had usurped the title

¹ According to Littré (Dict., s.v. 'Flûte'), the term *flûte à bec* is applicable to all instruments the end of which is placed in the mouth: 'Flûtes à bec, tous les instruments comme la clarinette, le hautbois et surtout le flageolet, où il y a une extrémité qui se met dans la bouche.'

² *Flûte à bec* is found in the following elegant dedication of *Airs for the Flute, with a thorough Bass for the Harpsichord*, of that date:—

To the right Honorable y^e Lady Gairlies.

Madam,

The following *Airs* having been composed by a Gentleman for your Ladyship's Use when you began to practice the Flute a Beque; I thought I could not chuse a better Subject for my First Essay, as an Engraver of Musick, than these *Airs*: as well because they were made for Beginners on the Flute & Harpsichord, as that they were composed by a Gentleman who first put a Pencil in my Hand and then an Engraver. But chiefly because they were originally made for your Ladyship's Use which gives me so fair a Handle to send them into the World under the Protection of your Ladyship's Name.

I am with the greatest Respect

Madam,

Your Ladyship's most obedient
and most humble Servant,

ALEXR. BAILLIE.

Edinburgh

December 1735.

of 'the flute', the old favourite having descended to the appellation of 'the Common flute'. For proof of this we can again appeal to a book of instructions—one published by Longman and Broderip between 1779 and 1798, on the title-page of which (Fig. 42) it is so styled. Its knell was now about to sound; like the harpsichord it scarcely survived the eighteenth century.

The decay of the instrument is to be attributed to the altered state of music. Recorder consorts, in which its sweetness and solemnity produced such great effects, had passed away; the flute was now required for combination, either with the orchestra, or with the harpsichord and its successor the pianoforte. For both purposes the German flute was better fitted than the recorder. Its upper octave was more piercing, so that it was more useful in the orchestra; it conferred on the player the power of modifying the intonation of the notes and the quality of the tone, on which account it was better suited for playing with the harpsichord. If it was less sweet, it was still the sweetest of wind-instruments; if it was wanting in dignity and solemnity, it was endowed with tenderness and melancholy.¹ The control it gave over *timbre* and intonation

¹ Berlioz, who had made a special study of the flute (he was not a pianist; he played the flute and the guitar), and was gifted with unrivalled genius for discerning the capabilities of musical instruments, writes thus: 'On studying the instrument carefully, there may be discovered an expression peculiar to it, and an aptitude for rendering certain sentiments, in which no other instrument can compete with it. If, for instance, it were requisite to give to a sad air an accent of desolation, but of humility and resignation at the same time, the feeble sounds of the flute's medium, in the keys of C minor and D minor especially, would certainly produce the desired effect. One master only seems to me to have known how to avail himself of this pale colouring; and he is Gluck. On listening to the melodramatic movement in D minor, which he has placed in the Elysian fields scene of *Orfeo*, it will at once be seen that a flute only could fittingly utter this melody. A hautboy would have been too puerile, and its voice would not have seemed sufficiently pure; the corno inglese is too low; a clarinet would doubtless have answered better; but certain sounds would have been too powerful—none of its softest notes could have reduced themselves to the feeble, faint, veiled sound of the F natural of the medium, and of the first B \flat above the lines, which imparts so much sadness to the flute in this key of D minor, where these notes frequently occur. In short, neither the violin, nor the viola, nor the violoncello, used in solo or in masses, would serve to express this very sublime lament of a suffering and despairing departed spirit. It required precisely the instrument selected by the author. And Gluck's melody is conceived in such a way that the flute lends itself to all the uneasy writhings of this eternal grief, still imbued with the passions of earthly life. It is at first a voice scarcely

arose from the nature of its construction. It was a lip flute, that is, a flute in which the flue, from which the jet of air issues on its way to impinge on the cutting-edge and generate the sound, is formed by the lips of the player. By relaxing or contracting the lips the flautist can change at will the shape, position, and size of the flue. When the flue is narrowed, the tone becomes dry and reedy, when it is broadened, the sound is rendered full and free. Again, as the lower lip is applied to the mouth-hole of the German flute, it is easy to cover or uncover more or less of the hole, and thus to flatten or sharpen the pitch; the larger the mouth-hole, the higher being the note, and *vice versa*. But on fipple flutes, to which class the recorder belonged, the player has no more command over either the flue, or the mouth, of his instrument ~~than has the organist over those of the organ-pipe, in which the language, languid, or languet plays the fipple's part.~~ The superiority of the lip flute for use with stringed instruments, whether twitched or played with a bow, seems to have met with an early recognition. ~~Fig. 43 represents a band playing in a Mask with which the wedding of Sir Henry Unton was celebrated.~~ Of the six instruments of which the band is composed, the only wind-instrument is a transverse flute. The picture¹ from which the figure is taken is believed to have been painted for Sir Henry's widow soon after his death, which took place in March, 1595-6, a time when the recorder was still in the enjoyment of its popularity.

The actual deathblow of the recorder seems to have been dealt by an improvement effected in the German flute of the period—an improvement of such importance as to render that instrument so immeasurably superior to its rival that no unprejudiced musician could hesitate for a moment in his choice between the two. This was the piercing of the tube with additional finger-holes for the completion of the chromatic octave. The opposition which the adoption of this expedient encountered affords a good example of how men, who from their ability and distinction should be the leaders of progress, can be so wedded to what is old, so blinded by audible, which seems to fear being overheard; then it laments softly, rising into the accent of reproach, then into that of profound woe, the cry of a heart torn by incurable wounds, then falling little by little into complaint, regret and the sorrowing murmur of a resigned soul.' *Treatise on Instrumentation*, p. 117.

¹ The Mask is engraved in Strutt's *Manners of the Inhabitants of England*, Vol. III, Plate XI. The original painting is now in the National Portrait Gallery. It contains a portrait of Unton, with various scenes from his life.

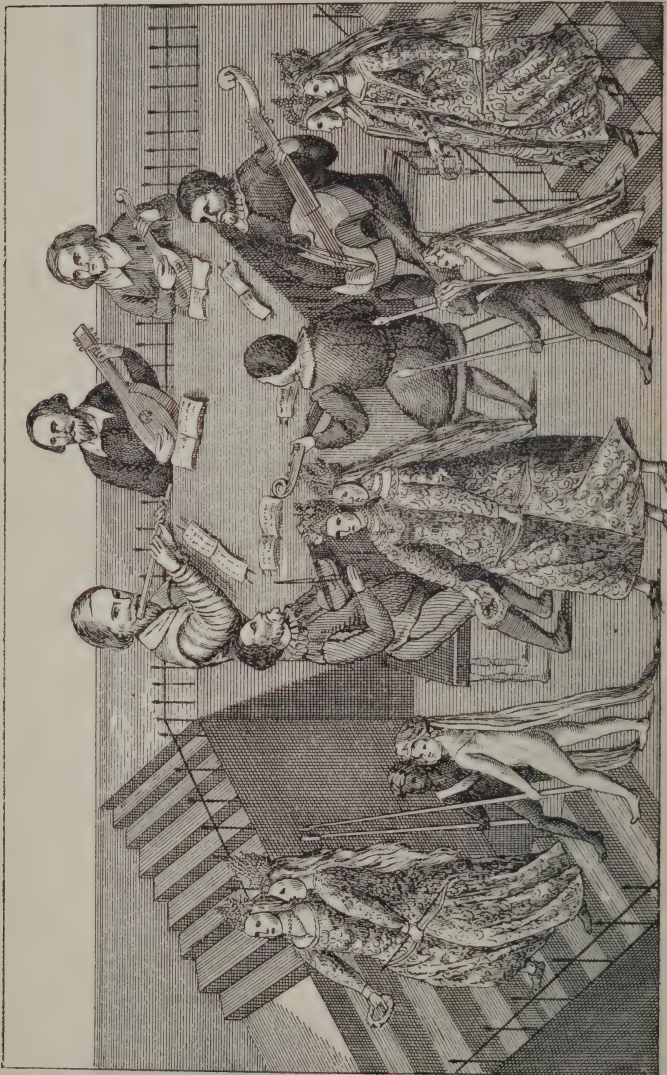


FIG. 43.—TRANSVERSE FLUTE IN COMBINATION WITH STRINGS

prejudice, and, ~~I fear it must be added,~~ so hostile to proposals not originated by themselves, as to reject and condemn the most obvious ameliorations. I have elsewhere,¹ called attention to this curious episode in the history of the flute, but it is so instructive that I make no apology for repeating it here, more especially as it is said that the same spirit of obstruction is at this day standing in the way of the reformation of the hautboy and the bassoon.

The transverse flute, like the recorder, was at first unprovided with holes for accidental notes; it was only pierced for the major diatonic scale of the key in which it was made (see Fig. 5, p. 31). Six of the notes issued from its six finger-holes, the seventh from the open end of the tube when all the holes were closed. If a player was in need of an accidental he proceeded to flatten the note above the semitone required by closing one or more holes below the hole through which issued the note he wished to flatten. In this way a smothered or suffocated sound was produced which did duty for the semitone required. These objectionable makeshifts for notes, so false in intonation and so feeble and wheezing in tone, brought the flute into just contempt with musicians. Scarlatti, for instance,

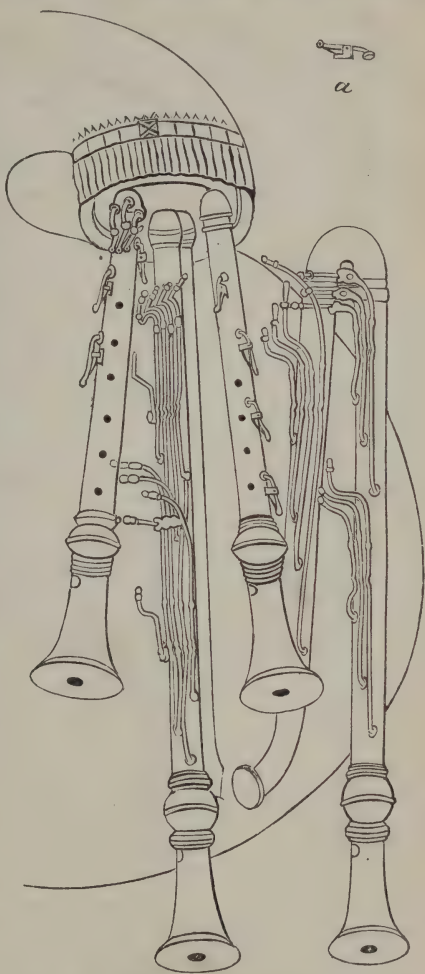


FIG. 44.—PIPES OF SOURDELINÉ SHOWING CLOSED KEYS

¹ *History of the Boehm Flute*, third edition, p. 218 seqq.

when asked to hear Quantz, the leading flute-player of the time, replied that he did not like wind instruments because they were never in tune. The same indictment, as I shall have occasion to mention, was thrown in the teeth of flute-players by both Burney and Hawkins; courteously, by the polished Doctor, in the form of a sneer, by the crusty Sir John.

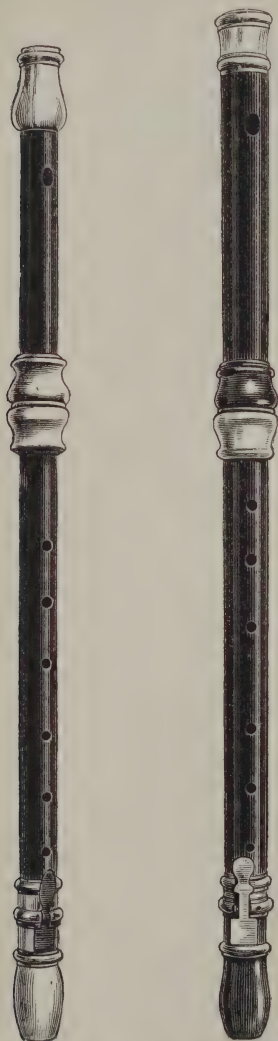


FIG. 45.—EARLY ONE-KEYED FLUTES

One would naturally think that it had never occurred to any one that the flute could be freed from its disgrace by the simple device of boring holes for the additional notes required to complete the chromatic octave, and covering them with keys kept closed by means of springs. So far, however, from such an expedient being unknown, as early as 1636 Mersenne had published a drawing of a finger-holed instrument which by means of closed keys could, to use his words, make all the semitones like the organ. It was a sort of bagpipe called the *Sourdeline*, or *Neapolitan Musette* (Fig. 44). The *Sourdeline* was manufactured in Italy, but so anxious was Mersenne that closed keys should be introduced in France that he not only gave a description of the way in which they were constructed but, as they were 'difficult to understand' when represented on the *sourdeline*, figured one of them apart from the

instrument (Fig. 44, *a*). He saw clearly how advantageously they could be applied to the flute, and proposed that a flute should be made with three sets of holes, one for the diatonic, another for the chromatic, and a third for the enharmonic genus, and then, he

declared, all that the Greeks knew could easily be executed on a little piece of wood. But, he added, I leave this investigation to the makers.¹

Mersenne's suggestion fell on deaf ears. Instead of taking immediate steps to enable the flute to 'make all the semitones like the organ' the makers allowed thirty or forty years to elapse before they bored a single additional hole in the tube, and even then they only consented to admit a key (Fig. 45) to make the one note, E \flat , for which no wheezing substitute could be found, it being impossible to smother the E \natural for the purpose. The key appears to have originated in France, but how, or when, it came into existence is unknown. Quantz believed that it appeared within a century of his time; M. Mahillon expresses the opinion that it might have been placed on the flute about 1677, when the instrument was introduced in the opera by Lulli.²

Looking back, it seems to us incredible that flute-players, having had their eyes opened by the appearance of this key, should not have insisted on being at once furnished with the four other keys which were so urgently needed; not far short of a century, however,

¹ I transcribe this remarkable passage. Referring to flutes, Mersenne writes: 'Si l'on vouloit prendre la peine de les percer tellement, que le genre Diatonic estant d'un costé, comme il est en effet, le Chromatic et l'Enharmonic fussent des deux autres costez, l'on executeroit aysément tout ce que les Grecs ont sceu, avec un petit morceau de bois: mais je laisse cette recherche aux Facteurs, aussi bien que la recherche du Diapason nécessaire pour les percer, quoy que les precedens monstrent les endroits des trous Diatoniques assez exactment pour en faire d'autres à l'imitation.' *Harmonie Universelle*, Book V, Prop. ix, p. 243. So full was Mersenne of ideas to which the notion of applying closed keys to the flute had given rise, that he imagined an organ composed of four flutes with all their holes covered with these keys. Each of the flutes was to be pierced with a sufficient number of holes to make nineteen notes, so that the three genera of music should be heard in their perfection. The instrument was to be 'so light that any one could carry it as easily as a violin or a lute'. The flutes were to be recorders, not German flutes, each was to be of the compass of an octave, one above another; their heads were to be inserted into a sound-board, and, for portability, they were to be made in joints. The way the keys were acted on was to be left to the makers, but Mersenne favoured the idea of a little drum which would 'make the diminutions and cadences with greater exactness and rapidity than the fingers of the most skilful organist.' In fact it was to be a barrel-organ.

² In a one-keyed flute, figured in Diderot and D'Alembert's *Encyclopaedia*, Vol. V of the plates (1756), the key works on French pillars, so that this contrivance—the French pillars—is much earlier than is usually supposed.

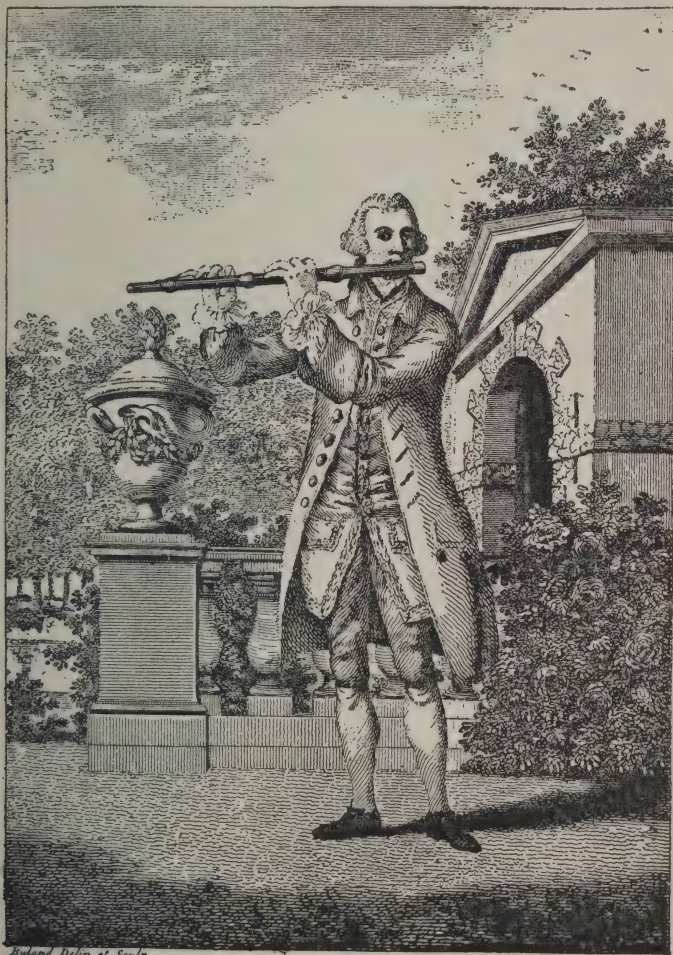
intervened before they were able to get them applied to the flute. The cry was raised that they would mar the perfection of the instrument.



FIG. 46.—FLUTE OF QUANTZ, WITH SEPARATE KEYS FOR D \sharp AND E \flat

Strange as it may seem, it was seriously maintained that in intonation the flute was perfect, its shortcomings being due, it was alleged, to the want of skill of those by whom it was played. It was even capable, authorities contended, of making enharmonic differences like the voice or the violin, and players actually went through the farce of fingering, where it was possible, the buzzing apologies for notes which as yet were unprovided with holes, in such a way as to express these refinements of intonation: thus the strangled C \sharp known as B \sharp was fingered differently from the asphyxiated D \flat styled C \natural ; the murmuring coo which went by the name of B \flat from the muffled moan called A \sharp ; the husky wail yecept G \sharp from the sepulchral croak dubbed A \flat . But the Solomons of the flute, although they were swallowing camels, were ready to strain at a gnat. Quantz gravely states that as he learnt by degrees to know the nature of the one-keyed flute he discovered that there was still a slight defect (*un petit défaut*) in connexion with the justness (*netteté*) of certain notes. The defect lay in the key which could only make E \flat , so, to render the flute absolutely faultless, he added a second key to make D \sharp (Fig. 46). That such a man as Quantz could believe in the perfection of an instrument without holes for four notes of the chromatic octave is a striking illustration of the power of bias to dominate the judgement. Quantz was not an ignorant bigot, but a man of varied musical attainments, who was well acquainted with the world. In addition to the flute he played the violin, the double bass, the trumpet, the hautboy, and the harpsichord, and was, moreover, a prolific composer. His *Essay*, which was published simultaneously in German and French,

though nominally devoted to the flute, is a mine of information, too little explored by modern writers, on the music and musical



Wyland Delin et Sculp.

Published according to Act of Parliament December 13.th 1766.

FIG. 47.—FRONTISPIECE TO GRANOM'S *Tutor*

instruments of the time. It contains a dissertation on the qualifications of the leader of the orchestra with separate chapters on the duties of the various instruments of which the orchestra is made up, and even includes a treatise on musical criticism.

At length the demand for holes for the chromatic notes became too pressing to be resisted. About forty years after Quantz had, as he thought, remedied the sole defect in the intonation of the flute by the addition of a second key, holes for $F\sharp$, $G\sharp$, and $B\flat$, were bored and covered with keys in the teeth of the opposition of the votaries of perfection.¹ The precise year in which these



FIG. 48.—THE FOUR CLOSED KEYS FROM THE SPECIFICATION OF POTTER'S PATENT

¹ To call in question the perfection of the flute was held to be an affront to the understanding. The following from Longman, Lukey & Co.'s *New Instructions for the German Flute*, will give an idea of the way in which a pupil who had misgivings on the subject was addressed by his master:—'In regard to' the one-keyed flute's 'supposed imperfections, such alligations are founded on a false principle, attributing that to the Instrument which hath been proved to be in the player himself, for want of those necessary requisites which only can enable him to make it appear what it really is, and which indeed to attain requires a close attention. But to obtrude these things on the judicious would be an affront to their understanding, who have already experienced the perfection of which it is capable and the pleasure it affords in the hands of a skilful Performer.' This paragraph was not confined to Longman and Lukey's book, it appeared with a slight difference in the wording in a code of instructions prefixed to a collection of duets for two German flutes, published by J. & J. Simpson, Sweeting's Alley, Royal Exchange, as follows:—

'... in regard to its supposed imperfections, they are absolutely founded on false principles, attributing that to the Instrument, which is in effect ye want of a good Ear or abilities in the Performer, whose [those ?] necessary requisites which only can enable him to make it appear what it really is, and which indeed to attain requires a closer attention than most persons who undertake this Instrument will bestow on it. But obtrude these remarks on

the judicious would be an affront to the understanding of those who have already experienced its perfections and the agreeable sensations it affords in the Hands of a skillfull Performer.'

keys were placed on the flute is uncertain.¹ Nothing is said about them in a Tutor by Granom, the date of which, 1766, can be identified from the frontispiece (Fig. 47), a fine engraving by Ryland. That they are not alluded to in this work is not, however, necessarily a proof that they were unknown at the time. Dr. Ribock, in his *Bemerkungen über die Flöte*, published in 1782, states that they were introduced not more than twenty years before he wrote, and adds that he had only seen them on flutes by two makers, Kusder of London and Tromlitz of Leipsic. To which of the two the honour of priority belongs there is no evidence to show, but the balance of probability is in favour of Kusder. Be this as it may, it was in England where the new system first took root. It is certain that between 1770 and 1780 flutes with the new keys, though unknown, or at least unrecognized in Paris and Berlin, were coming into use in London. They had been suggested by a flautist named Tacet,² and introduced by him in conjunction with Florio,

¹ Gerhard Hoffman, an architect of Rastenberg, is said to have applied the A \sharp and the G \sharp keys, the one to the hautboy, the other to the flute, as early as 1722; the key for F \natural is stated by M. Victor Mahillon to have been added in 1762 by Kusder of London.

² Tacet seems to have interested himself in the construction of flutes; Mr. Richard Carte says that he experimented, like Charles Nicholson's father, with large holes, and Ward speaks of him as a flute-maker. That he was the suggester, as well as the introducer, of the new keys we have on the authority of a distinguished contemporary musician, Dr. Samuel Arnold, who in his account of 'German Flutes with additional keys' given in his *New Instructions for the German Flute* (Harrison & Co., 18 Paternoster Row, 1787), writes: 'The German Flute has, within these few years, been greatly improved by the adoption of additional keys; an advantage first suggested by Mr. Tacet, and since pursued with very extraordinary success by Mr. Potter, the celebrated flute-maker, who has lately obtained a Patent for the construction of a Flute infinitely superior to anything of the kind hitherto invented.' Here follows a description of Potter's patent flute (the patent had been taken out in 1785, two years before Dr. Arnold's book was published), with its metal-lined head, 'sliding joint,' or draw-tube as we should call it, and keys with conical metal valves. Afterwards, Dr. Arnold again refers to Tacet: 'The following Scale will exhibit, at a single view, both the use and application of the additional keys introduced by Mr. Tacet, and improved by Mr. Potter, in his new-invented German Flute.'

Dr. Arnold's introduction contains the following passage: 'There are, it must be confessed, a number of works entituled Books of Instruction for this Instrument' (the flute) 'already extant in our language, and to be met with in every Musick Shop; such performances, however, which, as they are copied from one another, and all notoriously full of errors and absurdities, are equally a disgrace to literature and to the Science of Musick. This is the opinion of

another professional player; their manufacture was not confined to Kusder, the demand for them being sufficient to induce other makers to take them up,¹ and to interpolate scales of fingering for

every professional Gentleman with whom I have ever discoursed on the subject; and it has long been my own.' Unfortunately the sentence in which the Doctor embodies his scathing criticism will not bear a close examination from a literary point of view, but the opinion he expresses will probably be endorsed by those who have read the extracts from *Tutors* for the flute given in these pages.

The introduction of closed keys is farther discussed by M. Victor Mahillon, in an article on Transverse Flute, in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and in his *Catalogue du Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire de Bruxelles*; also by Mr. R. S. Rockstro, in his *Treatise on the Flute*.

¹ The following from the *Dictionary of Musicians* (1824) shows that in 1774 Potter was making flutes with the extra keys. The extract is taken from a biographical sketch of the career of a distinguished flute-player, Andrew Ashe. In addition to its historical value, it is of interest as it gives us a sample of the opposition the new keys had to encounter:—About the latter end of 1774, 'Le Sieur Vanhall (brother of the celebrated composer of that name) arrived at the Hague from London, and brought a flute, made by the present Mr. Potter's father, which had six keys. Vanhall announced a concert, in which he was to perform a concerto on this flute with *six keys*. It being the first of these improved instruments that had reached Holland, a general curiosity was excited to see where these keys could be placed on a flute. . . . These additional keys on Vanhall's flute were in his hands only ornamental, as he had not acquired the use of them; but when young Ashe—he was not sixteen at the time—'tried them, and found that they produced all the half notes as full and round as the notes natural to the instrument in its unkeyed state, he made up his mind to have this flute *coûte que coûte*; which he accomplished at a considerable price at the Count's indulgence. . . . After some months' application, the celebrated Wendling, successor to Quantz, the king of Prussia's master, came to the Hague, of whom young Ashe had some lessons; but on his second visit, Wendling told him that his flute was a bad one, as the long keys on the bottom joint spoiled the instrument, and that the small keys were of no use, particularly in quick passages. These observations of the master not corresponding with the high ideas and expectations the scholar entertained of its excellence, induced him to discontinue his lessons as soon as a proper respect for so distinguished a master would permit. Our young aspirant had then recourse to his own natural genius, and, after a few years' incessant application, became the admiration of Holland, chiefly from the uncommon fullness of his tone in those more abstruse keys in music, which could not be produced on the flutes then in general use, and which perfection was, erroneously in a great measure, ascribed to the performer, without allowing a participation in the honour to be due to the great improvement in the construction of the instrument.'

At this time the six-keyed flute was becoming popular in England, as will be shown in the next note. The long keys in the bottom joint, which Wendling

them in books of instruction they had published for the one-keyed flute.¹

said spoiled the instrument, were the open standing keys for making low C # and C # (see Fig. 50). The same objection to them—that they spoiled the flute—had been raised a quarter of a century earlier by Quantz, who maintained that they injured the tone, an idea adopted by Tromlitz. So great was the prejudice against them, that they were not adopted in France until the nineteenth century was well advanced; in fact Tulou to the last preferred for his own use a four-keyed flute. Wendling's belief that the small keys for making the semitones could not be used in rapid passages was also widespread. Even Tromlitz, though he made flutes with them, condemned them for the same reason, and declared that he preferred the flute of Quantz, with its two keys only. So far from being useless in rapid passages, the small keys facilitated execution in an extraordinary degree by abolishing the double action of the fingers—the raising of one finger and the putting down of another at the same moment—by which the notes unprovided with holes were produced. In the Boehm system there are two such cross or back-fingered notes involving great executive difficulties, to obviate which it has been proposed to reintroduce two of the small keys, all of which Boehm discarded. See the author's *History of the Boehm Flute*, third edition, p. 12.

¹ The plan usually adopted was to leave unchanged the body of the book containing the instructions for the one-keyed flute and the collection of tunes, but to remove the title-page, to substitute for it another in which the new flute was mentioned, and to append to the book a table of fingering with a drawing and a short description of the six-keyed instrument. Copies of the four *Tutors* about to be mentioned, in which recourse has been had to this expedient, are in the author's possession. The first is entitled 'New Instructions for the German Flute, Containing the Easiest and most modern Methods for Learners to play, To which is Added a favorite Collection of Minuets, Marches, Song Tunes, &c. Also The Method of double Tongueing, and a complete Scale and description of A new invented German Flute with the additional Keys, such as play'd on by two eminent Masters, Florio and Tacet. Pr. 1/6. London; Printed & Sold by Longman, Lukey & Co., No. 26, Cheap-side.'

The publishers' imprint, Longman, Lukey & Co., enables us to say that the title-page was engraved between 1771 and 1777, or 1778, the firm being so styled, according to Kidson's *British Music Publishers*, only during that time. As Longman & Lukey were musical instrument makers, we may take it for granted that they manufactured the new flute; indeed in that part of the work devoted to the one-keyed flute, mention is incidentally made of 'our new invented flutes', the instruments thus described being, presumably, six-keyed flutes; the context, however, only shows that they must have been made with the long C keys in the foot, not necessarily with the three new keys for accidentals.

Cahusac, by whom the second *Tutor* was published, was in business at the sign of the two flutes and violin, opposite St. Clement's Church, in the Strand, as early as 1755, but there is internal evidence that the *Tutor* cannot be earlier

The transverse flute was now pierced with holes for all the semi-

than 1769. Cahusac was a maker of both Common and German flutes, as well as bassoons. It is certain that he made the six-keyed flute, for it is so stated in the title which runs thus:—‘The Compleat Tutor for the German Flute, Containing the easiest and most modern Methods for Learners to play, To which is Added a favorite Collection of Song Tunes, Minuets, Marches, Duets, &c. Also The method of double Tongueing, and a Concise Scale & description of a new invented German Flute with additional Keys made by T: Cahusac such as play’d on by the two celebrated Masters, Tacet and Florio. Pr. 1s. 6d. London Printed for T. Cahusac Opposite St. Clements Church, Strand.’ A drawing which accompanies the scale of fingering for ‘Tacet and Florio’s’ (in the description ‘Tacet or Florio’s’) ‘new invented German Flutes’ represents a flute with the six keys shown in Fig. 50. It has no draw-tube for tuning purposes, but is said to be furnished with three interchangeable middle joints for ‘a sharp pitch’, ‘concert pitch’, and ‘a flat pitch’, respectively. It is stated that an ivory screw was fixed to the cork, which, by means of it, could be moved up or down to correspond with the particular joint the player was using.

In the third *Tutor* the notice relating to Tacet and Florio’s flute does not appear on the title-page, but is engraved below the frontispiece, which represents a gentleman in a cocked hat playing the one-keyed flute (Fig. 49). The following is a copy of the title-page: ‘The Compleat Tutor For the German Flute Containing The Best and Easiest Instructions for Learners to Obtain a Proficiency. Translated from the French. To which is Added a Choice Collection of y^e most Celebrated Italian, English and Scotch Tunes; Curiously adapted to that Instrument. Printed for and Sold by Jonathan Fentum the Corner of Salisbury Street near Southampton Street in the Strand, London. Where may be had all sorts of Music and Musical Instruments with Books of Instruction for Each. Price 1s. 6d. The Second Addition (*sic*) with Alterations and the Method of double Tongueing.’ Although the title corresponds word for word with that of a Tutor for the flute printed for, and sold by, Peter Thompson, musical instrument maker, at the Violin, Hautboy, and German Flute, the West end of St. Paul’s Churchyard, the date of which there is reason for believing is earlier than 1758, the earliest date assigned by Kidson to Fentum’s business is 1770, moreover, the book contains a tune from Arne’s *Jubilee Music* (1769). A drawing of Tacet and Florio’s six-keyed flute (Fig. 50) is added to the description, which only differs in a word or two from that given in Cahusac’s *Tutor*. It is not, however, as in Cahusac’s book, merely appended to the work, but is paginated and placed before the index. It was sold separately for sixpence, as the heading shows. It is worthy of note that a member of the Fentum family, Mr. Henry Fentum, was at the same premises (now removed to make way for the Hotel Cecil) as late as 1853. He was well known to the late Mr. A. J. Hipkins, who had very pleasant memories of him, and favoured Mr. Kidson with the information that he was a flute player of ability and occasionally played at the opera.

The fourth *Tutor* contains the subject of the Andante of Haydn’s surprise symphony, which was first played at one of Saloman’s concerts in 1791; the



NB To this Tutor is added a Complete Scale and Description of the Additional Notes of Flauto and Facets new invented German Flute with all the Keys.

FIG. 49.—FRONTISPIECE OF FENTUM'S Tutor for the German Flute

tones but one (C 2), the key¹ for which (Fig. 51, *a*) was not generally adopted until about the beginning of the next century, when the six-keyed was superseded by the eight-keyed flute.² But Tacet and

eighteenth century must therefore have been drawing to a close before it was issued. By this time the importance of the new keys was beginning to be generally recognized, for it is added to the table of fingering, 'The great improvement these Keys afford will easily be discovered by any judicious performer, and should be strongly recommended by all Masters of excellence.' Tacet and Florio disappear, the title being thus worded: 'New and Complete Instructions for the German Flute containing the Easiest & most modern Methods for Learners to obtain a Speedy Proficiency Carefully Corrected by the most Judicious Composers, to which is Added a favourite collection of Marches, Song tunes, Duetts &c. and a set of Preludes in different keys. Also the Method of Double Tongueing & a complete Scale and Description of the German Flute with all the Additional Keys. Entd at Stationers' Hall. Pr. 2s. London, Printed and Sold by Preston, at his Wholesale Music Warehouses, 97, Strand.' The table of fingering for the six-keyed flute is printed on a folding sheet and inserted at the end of the book. It is headed 'A Description of Potter's new invented Patent German Flute, With a complete Scale or Gamut explaining the use of all the Additional Keys. London. Printed and Sold by Preston 97 Strand. Where are sold Potter's new Invented German Flutes and all other sorts Wholesale & Retail.' Although the intercalated sheet professes to give an account of Potter's patent flute, it does not contain the remotest allusion to that instrument, but is the same, word for word, as the 'Scale and description of the additional notes of Florio and Tacet's new invented German Flutes with all the Keys' in Fentum's book. One of the items of Potter's patent (1785) was a draw-tube intended to supersede the interchangeable middle joints, yet the joints are still included in the description, the draw-tube not being mentioned, nor shown in the drawing.

The above do not exhaust the list of *Tutors* for the six-keyed flute. There is Dr. Arnold's book mentioned in note 2, p. 95. Again, Wragg's *Preceptor*, which came out not long before 1792, is confined to the six keys, the use of them being only indicated in connexion with the shakes. Even Nicholson's *Complete Preceptor*, the date of which is as late as about 1816, is intended for the six-keyed instrument, a drawing of which, several times repeated, is given.



¹ In the English eight-keyed flute as played by Wragg, this key was assigned to the second finger of the left hand; it had been previously given by Ribock (1782) to the left thumb; finally, it was transferred to the first finger of the right hand.

² We know that the eight-keyed flute was in use in 1806, for Wragg in a second instruction-book issued in that year under the title of the *Improved Flute Preceptor*, states that the work contains 'ample instructions for an eight-keyed flute'. In this book he meets an objection which he foresees will be raised, 'that even a six-keyed instrument does not answer as well as a five; then how should an eight?' Wragg replies that if a flute is not made with patent keys the observation may be well founded, but if one key

30

**A Complete Scale and Description
of the additional Notes of Florio &
Tacet's new invented German Flutes
with all the Keys.**

**London. Printed and sold by J. Fentum
the Corner of Salisbury Street, Strand. Price 6^d**

The Dots marked  or  denotes they are Keys.

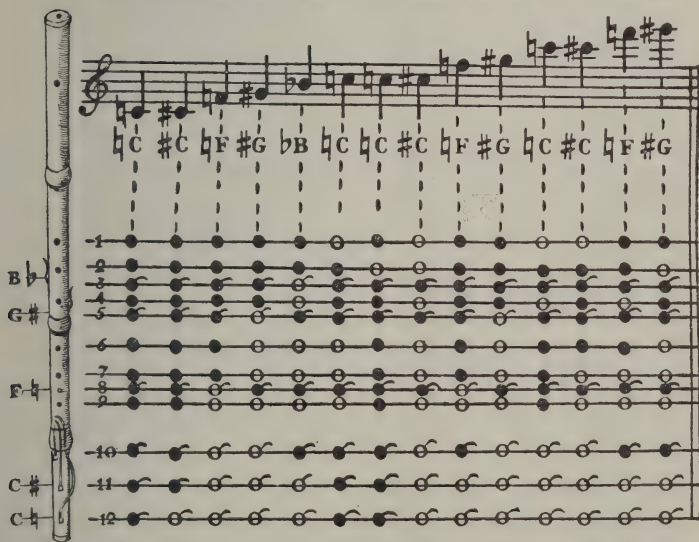


FIG. 50.—TACET AND FLORIO'S FLUTE WITH TABLE OF FINGERING OF NOTES AFFECTED BY THE KEYS, FROM FENTUM'S *Tutor*

can be made to stop closely, with great care on the part of the flute-maker, an eight-keyed can be made to stop as well as a five- or six-keyed flute, adding that he has played on an eight-keyed flute for a considerable time, and never found it out of order. The eight-keyed flute, however, was not immediately taken up. In Nicholson's *Preceptor*, the date of which can be fixed by inference at about ten years later than that of Wragg's second work, it is not so much as mentioned. But in the course of twenty years it had become so firmly established that Nicholson in his *School for the Flute* (1836) ignores the six-keyed instrument.



FIG. 51.—EIGHT-KEYED
LUTE FLUTE. *a*, C2 Key.
b, duplicate F \sharp Key

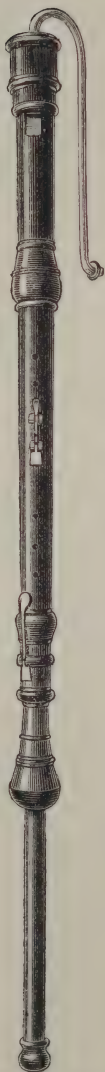


FIG. 52.—IM-
PROVED BASS
FIPPLE FLUTE

Florio's six-keyed flute possessed a perfect C2, although there was no special hole for that note. The compass of the instrument had been extended downwards by means of two long open-standing keys (Fig. 50), so that the note which issued from the open end of the tube when all the holes were closed was no longer D but C. The player, then, had only to shut all the holes and raise the middle finger of the left hand to produce a very fine C2.¹

It will now be asked why the admirers of the recorder did not proceed to apply the new keys, on their advantages becoming recognized, to their favourite instrument. It certainly cannot be said that efforts to improve it were never made; one such attempt may be seen on the bass flute represented in Fig. 52, where the hole

¹ This note was often used by players on the eight-keyed flute, although that instrument was furnished with a closed key for C2. It was one of the richest and most beautiful notes of the flute. Although called Nicholson's C, it was known to those who played Tacet and Florio's six-keyed flute, the fingering for it—all the holes closed except that for B \sharp —being given in the scale for that instrument (see Fig. 50, second fingering for C2).

closed with the third finger of the left hand is brought more into its proper place and covered with an open-standing key ; whilst a glance at the Chester Flutes (Fig. 60, p. 164) will show that for one large hole two small holes were substituted on both the discant and the alto. It seems likely, however, that when considering how to apply to the Common flute the five keys required for the completion of the chromatic octave, the flute-makers found themselves foiled by mechanical difficulties. Of the ten digits with which the hands are furnished, nine only are available for closing holes, the tenth, the right thumb, being required for holding the flute. The transverse flute was pierced with six uncovered holes ; after a finger had been assigned to each of them there still remained three digits—the two little fingers and the left thumb—available for working keys. But there were eight uncovered holes in the recorder, so that, when they were all closed, there was at liberty one digit only, the left little finger. It is true that one of the closed keys of the transverse flute, that for $F\sharp$, was governed by a finger which had also the duty of closing a hole, but the difficulty of sliding from the hole to the key was found to be so great that in the eight-keyed flute a duplicate $F\sharp$ key (Fig. 51, *b*) was placed on the instrument. That the eight holes were the cause of closed keys not being had recourse to on the recorder seems to be confirmed by the circumstance that such keys were applied to an instrument which, though a member of the recorder family, was pierced with only six holes, the flageolet (see Fig. 27, p. 54).

ERRORS OF SIR JOHN HAWKINS, DR. BURNLEY, MR. WILLIAM
CHAPPELL, AND CARL ENGEL

Having now traced the decline and fall of the recorder, I will turn to the erroneous opinions which have so long and so universally been held on the subject of the instrument. The man who is chiefly responsible for misleading the world is Sir John Hawkins. In dealing with him it is necessary to premise that he was under the influence of a dislike to the flute so violent that it fell little short of a monomania. The very name of a flute, or a flute player, was to him a red rag. Even the ancient Roman Temple Flute players, whose duties in the ritual of their religion were far more important than are those of Cathedral organists in the services of our Church, the importance of their duties being equalled by the honour in which they were held, are pronounced to be remarkable for their insolence

and their intemperance.¹ But when Fludd, or de Fluctibus, as he

¹ Hawkins's *History of Music*. Preliminary Discourse.

Sir John has taken seriously one of the most absurd tales that ever found its way to the pages of history. Could any sane man be induced to believe that the people of a town seventeen or eighteen miles from London, having invited the College of Organists collectively to a banquet, or individually to their own houses, could so ply them with wine that they could be thrown into wagons, like so many sacks of coal, and carted to London without their knowledge and against their will ?

The high honour in which, as Ovid in his account of the matter testifies, the Roman flute players were held at the time, their dignified conduct in retiring to Tibur instead of brawling in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, or ungraciously refusing their services at a sacrifice, the consideration with which they were treated by the Tiburtines, the anxiety of the Roman Senate to bring about their return, the farewell entertainment given to them at Tibur, the conveyances provided to take them back to Rome at its conclusion, the joy with which they were welcomed by the populace, the restitution of their privileges, and the institution of an annual public ceremony to commemorate their success in resisting the attempted encroachment on their rights, tell a very different tale from that to which Sir John Hawkins has given credence.

Livy, it should be remembered, had no personal knowledge of the incident he related ; it took place in the year 309 B.C., three centuries before his time. The chief source from which Roman historians drew their information on the past was the Annals, or official records of public events. The Annals were compiled and kept by the Priests of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, this being the very Temple in which the flute players taking the sacrificial service were deprived of the distinction conferred on them by Numa Pompilius in recognition of the holiness of their function in relation to the Divine. Attempts, such as are being made at the present time in our cathedrals to lower the status of the organists, the modern representatives of the Temple flute players, are not of recent origin. Although Appius Claudius was the ostensible agent in the high-handed proceeding, it was the Priests of the Temple of Jupiter who would have been aggrandized, had the attack on the College of Flute players proved successful. What, then, is more natural than that, foiled and mortified, they should, in revenge, have so distorted the facts as to transmit to posterity the materials for the tissue of ridiculous and incredible nonsense repeated, each with his own variations and embellishments, by Livy, Valerius Maximus, Plutarch, Ovid, and Sir John Hawkins ? See note 1, p. 318.

That flute-players were fond of wine in Livy's time is likely enough, for the primitive simplicity of the Roman life had passed away, luxury and dissipation having crept into every class of society. A future Livy of the twenty-second century, desirous of fastening a charge of intemperance on the English violinists of our time, might assert with perfect truth that 'as drunk as a fiddler' was a saying in common use amongst us ; but, if he were not devoid of a sense of justice, he would be compelled to add that the worship of Bacchus was not confined to those who played the violin, there having been another adage equally well known, 'as drunk as a lord.'

called himself, latinizing his name, a distinguished physician and philosopher of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, compares the universe to a pipe into which God breathes life and motion, so exasperated becomes Sir John at the instrument he holds in such contempt being used for this noble figure, that he declares it to be impossible to convey in words an idea of the author's folly and absurdity.¹

Sir John's antipathy to the flute would have mattered little had its only effect been to betray him into the use of intemperate language ; unfortunately, however, it gave rise to a mental aberration which led him to manifest a want of accuracy at almost every step.

The chief crime laid to the charge of the inoffensive object of Sir John's aversion is that it was ' taken to by the fine gentlemen of the time '.² From Chaucer's Squire downwards the flute seems to have been associated with social position. In the frontispieces of the books of instruction I have had occasion to bring forward the flute-players represented are evidently men of fashion ; but we are not bound to suppose that because they are attired *à la mode*, they must be fops. It is true that one of them is depicted in the act of practising before a mirror,³ but this is not necessarily an indication of vanity ; many modern masters, Boehm amongst them, have recommended their pupils to practise in this way, and it is to be regretted, as the postures of some of our leading flute-players too plainly show, that the advice is not more generally followed. Moreover, it should be remembered that when Sir John Hawkins wrote, the harpsichord and the pianoforte (the latter just coming into use) were looked upon as effeminate ; he who took up the violin had to run the risk of being stigmatized as a fiddler, not to mention the circumstance that the instrument, even in its elementary stages, was difficult to master ; neither the cornet-à-pistons, the concertina, nor the banjo had been invented ; whilst the hautboy and the bassoon were more suitable to the orchestra than the drawing-room. Amateurs, then, who wished to take part in music as a recreation, but had no intention of making the art a serious study, or, to use Sir John Hawkins's words, who ' were content to excel only on those instruments on which a moderate degree of proficiency might be attained with little labour and application ', had no alternative but to fall back on the flute.

So strong is Sir John's *animus* against flute-players that one cannot

¹ *History of Music*, Book XIV, chap. cxxix.

² *Ibid.*, Book XVI, chap. cliii.

³ See Fig. 39, p. 80.

help suspecting that he was under the influence of some unknown provocation; that, possibly, he might have been brought into contact from time to time during his literary labours with an offensive flute-playing coxcomb, and thus, like Hotspur on the battle-field, being galled

To be so pester'd with a popinjay,

the grave and reverend historian of music so far forgot his dignity as to quote with approval, in connexion with flute-players, the following: 'The beaux' of former days 'were of quite a different cast from the modern stamp, and had more of the stateliness of the peacock in their mien, than which now seems to be their highest emulation, the pert air of the lapwing'.¹ 'We daily hear,' exclaims the incensed Knight, 'of a fine embouchure and a brilliant finger, terms equally nonsensical when applied, as they are, to the German flute;' but in his eagerness to hurl his missile 'nonsensical' at the pert lapwings, he overlooks the circumstance that the flute, having, save in the hands of an exceptionally gifted player, comparatively little power of marking rhythm and modifying sustained notes, relies for its effect on its exceptional flexibility and the unrivalled charm of its tone, so that there is no instrument to which a rapid finger and a good embouchure are of such importance.

After committing himself to the assertion that those who played the flute were less sensible of the charms of melody and harmony than those who made the lute or the viol de gamba the instrument of their choice, and stating that, coming nearer to his own time, the flute was the pocket companion of many who wished to be thought fine gentlemen, and that the use of it was to entertain ladies, and such as had a liking for no better music than a song² tune, Sir John

¹ The passage is taken from Colley Cibber's *Apology* for his Life, p. 214 of the 4to edition. The specimen of the stately-peacock-beaux was a gentleman of fortune who had been educated at Oxford, and was occupying chambers in the Temple. He made his way to the green-room of the theatre where Cibber acted, to inquire of him the price of 'a fair full-bottom'd Periwig' which he was wearing on the stage. 'This singular beginning of our conversation,' writes Cibber, 'ended in an Agreement to finish our Bargain over a Bottle. . . . That single bottle was the sire of many a jolly dozen.' The incident here related took place in 1695. The stately peacock would seem to have given way to the pert lapwing before 1740, this being the year in which Cibber's *Apology* was published.

² At this time there were in existence hundreds of classical compositions for the flute in the form of concertos and sonatas with figured bass, as Sir John Hawkins well knew.

informs his readers that from the time when Hotteterre le Romain published his instructions for the German flute, instructions which, he adds, were afterwards improved by Monsieur Corrette in his Method for that instrument, the practice of the flute à bec descended to young apprentices of tradesmen. Sir John states that Hotteterre's work was published about 1710, a date which has been given as that of Corrette's Method,¹ it being said that Hotteterre's *Principes de la Flûte traversière*, as the book was entitled, came out as early as, if not earlier than 1699, Fétis asserting that its title appears in a catalogue of musical works appended to a publication issued in that year.²

But, be this as it may, although it is true that in the early part of the eighteenth century the German, or lip flute, was supplanting the Common or fipple flute, yet we should certainly be in error were we to believe, drawing an inference from Sir John's words, that by 1710 the change had gone so far that the use of the fipple flute was confined to the apprentices of tradesmen, as the following will show :—

In 1772 Grano was playing solos on the German and the Common flute the same evening.³ Of the same date we have the following

¹ By Mr. Rockstro in his *Treatise on the Flute*, on the authority of Mendel and Reissman. Fétis gives 1788, which is obviously incorrect, for Hawkins's *History*, in which the work is mentioned, was published in 1776. On the other hand, 1710 seems to be too early, for Fétis states that in 1780 Corrette held the title of organist to the Duke of Angoulême, so that, if we assume that he was only twenty when his Method was brought out, by 1780 he would have been ninety years of age.

² M. Ernest Thoinan, in his brochure entitled *Les Hotteterre*, maintains that the catalogue to which Fétis appeals did not originally form part of the work to which it is attached, and that *Les Principes de la Flûte traversière* was not published until 1707. He adds that Hotteterre le Romain (whose Christian name, it appears, was not Louis, as it is usually given, but Jacques) says himself, in one of his pieces of 1708, that it was in the preceding year that he published his *Traité de Flûte*.

³ Burney's *History of Music*, vol. iv, p. 647. In an account of a concert given on May 21, 1726, Burney says, 'at the desire of several gentlemen and ladies, Mr. Grano performed on the trumpet and German flute.' He also states that Grano frequently played solos on the trumpet, German flute, and Common flute the same evening, and that his trumpet march was long used by the Guards. In addition to his instrumental accomplishments, Grano must have been a skilful vocalist, for Hawkins writes: 'Stanesby, the flute-maker, a very ingenious man, in the year 1736, declared that besides Dr. Pepusch he never met with but one person who could sol-fa by the hexachords, namely Mr. John Grano, the author of sundry Trumpet tunes and a celebrated

advertisement: 'Richmond Wells will continue open every Day during the Summer Season, by the Proprietors of the last year. There is an extraordinary set of Musick to play Mornings and Evenings; and on Mondays will be a select Band of Musick from the Opera, that perform the most celebrated Opera Songs, accompany'd with the Harpsichord, French Horns, Flutes, and German Flutes.'¹ Burney, in enumerating the favourite musicians of 1731, mentions Jack Festing (Michael Festing's brother) on the German, and Baston on the Common flute. In the same year a code of instructions for the instrument appeared in Prelleur's *Music Master* (Fig. 38, p. 79). Indeed, the issue of instruction books did not cease until long afterwards, as can be proved by internal evidence of the books themselves. Thus, Tyther's *Complete Flute Master* (Fig. 40, p. 81) contains a Musette and Minuet from Howard's *Amorous Goddess*, which was not composed until 1744, and the *Compleat Instructions for the Common Flute* (Fig. 42, p. 83), King George III's Minuet; so that this work must be later than 1760, the year in which George III ascended the throne. In 1732, as we are informed by Sir John Hawkins himself, Stanesby, the flute-maker, in conjunction with Lewis Merci, a flute-player well known at the time, was endeavouring to introduce a fipple flute of a new construction, in the hope of arresting the fall of the old favourite.² When Burney was at Florence, in 1770, he heard a Mr. Hempson, an English gentleman, who, he writes, 'plays the common flute in a particular manner, improving the tone very much by inserting a piece of sponge into the mouthpiece, through which the wind passes. He performed two or three difficult Concertos, by Hasse, and Nardini, very well.'

Nor had the custom of transposing songs for the fipple flute ceased. For instance, *Tamerlane*, which was not produced until 1724, was published with the following title and preface: 'TAMERLANE for the FLUTE: an OPERA composed by Mr. Handel. Engraved, Printed and sold by J. Cluer in Bow Churchyard, London.'

performer on that instrument.' When describing Grano, Dr. Burney, usually so urbane, allows the enmity with which amateurs who did not confine themselves to private performances were once regarded by professional musicians to peep out: 'this Grano,' he says, 'was a kind of mongrel *dilettante*, who during many years condescended to make concerts and give lessons *en professeur*, always insinuating that it was for the pleasure of amusing the public and instructing individuals.'

¹ Chancellor's *Historical Richmond*, Appendix, p. 266.

² *History of Music*, chap. cxxvi, note.

‘PREFACE.

‘It having been a constant practice for several years past, to Transpose for the Common Flute all the Opera’s which are perform’d upon our Stage, a great many Persons have Complain’d, and still Complain Dayly, of several Faults in the Way hitherto us’d in Transposing; Namely, that the Songs are fitted for the Flute only, and so entirely useless for any other Instrument; that very often the highest Notes of the Flute are made use of, which are difficult and uncertain; that in the middle of the Songs little Pieces of the Symphonies are incerted, which causeth often Repetitions of the same Passages over and over again; all these things are avoided in this Work, for all, or most of the Songs may be Play’d not only on the Common Flute, but German Flute or Violin; there is not one Song that goes higher than E above, and all the Symphonies are left out, except those that are absolutely Necessary either to introduce or support the Song, and the Voice Part is preserv’d entire.’


The work extends to twenty-one pages, and contains thirty airs commencing with the overture, without any figured bass or other accompaniment.¹

Sir John does not take leave of the flute without firing a parting shot at the pert lapwings; ‘the German or traverse flute,’ he tells his readers, ‘still retains some degree of estimation among gentlemen, whose ears are not nice enough to inform them that it is never in tune.’ Here Sir John again trips. ‘The imperfection of the flute,’ he explains, ‘consists in the impossibility of attempering its tones, there being no rule or canon by which it can be tuned;’² whereas it depended, as I have pointed out, on the circumstance that the instrument was deficient in the number of holes necessary to make the chromatic octave; it was not, therefore, until it got out of the

¹ Below the ‘Preface’ is the following, which seems to point to the piracies, which Dr. Schoelcher has traced to Walsh, of Handel’s compositions published by Cluer:

‘ADVERTISEMENT.

‘This Day is publish’d, The Favourite Songs in the Opera of TAMERLANE, in English and Italian. Engrav’d, printed and sold by J. Cluer in Bow Church-Yard. Where may be had the whole Opera of TAMERLANE in Score, Corrected and Figur’d by Mr. Handel’s own Hand; and to render the work more acceptable to Gentlemen and Ladies, every Song is truly translated into English Verse, and the Words engraved to the Musick under the Italian, which was never before attempted in any Opera.

‘ If J. Cluer’s Name is not on the Title Pages of these Works, they are spurious Editions, and not those Corrected and Figur’d by Mr. Handel.’

² *History of Music*. Preliminary Discourse. Note.

key for which it was pierced that its intonation became so intolerable. This could have been no secret when Sir John wrote, for Burney, referring to Pronomus, the Greek flute-player, who invented a flute on which he could play in three different modes, remarks : ‘ Before his time there was a particular flute for every mode or key, and so *out of tune* are the majority of modern flutes that it were almost to be wished that the custom had still continued.’¹ Moreover, before Hawkins’s *History* saw the light the reproach had been removed. Although there is some uncertainty as to the precise year in which additional keys were first applied to the one-keyed flute, we have just seen that in 1774 lip flutes with holes for all the semitones, save one, were being manufactured in England.

But there was a Nemesis awaiting Sir John. The instrument which he professed to regard with such disdain proved to be a stumbling-block over which he was destined to fall, and fall heavily. The failings to which I have called attention are mere trifles and sink into insignificance if compared with his misapprehensions when he treats of the recorder. It is doubtful if the literature of music affords a parallel to the congeries of inaccuracies and misconceptions to be found in the following, which is his account of that instrument : ‘ The flute appears to be an instrument of great antiquity in this kingdom ; it is frequently mentioned by Chaucer ; and it seems, by the description of it in Mersennus, that there was a species of it, which by himself and other foreigners was termed the English Flute, “ *Fistula dulcis seu Anglica.*” The proper and most discriminating appellation for it is that of the Flute à bec, or beaked flute ; nevertheless we meet with ancient books of instructions for the instrument, wherein it is termed, but very improperly, as it is conceived, the Recorder. Milton could never mean that they were one and the same instrument, when in the same line he mentions

Flutes and soft Recorders.

‘ Among bird-fanciers the word record is used as a verb to signify the first essays of a bird in singing ; and it is well known that Bullfinches and other birds are taught to sing by a flajolet. Lord Bacon in his *Natural History*, cent. iii, sect. 221, speaks of Recorders and Flutes at the same instant, and says that the Recorder hath a less bore and a greater, above and below ; and elsewhere, cent. ii, sect. 187, he speaks of it as having six holes, in which respect it answers to the Tibia minor or flajolet of Mersennus. From

¹ Burney, *History of Music*, vol. i, chap. iv.

all which particulars it should seem that the Flute and the Recorder were different instruments, and that the latter in propriety of speech was no other than the flajolet.

‘ Nevertheless the terms are confounded ; and in a book of instructions and lessons for the flute, so old that the notation is by dots, the instructions for the instrument are entitled directions for the Recorder.’

In examining this extraordinary accumulation of errors, one scarcely knows where to begin. Perhaps, however, that which has been most potent in leading later writers astray is the statement in which Sir John conveys the impression that Bacon described the recorder as a six-holed instrument. Turn where we will, we find the effect of what Sir John has written. So enduring is the mischief it has wrought, that although nearly a century and a quarter have elapsed since Sir John Hawkins’s *History of Music* appeared, yet in an otherwise admirable and charming little book, written only a year or two ago by a member of our Association, we are told that Bacon says that the recorder had six holes, and that the six holes may be seen on any penny whistle.

It is, of course, almost needless to say that we look in vain for such an assertion in Bacon. What we do find is a sentence in which Bacon refers to ‘ the first three ’ and to ‘ the three uppermost ’ holes of the recorder. It was by adding these two threes together that Sir John arrived at the number six ; it seems never to have occurred to him that a recorder might have other holes besides ‘ the first three ’ and ‘ the three uppermost ’. Moreover, owing to the difficulty of ascertaining Bacon’s meaning, we are unable to identify the holes named ; so that, if it should be that ‘ the three uppermost ’ are included in ‘ the first three ’, only four holes would be mentioned. Dr. Stone, when writing an article on the recorder for Grove’s *Dictionary*, not being able to understand the sentence, ingeniously laid the blame on Lord Bacon, declaring that the ‘ paragraph begets a suspicion that the learned writer was not practically acquainted with the method of playing this instrument ’. There is a passage in the *Sylva Sylvarum* from which it may be inferred that Dr. Stone’s suspicion was not well founded ;¹ but there can be no doubt about the obscurity of Bacon’s paragraph, which is as follows :—‘ There is required some sensible difference in the

¹ ‘ . . . in pipes, and the like, the lower the note holes be, and the farther off from the mouth of the pipe, the more base the sound they yield ; and the nearer the mouth, the more treble.’—*Century II*, section 178.

proportion of creating a note, towards the sound itself, which is the passive ; and that it be not too near, but at a distance. For, in a recorder, the three uppermost holes yield one tone, which is a note lower than the tone of the first three. And the like, no doubt, is required in the winding or stopping of strings.’

Strange as is Sir John’s oversight respecting the number of the holes of the recorder, his assumption that Bacon used the word flute to denote the English, Common, or Fipple flute, or, as Sir John wished it to be called, the *flûte à bec*, is scarcely more excusable ; for before his eyes in the very work from which he was quoting, the *Sylva Sylvarum*, or *Natural History*, there was a passage in which Lord Bacon had indicated in the clearest and plainest language a man could use that by the word flute he meant the very same instrument, the German, transverse, or lip flute, to which we now apply the term. ‘ But then you must note,’ he writes, ‘ that in recorders which go with a gentle breath, the concave of the pipe, were it not for the fipple which straitneth the air, much more than the simple concave, would yield no sound. . . . And note again that some kind of wind instruments are blown at a small hole in the side, which straitneth the breath at the first entrance ; the rather in respect of their traverse and stop above the hole, which performeth the fipple’s part ; as is seen in flutes and fifes which will not give sound by a blast at the end, as recorders, &c., do.’¹

But the most amazing of all Sir John’s self-deceptions is his delusion that books of instruction entitled for one instrument were really intended for another. How any man in his sober senses, much less one who aspired to write a *History of Music*, could entertain such a belief seems, at first sight, to pass all understanding. That Sir John’s conviction that books of instruction, stated to be for the recorder, were really intended for the flute, did not open his eyes to the fact that the flute and the recorder were the same instrument is, however, to be ascribed to the almost inconceivable influence of a power against which we can never be too much on our guard : a power which tempts us, as we shall see when we come to Mr. Chappell, to distort passages and to alter expressions

¹ It has been said that Lord Bacon, although he was the founder of the inductive method, showed himself to be but an indifferent scientist when he proceeded to put his system into practice. His observing power is certainly at fault here, for it is neither the mouth-hole nor the ‘ traverse or stop ’ of the lip flute which performs the fipple’s part in straightening the air, but the lips of the performer.

in order to make them correspond with our ideas—the power of preconceived opinion. It was not only on Sir John Hawkins and Mr. Chappell that this power made itself felt. No writer on the recorder has brought greater learning or more research to bear on his subject than Mr. Douce. Although Mr. Douce has the sagacity to perceive that Sir John's belief that the books of instruction were not intended for the instrument for which they were entitled 'seems', to use his polite phrase, 'rather doubtful,' yet so entirely are our reasoning powers under the dominion of prejudice, that, having accepted the view that the flute and the recorder were different, he brings forward in support of his opinion arguments which really tell against it. The following is an extract from his remarks on the recorder in his able and interesting work entitled *Illustrations of Shakespeare* :—

'*Recorders*—i.e., says Mr. Steevens, a kind of large flute. Yet the former note to which he refers, Vol. V., p. 149, describes the instrument as a small flute. Sir J. Hawkins in Vol. IV., p. 479, of his valuable *History of Music* has offered very good proofs that the recorder was a *flagelet*, and he maintains that the flute was improperly termed a recorder, and that the expressions have been confounded; yet his opinion that the books of instructions entitled "for the recorder" belong in reality to the flute, seems rather doubtful. . . . In Udall's *Flowers for Latine Spekyng selected out of Terence*, 1532, 12mo, the line from Virgil's *Bucolics*,

Nec te poeniteat calamo trivisse labellum,

is rendered, "and thinke it not a smalle thinge to have lerned to playe on the *pype* or the recorder": and it is not a little curious that in modern cant language the recorders of corporations are termed *flutes*. The following story in *Wits Fits and Fancies*, 1595, 4to, shows that the pipe and the recorder were different; such is the uncertainty of definition among old writers: A merrie recorder of London mistaking the name of one *Pepper*, call'd him *Piper*: whereunto the partie excepting, and saying: Sir, you mistake, my name is *Pepper*, not *Piper*; hee answered: why, what difference is there (I pray thee) between *Piper* in Latin and *Pepper* in English; is it not all one? No, Sir, (reply'd the other) there is even as much difference betweene them, as is between a *pipe* and a *recorder*.'

Had Mr. Douce not allowed his judgement to be warped, he would have perceived that Pepper's very smart rejoinder, instead of proving that the pipe and the recorder were different, proves, if it proves anything at all (which it does not), that they were one and the same. 'It is true,' says Pepper, in effect, 'that piper in

Latin and pepper in English are all one ; but it is also true that a pipe and a recorder are all one ; nevertheless, you, though a Recorder, are not a pipe, nor am I, though Pepper, piper.'

To reply further to Sir John's arguments would be a work of supererogation ; I shall content myself with a proof of the identity of Sir John's flute, with his recorder, taken out of Sir John's own book. To show 'that the flute was formerly the instrument of a gentleman', after appealing to 'that graphical species of repre-



FIG. 53

sentation called still life', Sir John goes on to say, 'but if this particular fail to prove that the flute was the recreation of gentlemen, what shall be said to a portrait of one of our poets, who died above fifty years ago, drawn when he was about twenty, wherein he is represented in a full trimmed blue suit, with scarlet stockings, rolled above his knees, a large white peruke, and playing on a flute near half an ell in length ; or to this' (Fig. 53), 'which is the frontispiece to a book of instructions and lessons for this instrument, published about the year 1700.'

Now a comparison of Sir John's figure with the engraving in *The Genteel Companion* (Fig. 34, p. 74) shows that in 1683, seventeen years before he appeared in the book of instructions for

the flute, Sir John's fine gentleman was doing duty in the frontispiece of Salter's *Exact Directions for the Recorder*. It is true that by 1700 the lady, whom I have supposed to be his wife, had disappeared, but the fine gentleman is still sitting on the same chair, with his legs still crossed, is wearing the same periwig, the same coat, the same breeches, the same stockings, the same shoes, is playing on the same instrument, and even fingering the same note.

A seeker for information on the subject of the recorder, who felt dissatisfied with Hawkins's account of the instrument, would naturally bethink him of Burney. Hawkins and Burney were rival historians. Sir John was a man of sterling worth, but he was so harsh and bearish that Doctor Johnson, though he appointed him his executor, declared him to be unclubable; Burney, on the other hand, was the embodiment of urbanity and politeness. Moreover, Sir John was not within the charmed circle of the musical profession, whilst he and Burney wrote at a time when the jealousy with which outsiders were looked upon was far greater than it is at present. The feeling with which Hawkins was regarded by the partisans of Burney is well shown in Callcott's once popular catch, where he is treated contemptuously in the words when taken by themselves, but is more than ridiculed when the catch is sung, the music being so contrived that the singers seem to say to each other :

Sir John Hawkins :
 Burn his History :
 How do you like him ?
 Burn his History.

The whole of Hawkins's five volumes were published in 1776, but only the first of Burney's four came out in that year; the remaining three were issued at intervals, the third, which contained the notice of the recorder, not appearing until 1789, thirteen years afterwards. The inquirer would therefore naturally think that, if Hawkins was mistaken, Burney could be relied on to point out the error. But, on turning to Burney, what would he find? Nothing less than a direct and unqualified confirmation of the opinion expressed by Hawkins: 'a recorder,' he writes, 'is a flageolet, or bird pipe.'¹

How is this to be accounted for? The answer is, unhappily, only too simple; Burney availed himself of Sir John's labours, but omitted to acknowledge his obligation. I am not the first to make

¹ Burney's *History of Music*, Vol. III, p. 336.

the discovery ; Burney was detected long ago by Mr. William Chappell, and detected in precisely the same way, through him having followed Sir John into his mistakes. 'He copied,' writes Mr. Chappell, 'especially from Hawkins, without acknowledgement, and disguised the plagiarism by altering the language. Many of his appropriations are to be traced by errors which it would be impossible that two men reading independently could commit.'¹ I may add that I was intimately acquainted with Sir John Hawkins's grandson, Colonel Hawkins, and that I have had more than one conversation with him on the subject of the relations of Dr. Burney with his grandfather, Sir John. I have thus been favoured with a glimpse behind the scenes ; but what was then revealed it is neither necessary nor desirable that I should disclose.

For nearly a century after the publication of Sir John Hawkins's *History of Music* no further attempt was made to unriddle the mystery of the recorder. About the year 1859, however, there appeared a work in which an entirely new view of what constituted a recorder was given to the world. The book to which I refer was Mr. William Chappell's *Music of the Olden Time*.² But before discussing Mr. Chappell's ideas, it is desirable that I should say a few words about a so-called flute of which many may have never heard.

When the vibrations which produce a musical note are allowed to impinge on a thin membrane stretched sufficiently tight to be capable of being thrown into vibration, the membrane proceeds to vibrate and to give out a note of its own. The note, thus generated, is of the same pitch as the first note, but differs from it in *timbre*. If the new with its altered *timbre* mingles with the old note, it seems to the ear that the old note has undergone a change of quality. It was once proposed to take advantage of this circumstance with a view of removing some of the harshness by which, owing to the illiberality of Dame Nature in her vocal gifts to mankind, the majority of human voices are marred. Lord Bacon observed that if the voice was projected into the hole of a drum, it appeared to become sweeter, and he suggested that recourse should be had to this expedient in order to make the voices of those engaged in part-singing more agreeable in their tone ; but as a number of vocalists,

¹ Chappell's *Popular Music of the Olden Time*. Introduction, p. ix.

² There is no date on the title-page of this work, but from the stamp impressed on the copy in the Reading Room of the British Museum, it appears that it was received in 1859.



FIG. 54.—EUNUCH FLUTE,
AFTER MERSENNE

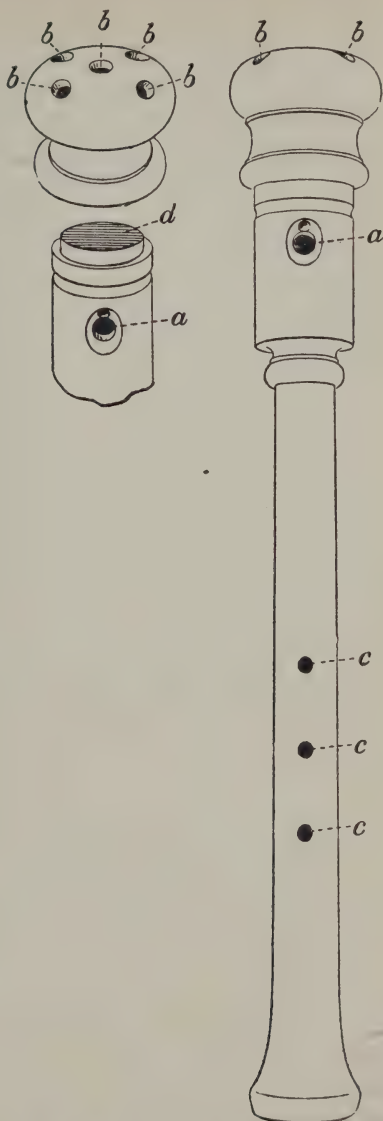


FIG. 55.—MODERN EUNUCH FLUTE
a. Hole into which the voice is projected ;
b. holes in cap ; *c.* finger-holes ; *d.* vibrating
membrane.

each singing into the hole of a drum, would not be a very dignified spectacle, he made the wise proposal that the singers with their drums should be concealed from the audience. 'If you sing into the hole of a drum,' he writes, 'it maketh the singing more sweet. And so I conceive it would, if it were a song in parts sung into several drums; and for handsomeness and strangeness sake, it would not be amiss to have a curtain between the place where the drums are and the hearers.'

The want of 'handsomeness', to which Bacon alludes, was obviated by the construction of a special instrument. It consisted of a tube (Fig. 54, A, c), terminating at one end in an open bell mouth (c), but closed at the other by a piece of thin parchment (A), stretched like the head of a drum, and covered, for protection, with a movable cap perforated with holes (A, B). In the side of the tube, not far from the membrane, was a hole (B) into which the performer directed his voice. The instrument was called the Eunuch Flute. Whether it was so termed on account of it not being able to generate sound, or because it emasculated the voice of the singer by imparting to it, as it did, an oegophonous or bleating character, or for some other reason, I am unable to say. Mersenne, who describes and figures it, states that music in four or five parts was performed on such instruments; the Eunuch flute having 'the advantage over all other flutes that it imitates better the concert of voices, for it lacks only the pronunciation to which a very near approach is made on these flutes'. 'The little drum,' he adds, 'imparts a new charm to the voice by its tiny vibrations which reflect it.' This circumstance Mersenne, ever ready with a practical suggestion, goes on to say, 'should be carefully noted by organists and organ builders with a view of inventing new stops which should imitate human voices much better than their Regals,¹ and so beguile the auditors they should believe that they are listening to a better concert than that of voices which lack the softness of the harmony and of the charms of the pieces of membrane which can be introduced in divers places in organ pipes and flutes.'²

¹ A Regal is a small portable organ, but Mersenne uses the word to denote the organ stop called the *vox humana*. In speaking of certain reed pipes, some which he figures, he says, 'ceux que l'on voit icy se nomment *Regales*, ou *voix humaines*, à raison qu'ils les imitent.'

² Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle*, Lib. V, Prop. iv.

When treating of the organ, Mersenne returns to the subject: 'I pass over other inventions,' he writes, 'by which organ builders could enrich the stops of the organ: for instance, if little pieces of sheeps' skin, peeled as thin as

The Eunuch flute is not extinct ; it is still manufactured for the delectation of children, both in England and the United States ; but, like the recorder, it has undergone a change of name. I have one here, kindly lent me by the maker, Mr. Barr, of Bow Lane (Fig. 55). He calls it the *Zazah*, or *Voice Flute*.¹ It is constructed like that figured by Mersenne, except that three finger-holes have been pierced in the tube. It will, of course, be understood that the finger-holes do not affect the intonation ; but it is stated that by stopping two of them, and shaking the finger on the third, the effect of a *tremolo* can be produced. A peculiarity of the Eunuch flute noticed by Mersenne is that it augments the sound of the voice, the note given out being louder than that by which it is produced,

that of onions, are placed at the end of pipes to stop them, or if sundry holes are made in the body of the pipe which should be stopped by the aforesaid skin, there will be heard a singular harmony which can be still further varied by the difference in the movements which are given to the wind.'

¹ The following letter, addressed to Mr. Barr, will give an idea of the sort of use to which the Eunuch flute is now put :—

‘ Mrs. Gladstone’s Orphanage, Hawarden.

‘ Dear Sir,—I received the goods (Drum and Za-Zah Band) on the 11th inst. The boys had them out the same night and started to play directly. I was quite surprised, indeed, how well they played ; it made quite a sensation. On Saturday last the boys had the honour of playing the Za-Zah before the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone and Mrs. Gladstone and family, who pronounced them excellent. They gave the boys 10s. to buy a contra Bass.—ANDREW WILLIAMS.’

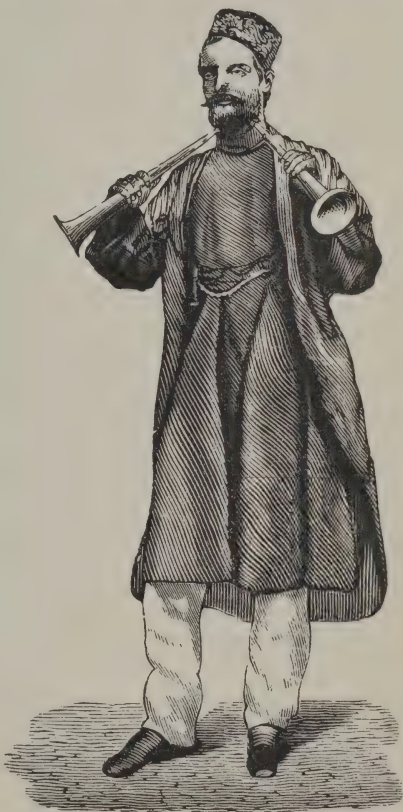


FIG. 56.—NYASTARANGA-PLAYER

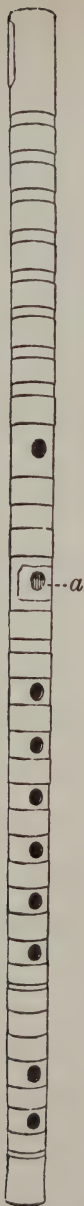


FIG. 57.—CHINESE TI-TZU, SHOWN IN
THE LOAN COLLECTION OF 1885
a. Hole covered with membrane, or
paper.

as you will hear when I hum into the instrument.¹

In India the principle of the Eunuch flute has attained a singular development. There is in use there an instrument called the Nyâstaranga. It is formed of a metal tube, somewhat resembling a speaking trumpet in shape. At its upper end it terminates in a shallow cup. A small hole at the bottom of the cup opens into the tube, the hole being covered with vibratile membrane. The performer applies the cup to the side of his neck, in the region of the larynx. The vibrations of the voice, propagated through the cartilages of the larynx, and the other intervening tissues, are taken up by the air in the cup, which, in its turn, communicates them to the membrane, and thus the instrument is made to sound.² A more common use, however, to which this principle is put in the East is to cover holes, bored in the tubes of flutes, with a vibrating lamina. Here are drawings of a Chinese lip flute and of a Siamese

¹ There is a Eunuch flute in the Museum of the Paris Conservatoire. It is 88 centimetres (about 23 inches) in length, and is thought to date from the time of Henry III of France.

² A description of the Nyâstaranga is given in M. Victor Mahillon's *Catalogue Descriptif et Analytique du Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire Royal de Musique de Bruxelles*. I am indebted to the kindness of M. Mahillon for the illustration. As the account given of the way in which this extraordinary

fipple flute, on each of which a hole so covered appears¹ (Figs. 57 and 58).

Now, Mr. Chappell was of opinion not only that a recorder was provided with a similar hole covered with membrane, but that this hole was termed *the recorder*; and that it was from the hole, thus called, that the instrument itself derived its name. After referring his readers to Salter's *Genteel Companion*, he expresses himself thus:—

'Recorders and (English) Flutes are to outward appearance the same, although Lord Bacon in his *Natural History*, Century III, sec. 221, says the Recorder hath a less bore, and a greater above and below. The number of holes for the fingers is the same, and the scale, the compass, and the manner of playing, the same. Salter describes the *recorder* from which the instrument derives its name, as situate in the upper part of it, i.e., between the hole below the mouth and the highest hole for the finger. He says, "Of all the kinds of music, vocal has

instrument is played is sometimes received with incredulity, I think it right to add that I have heard the Nyâstaranga sounded; Mr. Henry Balfour, the Curator of the Ethnographical Department of the University Museum at Oxford, can make it speak. It imparts to both the singing and the speaking voice the weird effect of the phonograph.

¹ The Siamese flutes were made of ivory. They belonged to a flute-player in the King of Siam's band, which gave a series of performances in the Albert Hall during the Inventions Exhibition of 1885, who kindly allowed me to have them photographed. It will be observed that the mouth, instead of being in the front of the instrument in a line with the finger-holes, as in European fipple flutes, is placed with the thumb-hole at the back.

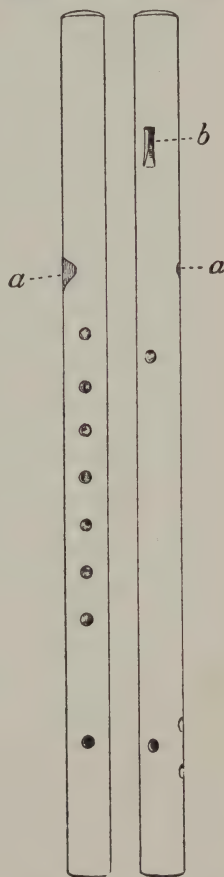


FIG. 58.—SIAMESE KLUI, BACK AND FRONT VIEW

a. Hole covered with tissue paper;
b. mouth.

always had the preference in esteem, and in consequence, the Recorder, as *approaching nearest to the sweet delightfulness of the voice*, ought to have the first place in opinion, as we see by the universal use of it confirmed." The hautboy is considered now to approach most nearly to the human voice, and Mr. Ward, the military instrument manufacturer, informs me that he has seen "old English Flutes" with a hole bored through the side, in the upper part of the instrument, the holes being covered with a thin piece of skin, like gold-beater's skin. I suppose this would give somewhat the effect of the quill or reed in the Hautboy, and that these were Recorders. In the proverbs at Leckingfield (quoted *ante*, note *b*, p. 35) the Recorder is described as "desiring" the mean part, but manifold fingering and stops bringeth high (notes) from its clear tones. This agrees with Salter's book. He tells us the high notes are produced by placing the thumb¹ *half* over the hole at the back and blowing a little stronger. Recorders were used for teaching birds to pipe.²

When we reason from notions to facts, instead of from facts to notions, we run the risk, as I have already said, of only seeing in the facts a confirmation of our notions, and expose ourselves to the danger of being led to manipulate the facts in order to bring them into harmony with what we believe to be their true explanation. Passing over, then, two questions, one, whether the hautboy or the flute more nearly resembles the human voice, the other, if the recorder was or was not used to teach birds to pipe, there are no less than three statements in Mr. Chappell's account of the recorder to which I shall have occasion to take exception.

First, as regards Mr. Chappell's allusion to the Leckingfield

¹ The highest hole of the recorder, that closed with the thumb, served a double purpose—to emit a note of its own and to act, when required, as a vent hole, or speaker, for the production of upper notes. When it was used for the latter purpose it was necessary to reduce its size. This was done by turning up the thumb, as if the player intended to pinch the instrument. From this circumstance the notes so produced were termed the 'pinched notes'. In flutes which have been much used the thumb-hole usually shows traces of an indentation caused by the nail. The following is from Salter:—

'Your pinching Notes ascend higher than the plain Notes . . . to play these on the *Recorder*, you must bend your left Thumb, and let it be half over the hole underneath the Pipe. . . and pinch the Nail of your Thumb in the hole, then blow your *Recorder* a little stronger than you did when you played the other Notes and you shall find the Recorder sound eight notes.'

² *Music of the Olden Time*, p. 246, note *a*.

proverb relating to the recorder, I have already pointed out¹ that no such passage as 'bringeth high (notes) from its clear tones' is to be found in the original.

Secondly, Mr. Chappell would have us believe that Lord Bacon states that the recorder 'hath a less bore, and a greater above and below', than the English flute. But in the passage to which Mr. Chappell refers, Bacon is drawing attention to the circumstance that although transverse flutes and recorders resembled each other in being straight, they differed in the shape of the bore. In Bacon's time the bore of the transverse or German flute was cylindrical, that of the recorder or English flute being conical, or, to use Bacon's quaint phrase, the recorder had 'a less bore and a greater, above and below'. His words are, 'The figures of recorders, and flutes, and pipes are straight; but the recorder hath a less bore and a greater, above² and below.' Mr. Chappell, however, has not only introduced in a parenthesis the word 'English' before 'flutes',³ but has changed the punctuation by removing the comma from after the word 'greater', where Bacon placed it, and inserting it after the word 'bore'; thus giving to the passage a meaning quite different from that intended by Bacon.

Thirdly, Mr. Chappell writes: 'Salter describes the *recorder* from which the instrument derives its name, as situate in the upper part of it, i.e. between the hole below the mouth and the highest hole for the finger.' Now a careful perusal of Salter's book fails to reveal the existence of the slightest allusion to such a hole. How, then, could Mr. Chappell have brought himself to this belief? I can only suppose that it might possibly have been through the following misconception.

In referring to the finger-holes of the flute, we often call the hole which comes nearest to the bottom or open end of the instrument the lowest hole, and we speak of the hole next to it as being *above* that hole, and so on of the other holes as being *above* one another, until we come to the hole nearest to the mouth, a hole which, being the uppermost, is also denominated the *first* hole. On the recorder this *first*, or uppermost hole, being stopped with the thumb, was pierced on the side of the tube opposite to that on which the other finger-holes were placed, so that it was underneath

¹ *Supra*, p. 8.

² *Natural History*, Century III, section 221.

³ That Bacon used the word 'flute' to denote the German or transverse flute has been already shown, *supra*, p. 112).

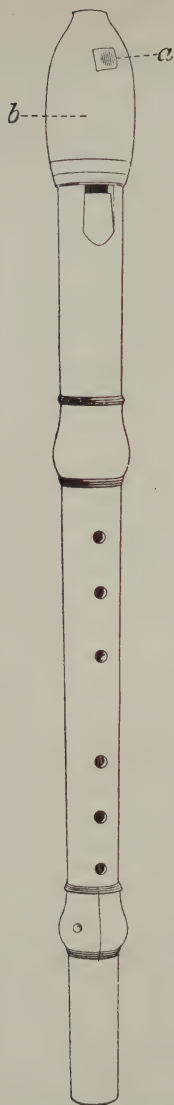


FIG. 59.—FIPPLE FLUTE IN THE SOUTH KENSINGTON MUSEUM

a. Hole covered with thin skin;
b. movable cap.

the recorder when the instrument was held up for playing. Now Salter writes: 'The first hole is, that underneath which you must stop with your Thumb . . .; the second hole is next to that above' (i.e. on the upper aspect of) 'the Recorder, and you are to stop that with your first finger.' I imagine, then, that perhaps Mr. Chappell may have interpreted the expression 'above the Recorder' to mean 'nearer to the mouth than (something called) the recorder'; an interpretation to which the absence of a comma before 'above' (Salter's acquaintance with the art of pointing being of the slightest) would contribute not a little. What could the recorder be? That it was the hole covered with thin skin, of which he was in search, was an answer which Mr. Chappell would naturally return to himself. It would follow, as a matter of course, that the hole, thus called, gave its name to the instrument.

We now come to the information given to Mr. Chappell by Mr. Cornelius Ward—viz. that he had seen a hole covered with membrane in old flutes. It is only right to say that I have had occasion to examine Mr. Ward's evidence in another case, and that I there found him to be the reverse of a satisfactory¹ witness; nevertheless, we need not consider ourselves bound to reject his statement as unfounded, although the negative evidence opposed to it seems so overwhelming. Mersenne informs us that such

¹ See the writer's *History of the Boehm Flute*, third edition, p. 186, also note 44, p. 467, in the same work.

holes could be introduced in flutes ;¹ we may therefore conclude that the experiment had been tried, and we may suppose that it might have been repeated from time to time ; moreover, it is not impossible that Mr. Ward may have seen the flute I am about to describe.

We were told, then, in the first edition of Grove's *Dictionary* (Art., 'Recorder') that there was shown in a Loan Collection of Musical Instruments at South Kensington, an English Recorder of the seventeenth century, and further that this recorder was furnished with a hole covered with thin bladder. That there is to be seen in the South Kensington Museum (the instrument is still there, it having been purchased at Carl Engel's sale) a fipple flute in which a special hole has been bored, and that this hole is covered with membrane, is undeniable ; but I shall have no difficulty in showing not only that the hole, thus covered, neither does, nor ever did, affect the quality of its tone, but that the reputed recorder of the seventeenth was really made in the nineteenth century, Carl Engel, to whom the statements can be traced,² having been mistaken.

The instrument (Fig. 59) is of boxwood, stained of a dark colour. Its total length is 2 ft. 1 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. It measures 1 ft. 9 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. from the mouth to the lower end. It is constructed in three separate pieces or joints ; the finger-holes (the state of which shows that it has been but little used) are of the usual number, eight, and are arranged in the ordinary manner with the thumb-hole at the back ; in short, it presents the characteristics of a Common Flute of the very latest type.

Now for its peculiarities. The observer is at once struck with the circumstance that it has no beak, but terminates at its upper end in a movable cap (Fig. 59, *b*), somewhat resembling a pear in shape, but truncated above. At the apex is the hole into which the player impels his breath. The wind, after passing through the hole, enters a circular chamber, an inch in diameter, having a flat roof. Below the chamber, of the floor of which it forms the chief part, is the fipple. It is made of cedar, a wood often employed for the purpose in well-finished flutes. The floor of the chamber is cut away at the back, so that the chamber is deeper behind than before ; its depth being 1 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. behind, but only $\frac{9}{16}$ in. in front. Through

¹ *Harmonie Universelle*, loc. cit., *supra*, p. 212.

² Engel's *Catalogue of the Instruments in the South Kensington Museum*, p. 372.

the wall of the chamber, close to the roof, there has been pierced a hole $\frac{3}{8}$ in. in diameter (Fig. 59, *a*), the hole being covered with a film of gold-beater's skin or some similar delicate membrane.

As the hole does not open into the tube where the column of air is in vibration, but into the chamber above the fipple, it is obvious that the vibrating column of air is not brought into contact with the membrane. Even if we were to suppose that the vibrations could be conveyed to the membrane by the material of the instrument, they would reach it in a direction parallel, not at right angles, to its surface. It is not possible, therefore, that they could, either directly or indirectly, cause it to vibrate.

For what purpose, then, was the hole designed? In considering how to give an answer to this question, it seemed to me that the only sound which could act on the membrane would be that of the voice of him who played the instrument. I was thus led to conjecture that an attempt had here been made to combine a Eunuch with a Fipple flute, so that the performer should sing into the instrument, and thus set the membrane vibrating, whilst he played the flute in the usual way with his breath and fingers.¹ Whether this was, or was not, the intention of the maker, I will not pretend to say; but on the instrument having been kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. Skinner, I proceeded to sound it, but did not, of course, produce any effect on the membrane. No sooner, however, did I hum softly into the mouth-hole than the membrane sent forth a note so loud as not only to drown the sound of my voice, but to attract the attention of a member of the staff of the South Kensington Museum, Mr. Mitchell, who was in the room at the time.

Next as to its date. It happens that each of the three joints—the head, the middle, and the foot—bears the maker's name, Goulding and Co. On one of them the address also is given; but, owing to the inscription having been partially obliterated, seemingly with a hot iron, all that can be deciphered is—

GOULDING & CO.,
NEW
LONDON.

It is easy to supply what is missing. It was in New Bond Street that Goulding & Co. carried on business. They moved thither from

¹ There is nothing new in the idea of a person humming notes with his voice whilst playing the fipple flute. Mersenne, in his description of the *flûte douce* says that a performer can sing the bass whilst he plays the air, 'so that one man can make a duett.'

Pall Mall and St. James's Street in 1803 or 1804, and remained there until 1811, when they left for Soho Square. We can therefore say with certainty that the instrument was made between 1802 and 1812, whilst probability points to 1809 or 1810 as its precise date ; for it was only during those two years that the firm was styled George Goulding & Co. From 1803 to 1806, it was named Goulding, Phipps and D'Almaine ; in 1807 and 1808, Goulding, Phipps & Co. ; and in 1811, Goulding, D'Almaine & Co.

LECTURE II

tone and effect of the recorder

Tendency of Instruments to become louder, 128. Sweetness and Solemnity of Recorders, 128. Recorders used for Angelic Music, 132. Extraordinary effect of Recorders on Pepys, 135. Handel's use of the Flute, 140. Handel's Flauto Piccolo, 149. The Obbligato to 'O ruddier than the Cherry', 154.

IN the evolution of musical instruments there is sometimes a tendency for loudness to increase at the expense of quality. Take, for instance, the pianoforte; its coarseness, when compared with its predecessor the clavichord, is astonishing. Only those who have enjoyed the privilege of listening to the enchanting, but almost inaudible tones which can be elicited by a competent player from a well-preserved clavichord, can realize to what extent, for the sake of power and contrast, tenderness, delicacy, and refinement have been sacrificed. A similar change has come over the flute.¹ The recorder in comparison with its modern representative, the lip-flute, was weak and feeble, but it was distinguished by an extraordinary sweetness of a rich, soft, cooing kind, imparting to its music an indescribable charm. So delightful was the sound of the recorder, that one who was no mean judge of music and musical instruments, Samuel Pepys, declared it to be, to him, the most pleasing of all sounds in the world.]

SWEETNESS AND SOLEMNITY OF RECORDERS

If a single recorder was thus so agreeable to the ear, the fascination of a band, or concert, of such instruments appears to have been irresistible. It would seem as if it were scarcely possible to exaggerate when speaking of the beauty of the tones to which a choir of instruments of the fipple-flute family gave birth; the

¹ The tibia, like the modern flute, seems to have developed from a soft into a loud instrument, if we may judge from the well-known lines in Horace:

Tibia non, ut nunc, orichalco vincta, tubaeque
Aemula, sed tenuis simplexque, foramine paucō,
Aspirare et adesse choris erat utilis, atque
Nondum spissa nimis complere sedilia flatu.

rapture with which they inspired our forefathers is only explicable on the supposition that they were the most delicious sounds ever drunk in by mortal ears. The good Mersenne, who was in holy orders, is quite shocked at the way in which the French admirers of recorders, or, as they most appropriately termed them, *flûtes douces*, spoke of their favourite instruments. So extravagant were the terms they used when referring to their enchanting and ravishing sweetness, that their language seemed to him to savour of irreverence; such expressions as they employed should, in his opinion, be reserved for a description of the joys of heaven, they being out of place when applied to earthly pleasures.¹ But we have more satisfactory, and at the same time, more astonishing evidence. In the pages of Pepys's *Diary* there is an account of the effect produced by a band of recorders on one who heard them. Pepys never exaggerates; so little liable was he to be led away by flights of fancy, that he has even been pronounced to be devoid of imagination; yet he states that on hearing certain music, which I shall have no difficulty in showing was produced by recorders, he experienced a feeling akin to the sickness of love, and was thrown into a state of transport which endured for many hours.

Ineffable sweetness was not the only attribute of the recorder; there was, in addition, a seriousness, or dignity, in its tone, which gave it an expression of solemnity. Its solemn effect is twice noticed by Milton. In one of the allusions—it has already been mentioned—he speaks of the power of its *solemn* touches to calm the mind when agitated by troubled thoughts, and chase from it anguish, doubt, fear, sorrow, and pain; in the other passage, he styles it the *solemn* pipe, and assigns to it a place amongst the instruments played in Heaven at the celebration of the first sabbath, on the occasion of the return of the Second Person of the Trinity after the completion of the work of Creation:

The Filial Power arrived and sat him down —
With his great Father; . . . and, from work—

¹ 'Le son de ces Flûtes est jugé si doux par quelques-uns, qu'il mérite le nom de charmant & de rauissant, quoy que je n'estime pas que cette manière de parler appartienne à d'autres plaisirs qu'à ceux du Ciel, qui descourent l'objet rauissant des bien-heureux, qui ne lassent & qui ne cessent jamais, au lieu que tous les autres ennuyent incontinent, & se tournent en des desplaisirs & des doulers insupportables, comme sçauent très bien les plus solides esprits.' Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle*, Book V, p. 240.

Now resting, bless'd and hallow'd the seventh day,
 As resting on that day from all his work.
 But not in silence holy kept: the harp
 Had work, and rested not; the *solemn pipe*,
 And dulcimer, all organs¹ of sweet stop,
 All sounds on fret by string or golden wire,
 Temper'd soft tunings intermix'd with voice
 Choral or unison.²

If we require a confirmation of Milton's statement, we have only to turn to Bacon's *Sylva Sylvarum*, where not only is the solemnity of the recorder mentioned in a way which leaves no doubt that it was well known and unquestioned, but an expedient is given by which the solemn quality of its sound could be heightened: 'All instruments that have either returns,' Lord Bacon writes, 'as trumpets; or flexions, as cornets; or are drawn up, and put from, as sackbuts; have a purling sound: but the recorder, or flute, that hath none of these inequalities, gives a clear sound. Nevertheless *the recorder* itself, or pipe, moistened a little on the inside, *soundeth more solemnly*, and with a little purling or hissing.'³ Again: 'It hath been tried that a pipe a little moistened on the inside, but set so as there be no drops left, maketh a more *solemn* sound, than if the pipe were dry: but yet with a sweet degree of sibilation or purling.'⁴

The union of sweetness and solemnity for which recorders were distinguished rendered these instruments available in stage effects

¹ By 'organs of sweet stop' Milton means wind instruments with sweet notes. 'Stop' is explained in Lecture III, p. 181; 'organ,' in Lecture V, p. 259.

² *Paradise Lost*, Book VII, 587-99.

³ Bacon's *Natural Philosophy*, Century II, 170.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Century III, 230. The practice of wetting the flute to improve the tone still survives. Every boy with a keyless fife, on which there are no springs to rust, nor pads to rot, makes a point of dipping his instrument into water, if he has the opportunity, before beginning to play. The common expression 'to wet one's whistle' comes from the custom. The saying is very old; it is found in Chaucer:

So was hir Joly whistel well y-wet.

The Reeve's Tale, 235.

Again in *Palsgrave*, p. 728: 'I wete my whistell as good drinkers do.' It occurs also in Beaumont and Fletcher, where there is an indication of its origin, it being connected with flute-playing:

Stremon.

Let's to th' tavern

I have some few crowns left yet: my whistle wet once,

I'll pipe him such a paven.

The Mad Lover, Act II.

where purity was associated with religious mystery. In *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, a play in which Shakespeare is said to have had a hand,¹ when Emilia, the virgin heroine of the piece, goes to the temple of Diana to offer incense on the altar of the chaste goddess in the hope of being vouchsafed a divine token to make known her destiny, recorders were played during the performance of the sacred rites, as the following stage-direction shows :

*Still music*² of records. Enter EMILIA in white, her hair about

¹ *The Two Noble Kinsmen* will be found in Vol. VIII of Dyce's *Shakespeare*.

² *Still music* is mentioned in the stage-directions of Shakespeare's Plays. In *As You Like It*, 'still music' is heard on the entrance of Hymen (v. iv. 112) ; in the *Midsummer-Night's Dream* (iv. i. 87), when Titania calls for music 'such as charmeth sleep', 'musick still' is directed. In both of these situations recorders would be particularly appropriate, for each of them deals with the supernatural. The music called for by Titania is to have the magical effect of striking the sense 'more dead than common sleep'; of the appearance of Hymen in *As You Like It*, Dr. Johnson writes, 'Rosalind is imagined by the company to be brought by enchantment, and is therefore introduced by a supposed aerial being in the character of Hymen.' *Still music* is explained to be low, subdued music, but we are not told in what it differed from soft music. The question is complicated by the existence of instruments called *still pipes*, which seem to belong to the equipment of a theatre. Each act of Gascoygne's *Jocasta* is preceded by a dumb show, the music for which is indicated as follows: 'before the beginning of the firste Acte, did sound a dolefull and strange noise of violles, Cythren, Bandurion, and such like. Before the second Acte, did sound a very dolefull noise of flutes. Before the third Acte, did sound a very dolefull noise of cornettes. Before the fourth Acte, the trumpets sounded, the drummes and fifes, and a greate peale of ordinance was shot off. In the order of the fifth and last dumb show, first the *Still pipes* sounded a very mournful melodye, in which time there came upon the stage a woman clothed in a white garment,' &c. Whether or not the *still pipes* were recorders, or belonged to the recorder family, does not appear.

Again, there were musicians termed *still minstrels*. They seem, judging from comparison, to have been handsomely requited, the Privy Purse expenses of Henry VIII for New Year's day, 1511 (Brit. Mus. MS. Ad. 7100) containing the following entry :

Item, to the shakbushes (sackbuts) 50^{sh}.

„ to the *styll mynstrells* 4 0 0.

„ to the Quene's mynstrells 40^{sh}.

The *still minstrels* received the same remuneration in the reign of Henry VII (Collier's *Annals of the Stage*, Vol. I, p. 47). On what instruments did they play? And what were their duties? The subject requires elucidation.

Bartholomaeus makes mention of watchmen who lulled the wakeful to sleep with Pan-pipes: 'adhuc fistulis se excitant vigiles, & earum melodiae suavitare ad dormiendum citius & suavius provocant in lectulis quiescentes.'

her shoulders, and wearing a wheaten wreath ; one in white holding up her train, her hair stuck with flowers ; one before her carrying a silver hind, in which is conveyed incense and sweet odours, which being set upon the altar of Diana, her Maids standing aloof, she sets fire to it, then they curtsey and kneel. (Act V. Sc. 1.)

Venus, a less pure divinity, had just been invoked by one of the Two Noble but amorous Kinsmen ; in response, doves were seen to flutter, and music was heard, but the music was not directed to be that of recorders.

RECORDERS USED FOR ANGELIC MUSIC

Recorders were used in the theatre for a far higher purpose, the illusion of an angelic choir. I shall be able to show that when thus employed they produced so remarkable an effect as to render it probable that the art of music sustained a real loss when the recorder-concert perished. Their power must have been recognized outside the musical world, for it is evident that the author of the drama I am about to cite knew that he had at his command instruments giving birth to 'ravishing sounds' capable of calling up the idea of the strains of 'legions of ministering angels', strains so enchanting as to be 'equal to the motion of the spheres'.

Amongst the plays of Philip Massinger is one entitled *The Virgin Martyr*. The scene is laid at Caesarea, during the tenth and last general persecution of the Christians, which broke out with unparalleled fury in the nineteenth year of the reign of Diocletian. Dorothea, a Christian lady, afterwards to become the Virgin Martyr, pitying a naked and hungry boy who craves her succour at the gate of the temple, clothes him, feeds him, and takes him into her service ; and Angelo, for this is his name, becomes his mistress's attendant in her works of mercy.

After a while Dorothea is seized, dragged by the hair, kicked, beaten with cudgels, and after narrowly escaping outrages worse than death itself, beheaded. The audience witness the martyrdom. The stage represents the place of execution with its ghastly accessories the scaffold and the block. A procession enters. In front walks the headsman. Behind him is Dorothea, in charge of a guard

The passage is quaintly turned by Trevisa : 'And wyth pipes watchynge men playseth suche men as restyth in beddes, and makyth theym slepe the sooner and more swetly by melodye of pypes.' Could the watchmen have been *still minstrels*, and the so-called Pan-pipes (*fistulae*), recorders ?

of soldiers. She is followed by Sapritius, the Governor of Caesarea, and Theophilus, the leader of the persecution, a man who holds the name of Christian in such abhorrence, that on learning that his two daughters had been converted to the new faith by Dorothea, he butchers them both with his own hand. He is accompanied by the instigator of his crimes, Harpax, a demon, who, having assumed human shape, follows him in the capacity of secretary.

As Dorothea's last moment draws near, Angelo, who, as his name implies, is in reality a good spirit, descends from above, no longer in the form of a servant, but equipped with wings, and apparelled in the glistening raiment of an angel of light. Invisible to the bystanders, he reveals himself to Dorothea only, and strengthens her with the assurance that he is sent to bear her pure and innocent soul to the realms of everlasting bliss.

No sooner is Dorothea's head struck off than music, seemingly in the air, is wafted to the ear,¹ and the audience become aware that they are listening to the dulcet strains of seraphs' bliss, aye heard about the sapphire throne, and once, but once only, deigned to mortal ears. We learn more about the music from the account given of it by Theophilus just before his death ; for he, too, becomes a Christian and a martyr in his turn.² Addressing the Emperor Diocletian, to whom he is describing the martyrdom of Dorothea, he says,

. . . who sent down
Legions of ministering angels to bear up
Her spotless soul to heaven, who entertain'd it
With choice celestial music, equal to
The motion of the spheres ; . . . My Lord Sapritius,
You were present at her death ; did you e'er hear
Such ravishing sounds ?³

It is not only during the ascent of Dorothea to the skies that the angelic music is heard ; it will be shown in what follows that it was

¹ *Sap.* Ha ! heavenly music !

Mac. 'Tis in the air.

Theop. Illusions of the devil,
Wrought by some witch of her religion,
That fain would make her death a miracle.
It frights not me. (Act IV, Scene 3.)

² Theophilus is tortured on the rack and torn with red-hot pincers till death comes to his relief. As he is dying, Dorothea and his two daughters appear in a glorified state. They are led on by Angelo, who holds out to him a 'crown of immortality'.

³ Act V, Scene 2.

audible on another occasion, when the heavenly choir rejoiced over a sinner that repented.

The enthusiasm which has sustained so many martyrs does not desert Dorothea in her hour of trial. To her, death seems but a ladder to help her up to Paradise, where the trees are surcharged with heavenly fruit, in comparison with which, she tells Theophilus, the golden, but scanty and dragon-guarded crop confided to the Hesperides, which only a Hercules could get, 'deserves not to be named.' The scoffing Theophilus asks her to send him some of the delicacy. She answers that she can and will.

Accordingly, in the next scene, as the phrenzied Theophilus is sitting alone in his Study, gloating over the revolting atrocities, too horrible to repeat, which have attended the massacres of Christians, Angelo enters with a basket of luscious fruit, which he sets on the table before him. Theophilus soon begins to taste the tempting contents of the basket. A surprising result follows : the fruit produces the effect known as instantaneous conversion. With such rapidity does it act, that Theophilus has scarcely eaten of it when he feels so strange a sensation that he exclaims,

Jupiter ! all within me is not well ;
And yet not sick ;

and the man who was breathing out appalling threats of fire and slaughter against the followers of Christ, has himself become the most zealous of Christians. An opportunity is forthwith given him of putting his new faith to the test ; fire flashes from the Study, and the fiend Harpax, throwing off his disguise, appears in a fearful shape, and commands him to disgorge that which he has swallowed, and throw away what is left in the basket. But he is too late ; the fruit has done its work ; Theophilus, in defiance, eats with redoubled avidity, and seizing a cross of flowers, which he finds at the bottom of the basket, holds it aloft ; whereupon his assailant vanishes. During the scene, music

. . . in the air,
Or from some better place,

is twice heard ; once on the entrance of Angelo with the fruit, and again after the conversion of Theophilus.

EXTRAORDINARY EFFECT OF RECORDERS ON PEPYS

It is needless to point out what heavy demands the dramatist has here made on the sister art. The din of Pandemonium is easy to express : the shrill gibberish of the piccolo, the plaintive moans of the hautboy, the muffled wail of the French horn, the malignant muttering of the bassoon, the shrieks of agony, the cries of anguish, remorse, and despair that can be elicited from the violin,¹ the pathetic lament of the 'cello, the merciless stroke and quivering ferocity of the cymbals, the deep and fitful groaning of the double-bass, the thunder crashes of the grosse caisse, and the awful and terrible roaring and bellowing of the trombone are ready for the musician's use. But if *The Virgin Martyr* were again put on the stage, how could the purity, the peace, the calm, the repose, the placidity, the serenity, the melodious sweetness, and the immaculate chastity of the music of the blessed in Paradise be conjured up ? The composer called upon to undertake the task would doubtless bethink him of the diamond of the orchestral casket, the flute. But the fipple-flute is gone for ever, whilst the lip-flute, though sweet, is wanting in solemnity ; moreover, the consort of instruments of the same family, although it survives in the strings, has been banished from the wood-wind. Excluding the piccolo, whose shrillness would render it inadmissible, the modern orchestra rarely contains but two flutes. Wagner, in the Prelude to *Lohengrin*, has sought to represent the ' chaste rejoicing ' of an ' angelic host ' by the tremulous notes of the violin blended with those of the flute and hautboy. It is, however, as vain to attempt to discharge the colour of the ruby as to purge the violin, even in its softest and sweetest mood, from the dross of earthly passion, whilst the hot and stimulating hautboy is ill-fitted to express chastity. When *The Virgin Martyr* was played, the celestial music was entrusted to recorders. And well they acquitted themselves. It is doubtful if a Berlioz, backed by all the resources of the modern orchestra, could produce so deep an impression on a spectator of the play as did these instruments

¹ ' Again, there were heard sounds like the song of the fallen angels, who, banished from the realms of bliss, sink with shame-red countenance to the lower world. These were sounds out of whose bottomless depth gleamed no ray of hope or comfort ; when the blessed in heaven hear them, the praises of God die away upon their pallid lips, and, sighing, they veil their holy faces.' From Heine's description of Paganini's violin-playing, quoted in Ferris's *Sketches of Great Pianists and Great Violinists*, p. 71.

on Samuel Pepys; who was amongst the audience when the tragedy was given on February 27, 1667-8.

‘ . . . to the King’s House,’ he writes, ‘ to see *The Virgin Martyr*, the first time it hath been acted a great while : and it is mighty pleasant ; not that the play is worth much,¹ but it is finely acted by Becke Marshall. But that which did please me beyond anything in the whole world was the wind-musique when the angel comes down, which is so sweet that it ravished me, and indeed, in a word, did wrap up my soul so that it made me really sick,² just as I have

¹ Pepys had no doubt forgotten that after seeing *The Virgin Martyr* seven years before (February 16, 1660-61), he wrote, ‘ a good but too sober a play for the company.’ On that occasion the piece does not seem to have been so well mounted, for the music is not mentioned.

² Nausea is a common accompaniment of amatory longings, of which Pepys, who at the age of twenty-three married a beautiful but dowerless girl of fifteen, had, no doubt, felt his full share ; I have never, however, heard of it being induced by music. Had Pepys said that he shed tears, it would not have been so surprising, for music sometimes affects sensitive natures in this way. Handel, when composing, often wept under the influence of the musical conceptions which rose in his mind ; his astonished servant, on bringing his chocolate in the morning, would sometimes see his tears mingling with the ink, as they fell on the page over which his pen was travelling. Although the softer sex is usually the more emotional, it would seem that men are more easily moved to tears by music than women ; in the cases, five or six in number, which have come under my observation, the individuals in whom this effect is produced all belong to my own sex. Thus, at the Handel Festival I have known a strong and vigorous man in the prime of life experience strange sensations, the *globus hystericus* rising in his throat, accompanied with an irrepressible gush of tears, when the four thousand voices and instruments surrounding him in the orchestra began to pour forth the familiar strains of ‘ God save the Queen’, with which, according to time-honoured custom, the triennial gathering was opened. But it does not require a vast volume of sound such as this, or the orchestral grandeur of a Beethoven or a Berlioz, to move the impressionable ; the unimpassioned voices of cathedral choristers, and even the simple sound of a peal of village bells will sometimes bring tears unbidden to the eyes.

It is not, however, the lachrymal, but the sudoriparous glands which are most commonly stimulated into abnormal activity by music. Many of those for whom I am writing must have experienced at the opera and in the concert-room the discomfort arising from the increased secretion of the seven millions of these little bodies, each provided with its tiny tube to convey the produce of its action to the surface of the body, with which every person of average proportions is said to be furnished.

This effect seems to be peculiarly associated with intense musical feeling, for Paganini and Rubinstein, the two musicians who in modern times have made the most profound impression on their hearers (and emotions excited in others must be felt in a higher degree by those who call them up), were

formerly been when in love with my wife ; that neither then, nor all the evening going home, and at home, I was able to think of anything, but remained all night transported, so as I could not believe that ever any musique hath that real command over the soul of a man as this did upon me : and makes me resolve to practice wind musique and make my wife do the like.'

This story, be it remembered, is not told by an emotional school-girl visiting the theatre for the first time, but by a middle-aged man of the world, an assiduous playgoer, a severe but unusually clear-sighted critic¹ of plays and music, a well-trained singer, a performer on the violin, the viol, and the flageolet accustomed to take part

particularly subject to the annoyance of profuse and cutaneous transpiration during their performances. Paganini had his violin case so constructed that it would hold a few requisites for travelling, and was thus provided with the means of enjoying the comfort of a change of linen during, or immediately after, a concert.

The duration of the impression produced on Pepys is even more remarkable than its intensity. In his time theatrical performances used to begin at three o'clock ; he would, therefore, we may suppose, be on his way home between six and seven, if not earlier. Neither the distractions of the streets through which he passed between the theatre near Lincoln's Inn Fields and his house in Seething Lane, nor the society of his wife and her maid who accompanied him, nor the familiar associations of his home life, sufficed to break the spell. So entranced was he, that he seems to have been unable to sleep, for he tells us that he 'remained all night transported'. Paganini's performances on the violin produced a similar effect. I have been told by a friend who lived in London when this extraordinary musician visited England, that it was not uncommon for persons to spend a considerable part of the night in walking the streets after attending one of his concerts, so excited were they by the music. 'Whilst he was playing,' said my friend, 'we scarcely dared to draw our breath for fear of losing some of the sound.' Handel seems to have influenced his audience in the same way. Speaking of his organ-playing, Sir John Hawkins, who had often heard him, writes, 'Who shall describe its effect on his enraptured auditory ? Silence, the truest applause, succeeded the instant that he addressed himself to the instrument, and that so profound that *it checked respiration*, and seemed to control the functions of nature, while the magic of his touch kept the attention of his hearers awake only to those enchanting sounds to which it gave utterance.'

¹ High testimony is borne to the soundness of Pepys's judgement as a musical critic by one well qualified to speak with authority on the subject—Mr. Francis Hueffer. In his essay on 'Mr. Pepys the Musician', in his work entitled *Italian and other Studies* (p. 259), he writes, 'Mr. Pepys was a man of great taste and a judicious critic if ever there existed one.' Again (p. 273), 'In musical matters his judgement was singularly correct . . . Mr. Pepys's criticisms have stood the test of two centuries, and, with few exceptions, have been verified by posterity.'

in concerted music with the first musicians of the time, as well as a composer, one of whose songs was 'mightily cried up'. He, perhaps, now heard a choir of recorders for the first time, the concerts of wind instruments, so popular in the previous century, having wellnigh died out.¹ But it was not the novelty of the music that carried Pepys away; a second hearing only served to confirm his first impression. Four days afterwards he makes the following entry in his diary:

'To the King's house to see *The Virgin Martyr* again, which do mightily please me, but above all the musique at the coming down of the angel, which at this hearing the second time, do still commend me as nothing ever did, and the other musique is nothing to it.'²

But an objection may be raised. Is it not an assumption, it may be asked, that the 'wind-music', with which Pepys was so strangely impressed, proceeded from recorders? No, I reply; the reference to its ravishing sweetness is alone sufficient to enable us to identify the recorder as the instrument which produced it, there being no other wind instrument in use at the time to the music of which such a description would be applicable. But there is evidence which may be considered quite conclusive. Some weeks afterwards we find Pepys going to his flute-maker's to buy a recorder, and, in entering the circumstance in his diary, using language which indicates in an unmistakable way that the recorder was the instrument the sound of which had pleased him 'beyond anything in the whole world', and that he made the purchase in pursuance of his resolve 'to practice wind musique'. 'To Drumbleby's,' he writes on April 8, 'and there did talk a great deal about pipes; and did buy a recorder, which I do intend to learn to play on, the sound of it being, of all sounds in the world, most pleasing to me.'³

¹ They were not quite extinct. There is a quartet of flutes in Lully's Ballet *Le triomphe de l'amour*, Paris, 1681. See Grove's Dictionary, s.v. Instrument.

² Pepys went a third time on May 6 following: 'thence I back to the King's playhouse, and there saw *The Virgin Martyr*, and heard the musick that I like so well.'

³ At this time Drumbleby was making a low flageolet for Pepys, the order for it having been given, seemingly, on January 20, about five weeks before Pepys went to see *The Virgin Martyr*. See above, note 1, p. 64. He called again at Drumbleby's on February 5.

Having bought the recorder, Pepys sets to work the same day to teach himself the fingering by the 'ridiculous and troublesome way' of the dot system (see note 3, p. 55): 'So home to my chamber, to be fingering of my

‘ And there did talk a great deal about pipes ! ’ There is much in the Diary that we could well be spared, but how deeply indebted to Pepys should we be, if he had recorded his conversation with Drumbleby. There can be no reasonable doubt that the ‘ wind musique ’ of *The Virgin Martyr* was discussed, and that the flute-maker, Drumbleby, was in a position to make known to Pepys how the illusion of a choir of angels was produced. In the absence of information, we can only fall back on conjecture. An important question in connexion with the inquiry is whether the band of recorders which played when *The Virgin Martyr* was given consisted of a simple quartet of four instruments, or whether a larger number was employed. I have already mentioned that there were more than four in many sets. Virdung speaks of six as an ordinary number. Henry VIII had sets of six, seven, eight, and nine recorders ; Praetorius says that a full set of fipple-flutes consisted of no less than twenty-one instruments. When such sets as these were used, one or more of the parts would be doubled, that is, two flutes would play the same note at the same time. When flutes are doubled they are scarcely ever played so exactly together that a beat, or pulsation, caused by the interference of waves of sound is not perceptible. The pulsation, or undulation, heard when sound waves interfere, imparts to music a weird or unearthly character. There is in the organ a stop in which advantage is taken of the wave-

Recorder, and getting of the scale of musique without book, which I at last see is necessary for a man that would understand musique, as it is now taught to understand, though it be a ridiculous and troublesome way, and I know I shall be able hereafter to show the world a simpler way ; but, like the old hypotheses in philosophy, it must be learned, though a man knows a better. Then to supper and to bed.’ The next day, Thursday, there is another entry relating to the recorder : ‘ and so home, and there to be perfecting my getting the scale of musique without book, which I have done to perfection backward and forward, and so to supper and to bed.’ The day following he is conning his gamut, but it is not until the next Thursday that he enters, ‘ Began this day to learn the Recorder.’ The delay may be attributed to the circumstance that he was now under the influence of a counter attraction ; he was in possession of his new flageolet, which he had called for at Drumbleby’s on the previous Monday.

The day but one after purchasing the recorder, Pepys goes ‘ to piper ’, he intending to write, in my opinion, ‘ to pipe-maker,’ that is, Drumbleby. Unfortunately he did not make up the Diary for this and a few other days, but only preserved some rough notes he had jotted down of the events to be chronicled, leaving eight pages blank, which he never filled up. Had the Diary been written out, we might perhaps have learnt something more about the recorder.

throbbing for the production of such an effect. The undulation is set up by doubling the pipes; two flute, or flue, pipes, one tuned a little sharper than the other, being used for each note. Now this stop is called the *celestial* voice (*vox caelestis*) and the *angelic* voice (*vox angelica*), names which beget the surmise that possibly the *celestial* or *angelic* music of *The Virgin Martyr* might have been produced by a set of recorders in which one or more of the parts were doubled. It will, of course, be understood that this is nothing more than a guess which I bring forward in order to elicit an expression of opinion.

Another speculation presents itself here, whether Handel might not have known that an impression of the presence of the unseen could be produced by doubling fipple-flutes. The idea is suggested by a passage in one of his operas.

HANDEL'S USE OF THE FLUTE

Handel's wood-wind was much stronger than that of the modern orchestra. It is admitted that he had four hautboys and four bassoons: I shall be able to give good reason for believing that his flutes were still more numerous. In *Rodrigo* (p. 15 of the Handel Society's edition) we find a scoring—*Flauti e Violini I, Flauti e Violini II*—which proves that Handel could introduce at least four treble fipple-flutes at the same time, so that when he writes (as he does in *La Resurrezione*) *Tutti Flauti*, we may be sure that he intends not less than four fipple-flutes to play in unison. In the passage to which I am about to refer, he scores for the same instruments with the addition of a bass fipple-flute¹ (*Basso de' Flauti*). If he could thus write for five fipple-flutes, there is an antecedent probability that he could score for the same number of lip-flutes. We know that he had a bass lip-flute, for in *Riccardo* he scores a song with an accompaniment for *una Traversa Basso*.² I am not acquainted

¹ Referring to the scoring of French Operas in the Lully period, Dr. Borland writes (*Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 1906-7, p. 150): 'Flutes also appeared in some of the scores, and both hautboys and flutes were evidently used in considerable numbers, for we find such directions as "all the first flutes", or "all the second flutes".' Such expressions imply that there were more than two flutes to each part.

² It is surprising how soon musical instruments are forgotten when they drop out of use. Dr. Schœlcher had never heard of a bass transverse flute! Commenting on the *traversa bassa* mentioned in the score of *Riccardo*, he says that the name seems to indicate that there was a bass German flute. 'Therefore,' he continues, 'there was an instrument called "traversa bassa", of

with any actual proof that he had at his command four concert lip-flutes, but it may be inferred from the circumstance that the accompaniment to 'Shall the Sun forget to Streak', in *Solomon*, is marked *Traversieri tutti*. Now had Handel intended only two lip-flutes to be used, we should expect that, instead of *traversieri tutti*, he would have written *Traversa I*, *Traversa II*, or simply *Traversieri*, as he does in the *Choice of Hercules*, when scoring the accompaniment to a song by Virtue.

Handel's flutes were not kept constantly at work as are ours, they were reserved for special effects; so that if Handel could score for five fipple- and five lip-flutes, we are not called upon to believe that he had in his orchestra ten musicians who devoted themselves exclusively to the flute.¹ Formerly those who played wood-wind instruments would change from one to another. Grano, as I have mentioned, used to play solos on the lip- and the fipple-flute the same night. Moreover, hautboy players often took the flute, a practice which prevailed long after Handel's time. For instance, the part for the third flute in the flute trio in Haydn's *Creation* is printed with the music for the hautboy, the inference being that one of the hautboys was expected to play it. Again, Mozart's first Concerto for the flute is scored for the string quartet with the addition of two hautboys and two horns. In the slow movement the two hautboys vanish, and two flutes make their appearance. We are not to suppose, however, that Mozart intended the two hautboy players to retire, and two flute players to come forward and take their place, but only that the hautboy players would put down their hautboys and take up flutes. In fact, I shall have occasion to mention a case in which an orchestral hautboy player used, when required, to play on a fipple-flute as late as the third decade of the nineteenth century.

Handel seems to have been more sensitive, if it were possible, which we now know nothing. What could it be? Doubtless some fancy of an instrument-maker which was not successful.' *Life of Handel*, p. 406.

¹ About a century before Handel's time Charles I had in his band no less than twelve flute-players, six for the recorders and six for the flute (see Lecture I, p. 33, note 1), but Quantz, writing whilst Handel was still alive, does not mention the fipple-flute as an orchestral instrument. When giving the proper proportion of instruments for bands of different sizes, he says that for twelve violins there should be four flutes, four hautboys, and three bassoons, meaning by flutes transverse flutes. For eight violins only two flutes, two hautboys, and one bassoon were in his opinion required. See his *Essay*, Chap. XVII, Sect. I, § 16.

to the niceties of orchestral colouring than even Berlioz. Nowhere is his appreciation of the faintest tints of tone colour more clearly shown than in his handling of the flute, a circumstance to which the attention of musicians has not, as far as I am aware, as yet been sufficiently drawn. He was fully alive to the difference in the effect of the lip- and the fipple-flute; a difference which, in reproducing his works, we cannot realize, for the fipple-flute is gone from our orchestras. In *Judas Maccabaeus*, for example, we use the same instrument in 'See the Conquering Hero comes' and in 'Wise men flattering may deceive you', whereas Handel employed the martial strains of two lip-flutes for 'See the Conquering Hero comes', and the cooing, insinuating tones of two fipple-flutes for the accompaniment to 'Wise men flattering'. In his scores, he is most careful to distinguish between the lip- and the fipple-flute. We always know, if we turn to the German Handel Society's edition of his works, on which of the two instruments he intends a passage to be played. The fipple-flute he terms *flauto*; the lip-flute *traversa*, *traverso*, *traversière*, *traversiera*, *la traversiera*; sometimes, but rarely, *flauto traverso*. Scarcely ever does he give a choice of flute—indeed, I can only think of one passage, that being in *Parnasso in Festa* (p. 56), where he writes *Flauto ou Trav. I*, *Flauto ou Trav. II*. He seldom combines the two kinds of flute; instances, however, of such combination will be found in *Rodelinda* (p. 60), where, in an accompaniment to Rodelinda (soprano), two *flauti* and a *traversa* in three parts are introduced; in *Tamerlano* (p. 102), an accompaniment to a duet is scored *Traversa e Flauto I*, *Traversa e Flauto II*; in a projected Dead March for *Judas Maccabaeus* (see the introduction to the Oratorio in the German Handel Society's edition) we find *Travers. et Flauti I, II*. Two passages have come under my notice in which he gives the option of using either the flute or the hautboy. In one (*Triumph of Truth*, p. 108) he allows two lip-flutes to be substituted for two hautboys, scoring for *Oboe I, II—o Traversi I, II*; in the other (*Concerti Grossi*, No. 3, p. 27) permits the hautboy to be substituted for the fipple-flute, writing *Flauto o Oboe*. Seldom, if ever (I cannot recollect a passage), does he combine the lip-flute with the hautboy, but he not unfrequently associates the fipple-flute with that instrument. Thus, in the *Italienische Kantaten* (Vol. LII^a, p. 69), we have *Flauto I*, *Flauto II*, *Hautbois*; in *Armenio* (Vol. LXXXIV, p. 77), *Flauto I, II*, *Oboe I, II*, on the same stave; in *Alcina* (Vol. LXXXVI, p. 75), a soprano is accompanied by *Flauto I, II*, *Violino I*, *Oboe I*, *Violino II*, *Oboe II*, *Viola*

and *Bassi*; in *La Resurrezione*, there is an accompaniment to the *Maddalena* (soprano) for *Tutti Flauti* (i. e. not less than four fipple-flutes) *e un Oboe Sordo*, these instruments forming a trio with a violin solo, and a viol de gamba (Vol. XXXIX, p. 53). In *Esther* (Vol. XLI, p. 10), there is a still more extraordinary scoring, *Esther* (soprano) being accompanied by *Flauto I*, *Flauto II*, two hautboys, violins in five parts, viola, *Bassons I*, *Bassons II*; 'cello and contrabass, *Cembalo*, *Teorba e Harpa*—four bassoons, be it noted, to two fipple-flutes and two hautboys. Sometimes, as in *Ezio* (Vol. LXXX, p. 89), in an accompaniment to a contralto, in *Poro*, and in a passage in *Justin*, to which I shall refer, Handel associates two fipple-flutes with two horns; more rarely does he combine the lip-flute with the horn, but I am about to allude to this combination in *Parnassa in Festo*. As regards the union of the flute with the bassoon, there is a passage in the third *Te Deum* (Vol. XXXVII, p. 122) where a *traversa* has an important part with a bassoon solo, and in the first *Te Deum* (p. 11) an *obbligato* for the lip-flute to the alto-tenor solo, 'When thou tookest upon thee,' there being also a part for the bassoon.

The *Italianische Kantaten* contain a song (Vol. LII^b, p. 30), 'Nel dolce' dell oblio,' with a fine *obbligato* for a single fipple-flute,¹ but when associating the fipple-flute with the voice, Handel usually employs more than one flute. Amongst other examples, I have already mentioned the accompaniment to 'Wise men flattering'; the following are additional instances: in *La Resurrezione* (p. 17) there is an important *obbligato* to the Magdalen for two fipple-flutes with a viol de gamba; the recitative 'Thus long ago', in *Alexander's Feast* (Vol. XII, p. 128), is accompanied by two fipple-flutes, associated with a viola; *Flauto I*, *Flauto II*, with a string quartet, accompany a tenor, Fernando; in *Almina* (p. 23) two fipple-flutes, forming a trio with viol di brecio, accompany Osman, also a tenor (p. 51), again (p. 15), the same instruments accompany a soprano solo. In the *Pastor Fido* (Vol. LXXXIV, p. 64) Apollo is accompanied in a recitative by two fipple-flutes; in *Floridante* (Vol. LXV, p. 65) two fipple-flutes accompany a duet; in *Agrippina* (Vol. LVII, p. 83) *Due Flauti* with *Violini surdi*, *Viola* and *Bassi piz.* accompany an alto; in *Aci, Galatea e Polifemo* (Vol. LIII, p. 24) *Flauto e Violino I* and *Flauto e Violini II* accompany Acis.

We thus see that Handel, when using the fipple-flute to accom-

¹ It seems strange that this song, which is composed expressly for the voice with flute *obbligato*, should not have attracted the attention of modern publishers.

pany the voice, seldom employs a single instrument ; the contrary is his practice with the lip-flute, he more frequently scores for one, than two flutes, as the following will show : in *Radamisto* (Vol. LXII, p. 168) a *traversa* accompanies a soprano ; *Faramonda* (Vol. XCI, p. 8), a *traversa* accompanies a duet for two sopranos ; in *Parnassa in Festo* (Vol. LIV, p. 19) a *traversa solo* accompanies Apollo (soprano) ; in the *Italienische Kantaten* (Vol. LII^b, p. 18) *La Traversiera* accompanies Apollo (bass) and Dafne (soprano) ; in *Aci, Galatea e Polifemo* (Vol. LIII, pp. 88–92), a *traversa* accompanies Acis ; in *Alceste* (Vol. XLVI^{a b}, p. 30) a *traversa* accompanies Calliope in a song sung whilst Admetus is sleeping ; in *Riccardo* there is a short aria, ‘Morte vieni,’ sung by Costanza (soprano) accompanied by a bass lip-flute, *una traversa bassa* ; in the *Ode for St. Cecilia’s Day* (Vol. XXIII, p. 39), the air ‘The soft complaining flute’ is accompanied by a *traversière* ; the well-known *obbligato* to ‘Sweet Bird’ from *Il Penseroso* (Vol. VI, p. 39) is for a *traversière* ; in the Appendix to Vol. XXXVI there is an accompaniment for a *traversière* to a tenor solo ; in the first Te Deum (Vol. XXXVII, p. 11), a *traversière* accompanies the alto solo ‘When thou tookest upon thee’, as already noticed ; in *Athaliah* (p. 69), the air ‘Softest sounds’ is accompanied by a *flauto traverso* ; in *Solomon* (Vol. XXV, p. 195), a solo by the first Harlot (soprano) is accompanied by a *traversa solo* ; in *Parthenope* (Vol. LXXXII, p. 193), *Violino I e Traversa*, in unison, accompany Armindo (alto) ; in *Jephtha* (Vol. XLIV, p. 114) the solo by Iphis, Jephtha’s daughter, ‘Tune the soft melodious lute, pleasant harp, and warbling flute’ is accompanied by a *traversa solo* ; again, ‘In gentle murmurs will I mourn’ (pp. 32, 36), a duet for soprano and mezzo soprano, is accompanied by a *traversière* ; in *Saul* (p. 88) a song by Michal is accompanied by a *traversa*, and (Appendix, p. 269) a *traversa* accompanies a short solo by the High Priest.

The rule, however, is not without exceptions, as the following will show : *traversieri* are used in the accompaniment to Virtue’s solo in *The Choice of Hercules* (Vol. XVIII, p. 20), and *traversieri tutti* in ‘Will the sun forget to streak’ in *Solomon* (Vol. XXVI, pp. 298, 304). It is true that the flutes are here in unison, but examples of accompaniments to vocal music in which two flutes in parts are employed will be found in *Rodelinda*, where Rodelinda (soprano) is accompanied by *Traversa I, Traversa II* ; in *Parthenope* (p. 103), where *Traversa I, Traversa II* accompany an air ; in *The Choice of Hercules*, where the same instruments accompany Pleasure ; in

Parnassa in Festo (Vol. LIV, p. 71), where two lip-flutes, associated with two horns, accompany an alto ; in *Scipio* (p. 80), *Traversa I*, *Traversa II* are used in a recitative ; in *Tamerlano* (Vol. LXIX, p. 102), where *Traversa e Flauto I*, *Traversa e Flauto II* accompany a duet for soprano and contralto ; again we have two lip-flutes for the Chorus of Israelites, 'How soon our towering hopes' in *Joshua* (Vol. XXII, p. 114), for the Chorus of Virgins in 'See the Conquering Hero comes', and in the Nightingale Chorus,¹ 'Let no rash intruder,' in *Solomon*. In 'Hark ! 'tis the linnet' in *Joshua* (p. 63) two birds of different kinds are introduced, a linnet and a thrush ; here Handel does not employ two flutes for the two birds, but assigns the two parts to different instruments, giving that of the thrush to a *traversa solo*, that of the linnet to the violin.

Handel wrote ten Sonatas for flute with figured bass. Here, too, he never fails to indicate the particular flute for which each sonata is intended. Four of them are for the *flauto* or fipple-flute, six for the *traversa* or lip-flute. Seven of the ten are contained in a volume published by Walsh under the title of *Solos for a German Flute, a Hoboy or Violin with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Bass Violin. Compos'd by Mr. Handel*.² The volume contains twelve sonatas,³ or solos (Handel calls them by both names), seven of them

¹ Handel must have been an observer of nature. When a singing-bird begins to sing, it will be followed by another of the same kind if there is one within hearing, just as a cock will crow when it hears another cock's voice. This habit of birds is represented in the Nightingale Chorus. The two nightingales, which are to lull Solomon and his wife to sleep, sing the same tune, but one of them begins alone. At the end of the first bar the second nightingale starts, and chases the first, which maintains its lead of a bar.

² This work should be carefully distinguished from the following : *Solos for a German Flute, a Hoboy or Violin with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Bass Violin. Being all choice pieces compos'd by Mr. Handel. Curiously fitted to the German Flute* ; which is the title of certain parts of a collection of tunes, taken from various works of Handel, and published by Walsh in four volumes. The other parts are entitled : *Sonatas or Chamber Aires for a German Flute, Violin or Harpsichord. Being the most celebrated Songs and Ariets collected out of all the late Operas compos'd by Mr. Handel*.

³ In the German Handel Society's edition (Vol. XXVII, *Kammer-Musik*) three solos for the violin are added to the twelve of Walsh, the music being entitled, *XV Solos for a German Flute, Hoboy or Violin with a thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Bass Violin. Opera Prima*. This edition differs slightly from that of Walsh, more particularly in the first Sonata (No. I of Dr. Stade's edition of the flute sonatas), of which two versions, entitled Sonata I^a and Sonata I^b, are given. The work is usually called Handel's Op. I, a title on which, I presume, we are to put the interpretation that the volume was

being, as I have said, for the flute. Of the remaining five, two are for the hautboy and three for the violin. One of the latter in the key of A is still a great favourite with violin-players. It used to be heard at the Monday Popular Concerts, and has even been played more than once at the Handel Festival, by all the violins in the orchestra in unison. All of the seven flute sonatas are accessible to flute-players, they having been republished of late years with the figured bass arranged for the pianoforte. Six of them are edited by Dr. Stade (Leipzig, Gustav Heinze), the seventh by Félicien David (Leipzig, Barthold Seuff), who has added an arrangement for the violin and introduced, with questionable taste, cadenzas of his own. These sonatas are of great interest, numbers three, five and six of Dr. Stade's edition being particularly remarkable for their beauty and freshness. It may interest those who possess the modern edition to know that numbers one, three, and five of Dr. Stade's arrangement are for a *traversa* or lip-flute ; numbers two, four, and six for a *flauto* or fipple-flute. The sonata arranged by David is for the fipple-flute, but is erroneously marked *traverso* by the arranger.

Handel's first published work *of the kind*, for if the sonatas were composed for the Prince of Wales, they could not have been his first composition, whilst it is certain they were not the first work he published, for they were not brought out until 1732, or, at the earliest, about 1724, the date given by Arnold. Moreover, there is another work termed Handel's Op. I. It consists of some sonatas for two hautboys with figured bass referred to 1696, when Handel was only eleven years old. If we may judge from the following anecdote, Handel must have composed many works at a very early period of his career : Lord Polwarth, an amateur flute-player, having brought with him from Germany some hautboy music in manuscript gave it Weidemann, Handel's first lip-flute player, of whom he was taking lessons. Weidemann showed it to Handel, who recognized it as a youthful production of his own, and said, 'I used to write like a devil in those days, and chiefly for the hautboy, which was my favourite instrument.'

The following is Dr. Schoelcher's account of the sonatas : 'It was also in the year 1732, and not in 1724 [Weld's *History of the Royal Society*] that the *Twelve Sonatas, or Solos for a Violin or a German Flute*, were published. They were written, it is said, for the Prince of Wales, who was reckoned a very good musician. They have the title of Opera I^a, as if the *Suites de Pièces* were not reckoned among the works of instrumental music. In the seventh of these *Sonatas* may be recognized the movement in the duet of *Alexander*, "Placa l'alma ;" out of the eleventh, Handel made the fifth of the *Six Organ Concertos*, Book I, which appeared in October, 1738. Thus it was that he copied and recopied himself more than once in his instrumental music.'

The two sonatas, Nos. VII and XI, referred to by Schoelcher are both for the fipple-flute. They form Nos. IV and VI of Dr. Stade's edition.

The three remaining sonatas have not as yet been rearranged. They are all for the *traversa*. They were published by Walsh in a collection of sonatas with the following title: *Six Solos four for a German Flute and a Bass, and two for a Violin with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Bass Violin compos'd by Mr. Handel: Sig^{or}. Gemiani: Sig^r. Somis: Sig^r. Brivio*. They will also be found in Vol. XLVIII (*Instrumental Music*, pp. 130, 134, 137) of the German Handel Society's edition of Handel's Works, where they are numbered Sonatas XVI, XVII, and XVIII. In the seventeenth sonata (the second of Walsh's edition) there is an instance of Handel's habit of borrowing from himself, the first two movements being taken from one of the two hautboy sonatas just mentioned. Handel has transposed them into a key more suitable for the German flute, and added a *Grave* and a *Minuet*.

In addition to the flute solos, there are two sonatas by Handel in the form of trios for the lip-flute and violin with figured bass marked *Violoncello e Cembalo*. They form Sonata I and Sonata IV of a work published by Walsh under the title of *VI Sonates à deux Violons, deux Hautbois ou deux Flutes traversières & Basse Continue composées par G. F. Handel. Second ouvrage*. In the Handel Society's edition (*Kammer-Musik*, Vol. XXVII), they appear amongst *IX Sonatas or Trios for Two Violins, Flutes, or Hoboys*. We find in this edition two versions of the first sonata; they are marked Sonata I^a and Sonata I^b; the latter corresponding to Sonata I of Walsh. Again, there are *a* and *b* versions of the last movement of the fourth, here called the fifth, sonata. The seven sonatas or trios styled Handel's *Opera quinta* (German Handel Society's edition, Vol. XXVII), although purporting to be for violins or German flutes, seem to be intended, without exception, for the violin. It will be observed that the title of this, and other works just mentioned, gives a misleading idea of the compositions to which it is affixed. The title-pages, we may assume, were drawn up by the publisher, and designed rather to attract buyers, than to impart accurate information.

To return to our subject. Before I was tempted into my long digression on Handel's use of the flute, I had noticed the weird effect of the *voix céleste* stop of the organ—an effect produced by using for each note two pipes not strictly in tune with each other. I had also speculated on the possibility of certain extraordinary effects attributed to concerts of recorders being due to the same cause, namely, the beat, or interference of the waves of sound brought

about by the use of two or more recorders for each part. I was about to call attention to a passage in which Handel had partially revived the exploded concert of recorders, and had had recourse to more fipple-flutes than one for each note, employing not less than five flutes for three parts, and was going to hazard the conjecture that Handel might possibly have intended to produce by this expedient a tremulous,¹ or mystic effect. The passage to which I wish to refer is in the form of a trio for treble and bass fipple-flutes, the two treble parts being doubled, but only one bass flute employed. It is true that the flute concert was more or less broken, for Handel had added to the first part an oboe in unison with the flutes, and had combined a viola with the bass flute, the parts being marked thus : the first, *Oboe solo, e Flauti I* ; the second, *Flauti II*, the third, *Viola e Basso de' Flauti*. Whether he added the oboe and the viola because he thought that the flutes unaided would not be sufficiently powerful to fill Covent Garden Theatre where the opera was given, or for some other reason, it is, of course, impossible to say. It is clear, however, that he was particularly anxious to confine the trio to the instruments indicated in the score, for against the first and second parts he wrote *senza Violini*, and against the third, *senza Cembalo e senza Bassi*.²

The trio is introduced in one of Handel's operas—a comparatively late work, it not having been composed until 1736. It is called *Giustino*, or *Justin*, and is a dramatized version of the career of the Emperor Justinus the elder, who rose from a peasant to fill the throne of the Caesars. The situation in which the flutes are employed is one which seems to require music which should be soft and soothing, and at the same time mysterious and suggestive of the supernatural. In the fourth scene of the first act, Justin is discovered engaged in ploughing. On a sudden he is overpowered by a strange drowsiness, and sitting down on the plough falls asleep. No sooner

¹ Doubled flutes in three parts (two first, two second, and two bass flutes) had been employed long before in the operatic orchestra by Lully. They were used in connexion with lamentation. In *Psyche* (1674) a crowd of lamenters is followed by six persons playing flutes, and eight others who carry torches after the manner of the ancients in funeral solemnities. The wail, or *ululatus*, was so tremulous that it was suggestive of the hooting of an owl, as I shall have occasion to point out in a subsequent Lecture.

² The following alternative scoring is given, doubtless for use in case a sufficient number of fipple-flutes was not available : *Oboe solo e Violino I.*, piano. *Violino II.*, piano. *Viola e Violino III.*, piano *senza Cembalo e senza Bassi*.

has he closed his eyes than a prophetic vision is vouchsafed to him. A flood of light pours on the scene, and the goddess Fortuna, in all her majesty, appears in the clouds, which softly bear her down to earth. She is seated on her wheel, and is attended by a retinue of immortal beings, who carry in their hands a crown, a sceptre, and treasure of inconceivable value. The scene opens with the flute music, which forms an introduction of forty-four bars to an aria, *Può ben nascer*, of the same length. After the aria, comes an orchestral interlude of sixteen bars. Only single flutes are used here, the interlude being scored for *Corno I.*, *Corno II.*; *Flauto I.*, *Flauto II.*; *Viola*; *Tutti Bassi*. Next comes a recitative, then an aria, *Bel ristoro de' mortali*, accompanied by the string quartet, after which Giustino sinks into a slumber, and forthwith the vision appears.¹

HANDEL'S FLAUTO PICCOLO

I cannot leave Handel's orchestra without saying a few words on a subject respecting which there seems to be a universal misapprehension; I allude to the piccolo which that great master of instrumental colouring employed. It appears to be taken for granted that Handel's piccolo, like that to which we are accustomed, was a lip-piccolo; it never seems to be even suspected that it was a far sweeter and more tender instrument, an octave fipple-flute. Such, however, is the fact. Handel would never have combined a lip-piccolo with two fipple-flutes, nor would he have called a lip-piccolo a *flauto piccolo*. That it was a fipple-flute does not, however, rest on inference and analogy only, we have other evidence which may be deemed perfectly satisfactory. In *Rinaldo* there is an air—*Augelletti che cantate*—which attracted great attention when the opera was performed, owing to the circumstance that birds were let loose on the stage whilst it was sung. To suggest the warbling of birds Handel wrote a flute trio, forming, to use Mr. W. S. Rockstro's words, 'the loveliest imaginable accompaniment' to the song. Now, in the conducting score, the instruments on which the three parts are to be played are indicated thus: *Flauto piccolo*; *Flauto I.*; *Flauto II.*; but in the autograph score, in Buckingham Palace,

¹ Handel seems to have taken particular pains with this part of the opera, for Burney singles out both of the airs for commendation. '*Può ben nascer*,' he says, 'for Annibali, is a very pleasing cavatina, in Handel's first manner, *Bel ristoro*, an invocation to sleep, for the same singer, is excellent.' He adds 'upon the whole, this opera [*Giustino*] so seldom acted and so little known, seems to me one of the most agreeable of Handel's dramatic productions.'

instead of *Flauto piccolo*, Handel has written 'Flageolett',¹ thus showing beyond the possibility of a doubt, that by *Flauto piccolo* he intended, not a lip, but a fipple, flute,² the trio being designed for three fipple-flutes. In fact the old meaning of the Italian name still lingers in Hamilton's *Dictionary of Musical Terms* (Cocks's edition, 1849), where *Flauto piccolo* is explained to be 'an octave flute, or a flageolet'. By flageolet is not necessarily meant a true flageolet, the term may indicate an octave fipple-flute pierced and fingered like a recorder. In the present day we often hear the term flageolet loosely and improperly applied to the whole fipple-flute family.³ The word was sometimes used in the same incorrect way in the eighteenth century. Thus, William Tans'ur, writing in 1772, devotes a chapter to 'The Common Flute or Flageolet', which, like the clarinet of our time, was made in various sizes. He says, 'Of flutes there be many Sizes, as a *Concert Flute*; a *Third Flute*, a *Fifth*, and a *Sixth*, and an *Octave Flute*.'⁴ All these flutes, be it

¹ Addison, when describing the scene in *The Spectator* (No. 5), calls the instruments used by Handel flageolets. He writes, 'the musick proceeded from a concert of flageolets and bird-calls which were planted behind the scenes.' Flageolets were afterwards used for bird effects by Rameau. In *Platée*, which came out in 1749, long after *Rinaldo* (1711), there is a remarkable scoring for two flageolets and three violins to suggest the singing of birds in a grove. Dr. Borland in his Paper (p. 152) reproduces the first bar.

² See the second version of *Rinaldo*, published by the German Handel Society in 1896 (Vol. LVIII^{bis}), Preface, p. v. Also Rockstro's *Life of Handel*, p. 68.

³ See Lecture I, p. 47.

⁴ *The Elements of Music displayed by William Tans'ur, Senior, Musico-Theorico*, Book III, Chap. III, p. 89.

Music for a fifth, and sixth, or voice-flute, as it is termed, as well as for a concert fipple-flute will be found in the following works:

CORELLIS XII CONCERTOS *Transpos'd for FLUTES viz a FIFTH a SIXTH a CONSORT and VOICE FLUTE The proper FLUTE being nam'd to each CONCERTO and so adapted to the PARTS that they perform in CONSORT with the VIOLINS and other INSTRUMENTS Throughout the Whole being the first of this kind yet Publish'd.*

London, Printed for and sold by J: Walsh Servant to his Majesty at the Harp and Hoboy in Catherine Street in the Strand, and Jn^o. & Joseph Hare at the Viol and Flute in Cornhill near the Royall Exchange.

XII CONCERTOS *in Eight Parts The first three for VIOLINS and one Small FLUTE The Second three for VIOLINS and two Small FLUTES The third three for VIOLINS & one GERMAN FLUTE and the three last for VIOLINS and one HOBBOY The proper Flute being nam'd to each Concerto Compos'd by ROBERT WOODCOCK*

LONDON printed for and sold by J: WALSH servant to his Majesty at the Harp and Hoboy in Catherine Street in the Strand, and JOSEPH HARE at the Viol and Flute in Cornhill near the Royal Exchange.

observed, are called by Tans'ur flageolets, yet not one of them was a flageolet proper, pierced with two thumb, and four finger-holes ;

Babell's *CONCERTOS in 7 Parts : The first four for VIOLINS and one small FLUTE and the two last for VIOLINS and two FLUTES. The proper Flute being nam'd to each CONCERTO. Compos'd by the Late Mr: WILL^m: BABELL. Opera Terza.*

Note. All the Works of this Author may be had where these are sold.

London. Printed for and sold by J: Walsh servant to his Majesty at the Harp and Hoboy in Catharine Street in the Strand, and Joseph Hare at the Viol and Hoboy in Cornhill near the Royal Exchange.

The twelve Concertos by Corelli are all arranged for two flutes ; eight of them being for Concert, one for fifth, and the remainder for sixth, flutes. In the six Concertos for fipple-flutes by Woodcock the sixth flute only is used. Of Babell's six Concertos the first four are for a sixth, the fifth for two sixth, and the sixth for two concert, flutes. It is scarcely necessary to say that music written for a concert flute does not require transposition when the instrument is played in concert with strings ; nor does that for an octave flute, an octave flute being an octave higher than a concert flute. It will be understood, of course, that the music for third, fifth, and sixth flutes *did* require transposition when they were played with members of the violin family. Sir John Hawkins seems to have been under the belief that the fipple-flute for which it was not necessary to transpose was not brought into use until about 1732, when, according to him, Stanesby the flute-maker in conjunction with Merci, a well-known fipple-flute player, introduced it with a view of arresting the impending fall of the fipple-flute. All Handel's fipple-flute music, however, is written for a concert, and all his flauto piccolo parts (with the exception of that in the *Water Music*) are for an octave flute. As the fipple-flute was used in Handel's first opera, *Almira*, which was composed in 1704, it would appear that Sir John was mistaken. The Concertos, the titles of which have just been quoted, were not the only compositions written or arranged for small flutes, that is, if we can trust Sir John Hawkins, who states that it was a common practice when the fipple-flute was in vogue, to write for such flutes, which, by having the parts transposed, could play in concert with other instruments. He attributes the introduction of these flutes to Woodcock and Babell, giving 1710 as an approximate date. He adds that Schickhard of Hamburg, a great flute-player and a celebrated composer of flute music, had previously fitted the Concertos of Corelli in like manner for flutes of various sizes. As Walsh is known to have been an unscrupulous pirate, it is difficult to resist the suspicion that the arrangement of the Concertos of Corelli, the title of which has just been quoted, is that of Schickhard, published without the arranger's name. Should this be so, it is not unlikely that Schickhard, not Babell and Woodcock, was the first to make use of the small flutes.

Woodcock was a professional flautist. He is twice mentioned by Hawkins, by whom he is styled a famous and celebrated player. Babell was a member of the king's private music, and the organist of Allhallows, Bread Street. He was the son of an orchestral musician, of whom it is related that he played the bassoon at Drury Lane theatre when he was eighty years of age. The son

they all 'having', he tells us, the usual 'eight holes' of the common flute, 'seven on the Top for the *Fingers* and one underneath for the

died at the early age of thirty-two, or thirty-three, having, according to Fétis, hastened his end by excessive indulgence in alcohol. He is violently disparaged by Burney, but seems, nevertheless, to have been a remarkable person. Matheson states that he was a pupil of Handel on the organ, and that he played that instrument even better than his master. That he learnt of Handel is denied by Hawkins on the ground that Handel disdained to teach his art to any but princes. There can, however, be no doubt that he was well acquainted with Handel. Rockstro, in his *Life of Handel* (p. 75), referring to Handel's first visit to England, says, 'Handel also made acquaintance with Lord Burlington, Mr. Andrews, William Babell the Harpsichord Player—who gained extraordinary credit by writing a set of Lessons on *Airs from Rinaldo*—and many other men of note and talent whose friendship was well worth having. In their society the time passed pleasantly away.' It is evident that his reputation as a composer survived him. The Concertos were not brought out until some time after his death. Moreover, in the following preface to them, printed in the first flute part, Walsh shows himself to be desirous of publishing any other of his works that might be in existence. It should be premised that Walsh, as Hawkins tells us, was an illiterate person :

'The Occasion of this Preface, was to congratulate the Harmonious on the Publication of this Work, Compos'd by my late lov'd Friend, M^r. WILLIAM BABELL.

'The following Pieces being obtain'd from the Executors of a particular Friend of the Author's, I hope will prove an Example to induce all Persons, who have any other of his Compositions, to oblige the Public with them.

'When the World is so unfortunate as to lose an esteemed Author, the only Consolation we have, is the enjoyment of his Works: therefore 'tis to be hop'd, that notwithstanding, the too common Vanity of making Manuscripts scarce, by confining them to the Closets of Particulars; it will in this case be avoided.

'HARMONY is so Universally esteem'd, that to conceal any of his Performances, would be in some measure doing an Injustice to the Public: Burying a Treasure that might be enjoy'd by others without loss to the Donor: and denying him that Beautifull and lasting Monument which his Genius has rais'd to him in his Works.

'In fine, Our Author may justly be Recorded, an Inexhaustible Treasure of Harmony, And, had he liv'd in SHAKESPEARE'S time; we might justly have concluded him the Occasion of the following Lines.

If Music be the Food of Love, play on :
That Strain again: It had a dying Fall :
Oh! it came o're my Ear like a sweet Sound
That breathes upon a Bank of Violets
Stealing and giving Odours. SHAK:'

The following will help to fix the date of the Concertos. In the publisher's imprint on those by Corelli we find 'Jn^o. & Joseph Hare'. Joseph Hare's

Thumb of the Left Hand,' with the same fingering applicable to them all.

The accompaniment to *Augelletti che cantate* is not the only florid *obbligato* to the soprano voice that Handel composed for the *flauto piccolo*; there are two others to be found in his works: one to 'Hush, ye pretty warbling Choir', with which we are all so familiar, in *Acis and Galatea*; the other to a song in *Riccardo Primo* (Vol. LXXIV, p. 110). Of the three, the piccolo part of the last named is, perhaps, the most flowery and elaborate. Twice the *flauto piccolo* is introduced in instrumental music: once in *Alcina*, where it appears in a short passage in a *Tamburino*; ¹ once in the *Water Music*. In the latter more than one *piccolo* is used, Handel scoring for *flauti piccoli* which play in unison. They are not octave flutes, but play in E♭ whilst the other instruments are in B♭. They appear in two movements; the first in $\frac{3}{4}$ time, scored for *Flauti piccoli, Tutti Violini, Viola*, and *Tutti Bassi*; the second in common time, the scoring being for *Flauti piccoli, Violino I., Violino II., Viola, Violonc. (e Cembalo)*.²

name seems to have first appeared in conjunction with that of his father John about 1720. As John Hare died in 1725, we may conclude that the title-page was engraved between 1720 and 1726. John Hare's name does not appear in the imprint of Woodcock's Concertos. In all likelihood, therefore, they were not published during John Hare's life. In the programme of a benefit concert for Carbonelli, given in 1722, one of the items was 'a new Concerto for the little flute, composed by Woodcock and performed by Baston'. (Burney, *History of Music*, Vol. IV, p. 648). The 'new Concerto for the little flute' may, possibly, have been one of the three for 'violins and one small flute'. The name of John Hare is absent from the imprint of Babell's Concertos, so that it is not likely that they were brought out until after his death (1725). Babell, as I have said, died in 1722 or 1723. There is nothing to show how long before his death the Concertos were composed. Baston, by whom the Concerto for the little flute was played, was a well-known performer on the fipple-flute, as the following from Burney (Vol. IV, p. 654) shows: 'The favourite musicians of our own country at this time [1731] were Dubourg, Clegg, Clarke, and Festing on the violin; Kytch on the hautboy; Jack Festing on the German-flute; Baston on the common-flute; Karba on the bassoon; Valentine Snow on the trumpet; . . .'

¹ The *flauto piccolo* is here used to call up the idea of the galoubet, or tabourer's pipe, a *Tamburino* being a dance played on that instrument.

² Schoelcher, in his account of the *Water Music*, gives a list of the instruments of which the band was composed. In his description, which I will quote, we have another proof that Handel's piccolo was not a lip, but a fipple, flute; for, as will be seen, the *flauti piccoli* are called flageolets. We also learn that they were two in number:

THE *OBBLIGATO* TO 'O RUDDIER THAN THE CHERRY'

Connected with Handel's piccolo is a mystery. The giant Polyphemus, the bass in *Acis and Galatea*, was a shepherd, and, like all shepherds in pastoral poetry, played the syrinx; indeed, he seems to have been, in his own opinion, a very fine performer, for he was so proud of his musical skill as to recommend himself to his lady love, the fair Galatea, on the ground that he was a better player on the Pan-pipe than any of his fellow Cyclopes.¹ Shepherds had recourse to the syrinx both in singing and composing, a circumstance of which Handel was not unmindful, but in setting Polyphemus's love song, 'O ruddier than the cherry,' introduced a flute *obbligato* to suggest the music of the Pan-pipe.² The instrument to which the *obbligato* is assigned in the score is a *flauto*, that is, a concert fipple-flute. If, then, the *obbligato* was played in Handel's time on a *flauto*, as marked in the score, we should have expected that when the fipple-flute fell into disuse and the lip-flute took its place in the orchestra, the *obbligato* would be handed over to a concert flute, whereas we find that it is now played, not on a concert flute, but on a piccolo. The use of the piccolo for the accompaniment has given great offence to critics, and has even led to the use of intem-

'George the First,' writes Schoelcher, 'arrived in England on the 18th of September, 1714, and was crowned at Westminster on the 20th of October following. He was all the more irritated against his truant chapel-master [Handel] for having written the *Te Deum* on the Peace of Utrecht, which was not favorably regarded by the Protestant princes of Germany. A Hanoverian baron named Kilmanseck, a great admirer of Handel and a friend of George the First, undertook to bring them together again. Being informed that the King intended to picnic on the river Thames, he requested the artist to compose something for the occasion. Handel wrote the twenty-five little pieces of concerted music known under the name of *Water Music*, and caused them to be executed in a barge which followed the royal boat. The orchestra was somewhat numerous; for it consisted of four violins, one viol, one violoncello, one counter-bass, two hautboys, two bassoons, two French-horns, two flageolets, one flute, and one trumpet.' Schoelcher's *Life of Handel*, p. 41. I should add that the flute here mentioned was not a *flauto*, but, as the score shows, a *traversa*, or lip-flute.

¹ 'Also I am skilled in piping' [συνρίσθην ἐπίστῳμαι] 'as none other of the Cyclopes here, and of thee, my love, my sweet apple, and of myself too I sing, many a time, deep in the night.' Theocritus, *Idyl* XI. 38, Lang's translation.

² In the libretto of *Acis and Galatea* Polyphemus calls for reeds to make a syrinx just before he begins to play, an absurdity for which there is no authority in the passage in Ovid, from which the story is taken. See below, note 2, p. 265.

perate language ;¹ it is, however, open to question whether the effect of a flute would be preferable to that of a piccolo in the passage. A piccolo, and more especially a fipple piccolo with its liquid and mellifluous notes, would most certainly be more suggestive of a Pan-pipe than a concert flute ; again, it is doubtful if a concert flute is so well fitted as a piccolo to help the singer in representing the voice of a giant : to combine a shrill with a deep instrument gives depth and dignity to the bass by the contrast, as Berlioz well knew. Moreover, it is by no means certain that the *obbligato* was not played on a *flauto piccolo* with Handel's sanction. We are told in Grove's *Dictionary* (Art. Flageolet), that 'there is a tradition of some authority that the solo part in "O ruddier than the cherry" marked in the score as *Flauto*, was played in Handel's time on the flageolet'. Stainer and Barrett's *Dictionary of Musical Terms* goes further and states positively that the *obbligato* 'is for a flageolet'. No authority is given in the dictionary for the statement, but it is supported indirectly by the circumstance that a *flauto piccolo* was used for the *obbligato* at the Antient Concerts. Of this there can be no doubt. Mr. John Ella, the founder of the Musical Union, was a member of the band in the third decade of the nineteenth century. I have heard him say again and again that when 'O ruddier than the cherry' was given, the second oboe-player, whose name was Sharp, used to produce a flageolet, and play the *obbligato* on it. Mr. Ella did not give any explanation of the proceeding, but it had so impressed him that he almost always alluded to it when *Acis and Galatea* was mentioned.

¹ A well-known authority stigmatizes the use of the piccolo in 'O ruddier than the cherry' as a senseless custom. 'The flute,' he goes on to say, 'is expressly marked in the score ; and Handel would hardly have been so foolish, after *Polyphemus* has sung—

Bring me a hundred reeds of decent growth

To make a pipe for my capacious mouth,

as to represent the "pipe for my capacious mouth" by the tiniest instrument in the orchestra. It is simple nonsense : it ruins the effect Handel intended, and is, I suppose, one of the many blessings for which we have to thank unscientific conductors.'

The question, however, has another side, which seems to have been overlooked. When *Acis and Galatea* is given, Polyphemus is not represented by a giant with a voice of thunder, but by a singer of ordinary stature with an ordinary bass voice. Why, then, should he not be accompanied by an instrument representing an ordinary Pan-pipe ? His mouth, not being more 'capacious than usual, would not be 'decent', or suitable, for a Pan-pipe made for the mouth of a giant. Such a tone, be it remembered, did Polyphemus bring from his Pan-pipe, that it made an impression on the mountains and the waves. When he raised his voice in anger, Mount Aetna quaked.

That the *flauto piccolo* was first introduced at the Antient Concerts seems scarcely conceivable: so conservative an institution would surely not have tolerated the innovation. The Concerts of Antient Music, or the King's Concerts, as they were sometimes termed (for the Royal family attended them regularly, and George III sometimes wrote the programme with his own hand), were under the management of a committee consisting chiefly of men of high rank, each of whom chose the programme in turn. No composition which had not been in existence for at least twenty years was eligible for performance. 'For many years the performances were almost exclusively Handelian, varied by songs from Gluck, Bach, Purcell, Hasse, and others.' Even after 1826, when the symphonies of Mozart were admitted, 'Handel still maintained his supremacy.' Mr. Ella joined the band in 1824 when Greatorex, the organist of Westminster Abbey, was the conductor. Greatorex was steeped in Handelian traditions. As a boy he had sung in the chorus when the Antient Concerts were established, and he was intimately associated with the two persons who took the leading part in their foundation—Joah Bates and Lord Sandwich. He had even lived in Lord Sandwich's house, having become an inmate of it on his lordship's invitation. Joah Bates was a zealous Handelian. He conducted at the first Handel Commemoration held in Westminster Abbey in 1784; indeed, he is said to have been one of the three persons by whom the idea of such a celebration was originated. He was the first conductor of the Antient Concerts; Greatorex, under whom Mr. Ella played, being the second.

The Antient Concerts were established in 1776, only seventeen years after Handel's death. It is highly improbable that the knowledge of what instrument Handel employed for the *obbligato* should have perished in the short space of seventeen years, nor does it seem likely that either Bates or Greatorex would have given the accompaniment to a *flauto piccolo* if Handel had assigned it to a *flauto*. We are thus forced, in the absence of a historical record, to fall back on speculation. Could Handel, it might be asked, when writing the score of *Acis and Galatea*, have accidentally omitted to add the word *piccolo* to *flauto*? Or might he at first have intended the accompaniment to be played on a *flauto*, but afterwards, not being satisfied with the effect, have caused it to be transferred to a *flauto piccolo*? But whatever may be the true explanation, it is difficult to understand, looking at the facts of the case as far as they are known, how blame can with justice be imputed to a modern conductor who continues the traditional use of the piccolo.

LECTURE III

HAMLET AND THE RECORDER

Remarks on the Recorder Scene, 157. Who were the Recorder-Players? 161. The Recorder Scene not adequately represented, 161. A Flute-Player's view of the Recorder Scene, 163. An objectionable Practice of some Hamlets, 168. The original Text of the Recorder Scene, 169. 'To withdraw with you,' 172. 'I know no touch of it,' 174. 'Govern these Ventages,' 175. 'Give it Breath with your Mouth,' 176. 'It will discourse most eloquent Music,' 178. 'Look you, these are the stops,' 179. 'You would pluck out the heart of my Mystery,' 181. 'Though you can fret me,' 182.

THE Plays of Shakespeare have been handled by the naturalist, the botanist, the ornithologist, the entomologist, the psychologist, the typographist, the angler, the lawyer, the physician, and the divine, but never, as far as I can discover, by one who has brought to bear on them a study of the flute. Yet Shakespeare has honoured the flute as he has honoured no other instrument. In *Hamlet* he has brought it on the stage, displayed it to the audience, and discoursed on its music, its structure, and its manipulation. This afternoon I will break new ground : I will bring before you the views of a flute-player on the well-known scene.¹ I shall suggest a change in the way of mounting it, express an opinion on how it might be played, and comment on the technical phrases it contains.

It is not necessary to dwell on the leading incidents of the play. No one needs to be reminded that his father's spirit appeared to Hamlet, made known to him that he had been

. . . . by a brother's hand,
Of life, of crown, of queen, at once despatch'd,
and commanded him to

Revenge his foul and most unnatural murder.

The charge thus brought against Hamlet's uncle rested solely on the spectre's word ; but the apparition, instead of being an 'honest ghost', might, perchance, have been a 'goblin damned',

¹ *Hamlet*, III. ii. 360-89.

a fiend, who had assumed his father's shape to lure Hamlet on to crime. Hamlet, therefore, before imbruing his hands in his uncle's blood, requires corroborative evidence. For a test of the ghost's truthfulness, Shakespeare has recourse to his own art : Hamlet will have the murder, as the ghost had described it, acted before his uncle by some strolling players who have just arrived, whilst he and his friend Horatio will watch if in his visage he should betray his guilt.

Ham. I have heard,
That guilty creatures, sitting at a play,
Have by the very cunning of the scene
Been struck so to the soul, that presently
They have proclaim'd their malefactions :
For murder, though it have no tongue, will speak
With most miraculous organ. I'll have these players
Play something like the murder of my father,
Before mine uncle : I'll observe his looks ;
I'll tent him to the quick ; if he do blench,
I know my course. The spirit I have seen,
May be a devil : and the devil hath power
To assume a pleasing shape ; yea, and, perhaps,
Out of my weakness and my melancholy
(As he is very potent with such spirits),
Abuses me to damn me : I'll have grounds
More relative than this : the play's the thing
Wherein I'll catch the conscience of the King.¹

The scene in which the histrionic touchstone is applied to the murderer is a dramatic conception of the highest order. The player on the stage pouring poison into his sleeping victim's ear—Hamlet, mad with passion, but struggling to appear calm, his eyes riveted to his uncle's face as he lies at the feet of the gentle Ophelia—the guilty king, struck to the soul, calling for light and hurrying from the hall—form a spectacle never to be effaced from the beholder's memory.

The king, the queen, the court, the players—all are gone. Hamlet, his doubts dispelled, his suspicions confirmed, is left alone with Horatio in the silent hall. His tempest-tossed soul now longs for the solace of sweet sounds, Shakespeare's balm for the wounded spirit ; ² 'Come,' he exclaims, 'some music ; come, the recorders. . . .

¹ *Hamlet*, II. ii. 617-34.

² In *Henry VIII* (III. i.) Queen Katharine calls for music to dispel sadness :—

Take thy lute, wench ; my soul grows sad with troubles :
Sing and disperse 'em.

Come, some music.' Music is so inseparably associated in many minds with mirth, that this sudden and seemingly ill-judged call for it is often regarded as a mad freak. But, if it be madness, it is

The song sung in obedience to the Queen's command tells us that—

In sweet music is such art;
Killing care, and grief of heart,
Fall asleep, or, hearing, die.

Henry IV (2 *King Henry IV*, iv. iv. 131-5), on regaining consciousness from a swoon caused by joy, expresses a wish for music:—

I pray you take me up and bear me hence
Into some other chamber: softly, pray.

[*They convey the King into an inner part of the room, and place him on a bed.*

Let there be no noise made, my gentle friends;
Unless some dull and favourable hand
Will whisper music to my weary spirit.

Warwick. Call for the music in the other room.

Compare *Julius Caesar*, iv. iii. 257, where Brutus, after great mental agitation, tells his boy to touch his instrument a strain or two.

Hamlet was subject to thoughts of suicide, the result of his infirmity to which he alludes in the speech just quoted above, melancholia; an affection for which, from the time of Saul, music has been looked upon as a remedy. In *Pericles* (v. i. 74), the 'sacred physick', singing, is resorted to in a case of dumbness, in 'a kingly patient', brought on by melancholia. In *The Tempest* (v. i. 58), 'solemn,' or 'heavenly', music (solemnity, be it remembered, next to sweetness, was the distinctive attribute of the recorder) is used to restore reason:—

[*Solemn music.*

Prospero. A solemn air and the best comforter
To an unsettled fancy, cure thy brains,
Now useless, boil'd within thy skull!

Such was the belief of the immortal bard in the power of our art, that he has recourse to it, not only to help 'madmen to their wits', but even to bring the seeming dead to life. On the coffin, or chest, which contained the body of Thaisa, being opened (*Pericles*, iii. ii. 87-96), Cerimon, who had previously made known that he had 'studied physick', cries—

The rough and woful music that we have,
Cause it to sound, beseech you.
The viol once more!—how thou stirr'st, thou block!—
The music there!—I pray you, give her air.—
Gentlemen,
This queen will live: nature awakes; a warmth
Breathes out of her: she hath not been entranced
Above five hours: see, how she 'gins to blow
Into life's flower again!

The success of the treatment, as might be expected, makes the reputation of Cerimon as a student of physick:

not without method. Be it observed that Hamlet does not call for the shawms, for the cornets, or for the hautboys, although any finger-holed instrument would serve the purpose to which the flute is ultimately put. Nor does he call for a recorder. He calls for the recorders ; for a band, or concert, of recorders ; for that combination, which, as Milton tells us, was not

. . . wanting power to mitigate and 'suage
With solemn touches troubled thoughts, and chase
Anguish, and doubt, and fear, and sorrow, and pain
From mortal or immortal minds ;

for that form of instrumental harmony whose ravishing sweetness, suggestive of the passionless bliss of the blessed, could exalt the soul to ecstasy, and lay the spectres of murder and revenge still stalking in the hall.

And here we should note that in the Quarto of 1604, 'the true and perfect copy' of the play, the stage direction 'Enter the Players with Recorders' occupies a position slightly different from that assigned to it in the Folio of 1623 and in modern editions of Shakespeare. Instead of coming immediately before Hamlet's words, 'O, the recorders, let me see one', it is placed a trifle earlier, following Rosencrantz's remark, 'How can that be, when you have the voice of the king himself for your succession in Denmark?' It would seem, therefore, that the recorder-players should not wait until the very last moment available, as is now customary, but should come on the stage rather before they are required for the business of the scene. The sooner they appear, the more would they attract the attention of the audience. Could Shakespeare have intended them to be noticed? It is possible that he was aware of the unconscious influence they would exercise on those who saw them? On a modern audience, it is true, the sight of a band of recorder-players would produce no effect, except in so far as it

First Gentleman. The heavens, Sir,
Through you, increase our wonder, and set up
Your fame for ever.

See also *A Winter's Tale*, v. iii. 98, and *King Lear*, iv. vii.

As I am writing for musicians, I ought not to omit to add that there is a difference of opinion amongst critics on the meaning of the word *viol*, used by Cerimon. Malone thinks that a small bottle is meant; Dyce says that, judging from the context, the musical instrument of that name is intended. In the first, second, and third Quarto the word is spelt *violl*; in the fourth, fifth, and sixth, and the third Folio, *viall*; in the fourth Folio, *vial*; but no dependence can be placed on the spelling as a guide to the sense.

would excite curiosity ; but amongst those who were familiar with the solemn nature of their strains, their presence would as certainly diffuse a holy calm, as, in the present day, the appearance on the stage of a company of itinerant Germans, with wind instruments in their hands, would cause a shudder to run through the house, even if they did not put their discordant wood and hideous brass to their lips.

WHO WERE THE RECORDER-PLAYERS ?

At this stage of our inquiry a question presents itself. For what recorder-players did Hamlet call ? Does the stage direction 'Enter the Players with Recorders' signify 'Enter the Actors furnished with Recorders', or does it mean 'Enter the Recorder-players with their instruments ?' Did Hamlet expect the Players, who had just been acting before the king, to reappear as recorder-players, as seems generally to be taken for granted, or did he intend professional flute-players—such, for instance, as may have come with the Players in the capacity of musicians to the company, or the recorder-players in the Danish Court Band¹ to be summoned to the hall ?

Whether or not in Shakespeare's time it was expected of actors that they should, when called upon, undertake the duties of musicians, those conversant with the history of the stage may be able to say ;² but if, by the Players, Shakespeare meant the actors, the stage direction should be, not 'enter', but 're-enter', the Players with recorders. Of such importance is this point, that in some editions of Shakespeare 're-enter' is substituted for 'enter'.

THE RECORDER SCENE NOT ADEQUATELY REPRESENTED

It would seem as if Shakespeare's design had never yet been realized on the stage. At the very first a bad example was set,

¹ There were no less than six recorder-players in the English Royal Household as late as the reign of Charles I, as has been pointed out in Lecture I.

² The Patent granted by Queen Elizabeth to Lord Leicester's players authorizes them, not only 'to use, exercise, and occupie the art and faculty of playing Comedies, Tragedies, Enterludes, Stage playes, and such other like as they have already used and studied, or hereafter shall use and studye,' but also 'to use and occupie all such Instrum^{ts} as they have alreedy practised, or hereafter shall practise'. In a Paper, entitled *English Instrumentalists at the Danish Court in the time of Shakespeare*, by V. C. Ravn, published in the Quarterly Magazine of the International Musical Society (*Internationale Musikgesellschaft*, Breitkopf & Härtel), July to September, 1906, p. 550, reasons are given for the belief that in the sixteenth century players amused their patrons with *instrumental music*, as well as by acting, dancing, and tumbling.

there being reason for believing that when the great dramatist took the part of the ghost in his own tragedy, no more regard was paid to his ideas than is in the present day. Shakespeare was a shareholder¹ in the Globe Playhouse. His friends, Heminge and Condell, the editors of the Folio of 1623, were not only his brother actors, they were fellow shareholders, whilst Burbage, who played the title-part in *Hamlet*, was the builder of the theatre. The shareholders, looking to the dividend, would be averse to incurring the expense of engaging a band of seeming recorder-players and furnishing them with instruments, real or pretended, when one musician only was required to hand the recorder to Hamlet. Whether this be, or be not, the true reason, the play was brought into harmony with such views. In the Folio of 1623, the text of which is believed to be taken from an acting version, probably that of the Globe, the stage direction 'Enter the Players with Recorders' is altered into 'Enter one with a Recorder', its position in the text changed from where Shakespeare put it, to the place where it now stands, and Hamlet's words, 'O the Recorders, let me see one,' converted into 'O the Recorder. Let me see . . .'²

¹ There were sixteen shares. Shakespeare is known to have held at least two. His holding is said to have brought him in at one time more than four hundred a year. But the Globe had its 'downs' as well as its 'ups'. When the boys from the Chapel Royal became so popular as actors at the Blackfriars Theatre, the receipts fell off to such an extent that the Globe was closed and the company went on tour, a circumstance alluded to in *Hamlet*. The passage relating to it is given in modern editions of Shakespeare (*Hamlet*, II. ii. 341-79), although it is not found in any of the Quartos. Rosencrantz tells Hamlet that the little eyases, as he calls the boys, have become the fashion, and says that they carry off 'Hercules and his load too', there being a figure of Hercules with a globe on his back at the Playhouse. Hamlet asks five or six questions about the children.

The actors were not paid fixed salaries; they divided the takings with the shareholders, those actors who were also shareholders benefiting, of course, in the double capacity. The shareholders took half of the gross receipts, out of which they paid certain *employées* known as hirelings. As the recorder-players would have been personated by hirelings (unless the actors reappeared as musicians), the expense of engaging them, as well as the cost of their costumes and instruments, would not have fallen on the actors, but on the shareholders.

Since this Lecture was prepared for the press, discoveries have been made, from which it is inferred that Shakespeare's income from the Globe never exceeded £300 a year. It also appears that Shakespeare had shares in the Blackfriars Theatre which brought him in the same sum.

² See below, p. 173, n. 2, where the passage is quoted as it appears in the Folio.

A FLUTE-PLAYER'S VIEW OF THE RECORDER SCENE

If the Recorder Scene were carried out according to what seems to a flute-player to be Shakespeare's intention, it would be conducted as follows. At least four recorder-players—a discant, an alto, a tenor, and a bass—would come upon the stage. The semblance of the instruments they carry in their hands would vary in length, the longest being, roughly speaking, rather less than four, the shortest, than two, feet long. The exact length of the Chester flutes (Fig. 60) is as follows : of the discant 1 ft. 8 in. ; the alto 2 ft. ; the tenor 2 ft. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. ; the bass 3 ft. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.¹

Referring to the substitution of 'a recorder' for 'the recorders', Dyce says that it is an alteration which he has not the slightest doubt we must attribute to the 'company', who, he considers, were obliged to be economical both of persons and properties. A single recorder, he adds, suffices for the business of the scene ; but the alteration is quite at variance with what precedes, Come, some music ; come, *the recorders*.'

¹ These instruments came to light in 1886, when the collection of antiquities belonging to the Chester Archaeological Society was removed to new quarters. The case which contained them was so worm-eaten when they were discovered, that, with the exception of the green baize lining, it fell to pieces on being handled. There was no record to show how they found their way to the museum, but a very old member of the society had 'some recollection' that the box had been brought there by a Colonel Cholmondeley. They were sent for repair to a local music-seller, who had a new key made for the alto, and the tube for carrying the wind from the player's mouth to the top of the instrument added to the bass.

They are a very late set—possibly one of the latest ever made. In the discant and the alto, there may be seen attempts at improvement, by the duplication of holes. The maker, Bressan, is mentioned incidentally by Sir John Hawkins. When referring to the tuning of flutes, he writes, 'the flutes of the latter kind' (*flûtes à bec*) 'of the younger Stanesby approach the nearest of any to perfection ; but those of Bressan, though excellent in their tone, are all too flat in the upper octave.' It may be inferred, therefore, that Bressan was a contemporary of the younger Stanesby, the date of whose death, as given by Sir John, is 1754. We have definite information that Bressan was in business in 1724 from the following advertisement of that date, quoted in Kidson's *British Music Publishers* : 'This day is published Sonatas for a flute or Violin and Bass . . . Composed by Sig. Barsanti, printed for the author and sold by Mr. Bressan, musical instrument maker, at the Green Door, in Somerset House Yard, in the Strand. Price 5s.' A copy of the Sonatas here referred to is in the writer's possession ; Mr. Bressan's name, however, does not appear on the title-page, the place for the publisher's imprint being left vacant. The dedication (to Lord Cork) is dated April 7, 1724. They were afterward published by Walsh and Hare, the dedication being omitted.

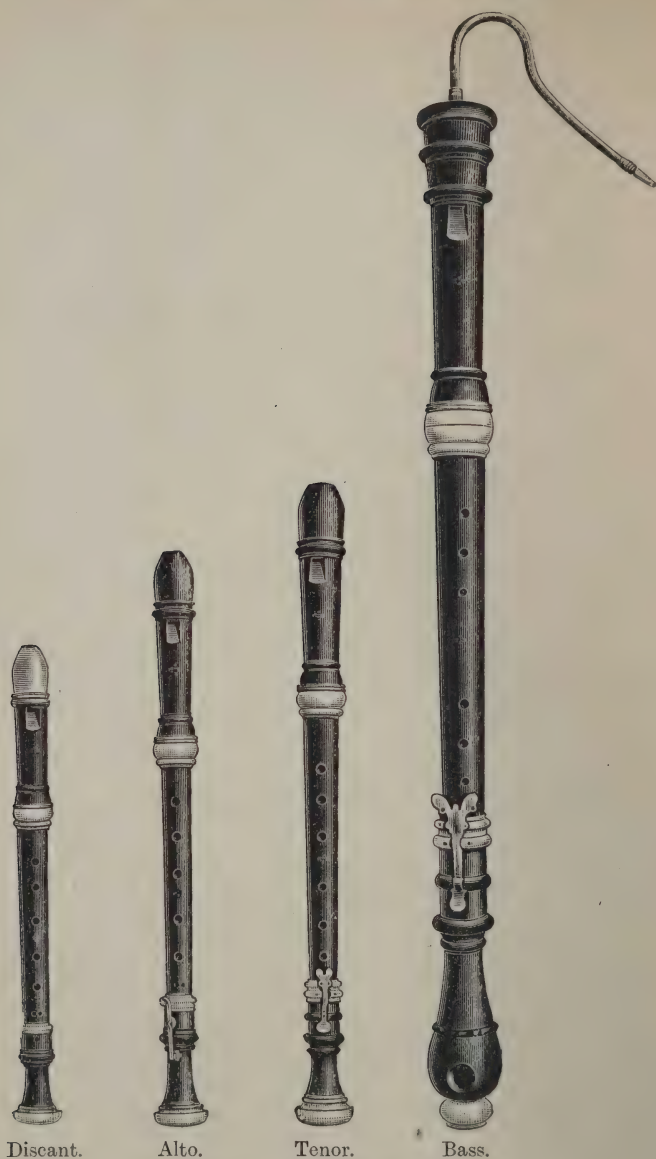


FIG. 60. THE CHESTER FLUTES

The Chester flutes might be taken as a guide for length, their shape, however, would not be copied. They are made in joints, whereas there is reason for believing that in Shakespeare's time the recorder

was in one piece only. An earlier form would therefore be chosen as a model. If the instruments figured by Praetorius¹ were made fifteen or twenty years before his work was published (1620), they would be about contemporaneous with the production of *Hamlet* (1602). Should a still earlier form be preferred, the drawings given by Agricola (1528), or Virdung (1511), and figured in Lecture I, might be followed. It is needless to say that, in any case, even the discant would be so stout as to make Hamlet pause, unless he were a Milo, before he attempted to snap it like a twig.

I have here a recorder which has been kindly lent to me by Messrs. Rudall, Carte & Co. (Fig. 61). It was probably made early in the seventeenth, if not in the sixteenth century, and so would give an idea of the sort of instrument which would be handed to Hamlet. In shape it resembles the flutes in the Syntagma of Praetorius. It is four inches and three-quarters longer than the Chester discant, a consequence of it being in the key of C instead of F, its lowest note being C natural. In a set like that at Chester, it would form the tenor, the longest instrument but one. The wood of which it is made is polished, its colour being light brown. I should call your attention to a peculiarity in its construction, which, of course, would not be copied. The mouth, or *lumi re*, instead of being on the upper aspect of the instrument with the finger-holes, lies below on the same side as the thumb-hole. Although European fipple-flutes are not usually

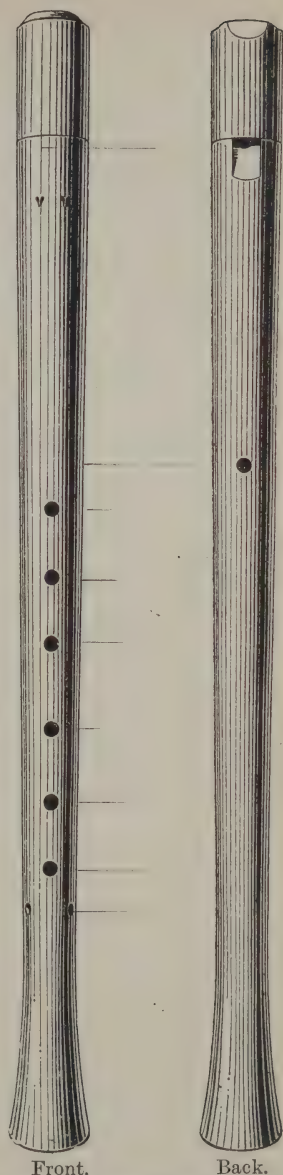


FIG. 61. RECORDER BELONGING TO MESSRS. RUDALL, CARTE & CO.

MAKER'S MARK.

¹ See Lecture I, Fig. 16, p. 41.

thus made, there are Asiatic flutes in which the mouth is so placed, as, for instance, the Siamese instruments figured in Lecture I.¹

As I am addressing musicians, I may mention, parenthetically, that on comparing this recorder with an harmonium used by Messrs. Rudall for tuning clarionets, flutes, and other instruments sent out at the Kneller Hall, or, as it was formerly called, the English Concert pitch—the pitch in general use in English orchestras before the introduction of the so-called *diapason normal*—the recorder and the harmonium were found to be as exactly in unison as if they had been tuned together. The Chester flutes, which are, probably, a century later than this recorder, were stated by Dr. Bridge, when they were played in this room, to be at the same pitch.² And yet this pitch was called Costa's pitch, and we used to be told by its opponents that it originated at Covent Garden Theatre in the forties of the nineteenth century.³

Although there would on no account be less than four recorder-players, if it were desired, a large number might appear. In the collection belonging to Henry VIII there were three sets of four, two of six, one of seven, three of eight, and two of nine recorders ;⁴ the Hengrave case contained seven ; early in the seventeenth century, according to Praetorius, a full flute band comprised twenty-one instruments, including a double-bass flute ; and there is reason for believing, as I have shown, that as many as thirty or forty fipple-flutes were sometimes played together.⁵

The flute-players would not wait so long before coming on the stage as to make it necessary for them to run, or hurry in an unseemly way. They would have entered, and might be in the act of grouping themselves for a performance on a spot whence they and

¹ In the Museum of the Conservatoire of Brussels there are no less than four flutes, and the fragment of a fifth, bearing the same maker's mark as this instrument. They formerly belonged to Count Correr. Two of them are lip- and two fipple-flutes. M. Mahillon pronounces the lip-flutes to be undoubtedly of the sixteenth century. One of the fipple-flutes is distinguished by the same peculiarity as that belonging to Messrs. Rudall, the mouth being reversed.

² *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 1900–1, p. 117.

³ The story that the English pitch was raised by Sir Michael Costa with the approval, if not at the instigation, of Mario, Grisi, Persiani, Alboni, and the other great singers who joined him when he left Her Majesty's for Covent Garden in 1847, is purely apocryphal. Sir Michael in a letter to me, dated December 12, 1881, wrote : ' When I conducted at Her Majesty's Theatre, at the Philharmonic Concerts, and at Covent Garden Theatre, I had the same band and consequently the same pitch.'

⁴ Lecture I, p. 28.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

their instruments could well be seen by the audience, when Hamlet, perceiving them, would exclaim, 'O, the recorders, let me see one.' Thereupon the first player would advance and offer his flute, then retire and rejoin his comrades. He would present the head of the recorder to Hamlet, with the finger-holes uppermost, as represented in Fig. 62, this being the proper and polite way of handing a flute. Hamlet would grasp it between the mouth and the first finger-hole, as shown in Fig. 63, and so when he says, 'Look you, these are the stops,' none of the holes would be covered with his hand. Having taken the recorder, Hamlet would turn to Rosencrantz and Guilden-



FIG. 62. HOW THE RECORDER WOULD BE HANDED TO HAMLET

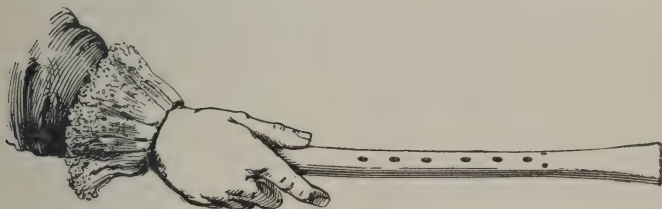


FIG. 63. HOW HAMLET WOULD TAKE THE RECORDER

stern and say, 'to withdraw with you,' at the same time stepping aside, followed by the courtiers, out of earshot of the musicians, he being too well-bred to rebuke his fellow students in their hearing. The flute-players would not quit the stage at this juncture; they would remain until Hamlet, wishing to be alone, says, 'leave me, friends.' Hamlet would either return the recorder to the musician on the entrance of Polonius, or retain it until the players, with Horatio, Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, are about to retire. Throughout the scene Hamlet would carefully refrain from loud speaking, or showing excitement. Not anger, but scorn, expressed in the form of contemptuous banter, is the passion indicated, Hamlet's object being to prove to Rosencrantz and Guildenstern that he can delve below their mines, not to scold or abuse them. Once, but once only, would he raise his voice, that being when he

utters the words, 'S'blood, do you think I am easier to be played on than a pipe?' but he would instantly drop it for the final sentence, 'Call me what instrument you will, though you can fret me, you cannot play upon me,' which, though strongly emphasized, would be pronounced with perfect calmness and great deliberation.

AN OBJECTIONABLE PRACTICE OF SOME HAMLETS

An act is sometimes seen when *Hamlet* is played, which has only to be named to be condemned. There are tragedians who, having taken a recorder, order the flute-players to go away, and afterwards, to disembarass themselves of the instrument, offer it up as a sacrifice to the gods in the gallery by snapping it asunder, and throwing the fragments on the stage. What can be pleaded in justification of the proceeding it is hard to say. Can madness, real or feigned, be an excuse for disfiguring by a display of unbridled passion a reproof couched in a form so often chosen by Him who spake as never man spake? Ought Hamlet, who has likened himself to the recorder, to demolish his own image? Is it right that, for the sake of a theatrical *coup*, Hamlet should be degraded from the gentleman of Shakespeare's creation into a petulant and destructive rowdy? To realize the enormity of the solecism involved we have only to imagine (if the imagination would go so far) that when Queen Victoria's private band was in the Drawing Room at Windsor Castle, the Prince of Wales, now His Majesty King Edward VII, had asked Richardson for his flute to illustrate a remark he was about to make, and, when he had done with it, had smashed it and thrown it away, instead of returning it to the owner. Such wanton violence, however appropriate it might be to the disposition of Richard III, accords ill with the sympathetic nature of the sensitive Hamlet; he would be the last to inflict a needless wound on the feelings of even the humblest of his fellow subjects. To a musician, be it remembered, his instrument is a cherished object; in his hands it becomes a living being, able to express, and seeming to share, his joys and sorrows. The feeling of affection with which it is regarded, may, in a highly-wrought temperament, be heightened into a real passion; thus Paganini, on seeing his violin taken to pieces for the purpose of repair, is said to have displayed the manifestations of acute suffering shown by the tender-hearted when witnessing a surgical operation on one they love.¹

¹ A well-known critic, Mr. Dutton Cooke, pronounces Hamlet's destruction of the recorder 'borrowed from the musicians simply to illustrate his censure

THE ORIGINAL TEXT OF THE RECORDER SCENE

But I have been anticipating. Presuming on your acquaintance with the details of Shakespeare's masterpiece, I have not thought it necessary to remind you that no sooner has Hamlet called for the recorders than his college friends, Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, make their appearance. They have become the servile emissaries of the king, and have undertaken to endeavour to extract from Hamlet the secret of his strange behaviour, the seeming signs he had shown of a disordered brain. Foiled on a former occasion in their attempts to catch him in his talk, they now ask him point blank what is the cause of his distemper. To convince them of the futility of attempting to extort from him a confession, he has recourse to allegory, and represents himself as a flute,¹ on which

of his friends', to be an act of 'brutal violence'. See his *Nights at the Play*, Vol. II, p. 200; also p. 274, where in his account of Booth's Hamlet he writes, 'he was bitterly but quietly scornful, and refrained from the splenetic explosiveness to which certain *Hamlets* have descended even to snapping in twain the innocent "recorder" produced by the Players.'

¹ The figure is a favourite with Shakespeare; he had already used it in *Hamlet* in the early part of the same scene:—

. . . blest are those
Whose blood and judgement are so well co-mingled,
That they are not a *pipe for fortune's finger*
To sound what stop she please . . .

In the Induction to the Second Part of *King Henry IV* the metaphor is still further developed. The flute is there personified as Rumour, who comes on the stage, 'painted full of tongues,' and declares himself to be a pipe on which 'the multitude' can play. The passage is clothed in highly-wrought imagery:—

Rumour (log.).—I, from the orient to the drooping west,
Making the wind my post-horse, still unfold
The acts commenced on this ball of earth:
Upon my tongues continual slanders ride;
The which in every language I pronounce,
Stuffing the ears of men with false reports.
I speak of peace, while covert enmity,
Under the smile of safety, wounds the world:
And who but Rumour, who but only I,
Make fearful musters, and prepar'd defence;
Whilst the big year, swol'n with some other grief,
Is thought with child by the stern tyrant war,
And no such matter? *Rumour is a pipe*
Blown by surmises, jealousies, conjectures;
And of so easy and so plain a stop,

he invites his fellow students to play. I will now give you the text of the famous passage, which has been called the Parable of the Recorder. I will quote it as it appears in the Quarto of 1604, that being the nearest approach we have to the form in which it may be supposed to have left Shakespeare's pen.

Enter the Players with Recorders.

Ham.—I sir, but while the grasse growes, the prouerbe is some thing musty, ô the Recorders, let mee see one, to withdraw with you, why doe you goe about to recouer the wind of mee, as if you would driue me into a toyle ? ¹

Guyl.—O my lord, if my duty be too bold, my loue is too vnmanerly.²

Ham.—I do not wel vnderstand that, wil you play vpon this pipe ?

Guyl.—My lord I cannot.

Ham.—I pray you.

Guyl.—Beleeue me I cannot.

Ham.—I doe beseech you.

Guyl.—I know no touch of it my Lord.

Ham.—It is as easie as lying ; gouerne these ventages with your fingers, & the vंबर,³ giue it breath with your mouth, & it will discourse most eloquent musique, looke you, these are the stops.

*That the blunt monster with uncounted heads,
The still-discordant wavering multitude,
Can play upon it. But what need I thus
My well-known body to anatomize
Among my household ?*

¹ Of the different explanations which have been proposed of the obscure phrase 'to recover the wind of me', that which finds most favour with critics is that the expression refers to the way in which deerstalkers and other hunters endeavour to get near to their prey by advancing against the wind, so that the animal may not detect their approach by its sense of smell ; but 'to recover the wind' is a sea phrase meaning, seemingly, to get to windward. The following is quoted in Murray's Dict., s.v. Recover : 'These hoyes who will easily recover the wind of any other ships.' It has never been suggested that in 'to recover the *wind*' there is an allusion to the *wind* instrument Hamlet has just taken into his hand, or that the words have any reference to music. 'I,' the first word in the sentence, is 'Aye' which was formerly often so written.

² None of the expositions offered of Guildenstern's speech, 'if my duty be too bold, my love is too unmannerly,' is very satisfactory. Clarendon sensibly remarks that as Hamlet did not well understand it, commentators may be excused from attempting to explain it.

³ 'The umber' is a printer's error. Shakespeare, we may feel sure, intended to write 'thumb', which he might have spelt 'thumbe'. Possibly, in the manuscript from which the Quarto of 1604 was printed, the 'th' might have been separated from the 'u', and a flourish of some kind made after the 'e'.

Guil. (sic).—But these cannot I commaund to any vttrance of harmonie, I haue not the skill.¹

Ham.—Why looke you now how vnwoorthy a thing you make of me, you would play vpon mee, you would seeme to know my stops, you would plucke out the hart of my mistery, you would sound mee from my lowest note to² my compasse and there is much musique, excellent voyce in this little organ, yet cannot you

However this may be, the compositor inserted an 'e' after the 'th', and added an 'r' after the 'e' at the end of the word, thus converting 'thumbe' into 'the umber'. The mistake was continued in the Quarto of 1605, but in the Quarto of 1611 an attempt was made to set the text right; but the way in which the error originated not being perceived, 'the umber' was altered into 'the thumb', instead of, as it should have been, into 'thumb'. In the next Quarto, which bears no date, we still find 'the thumb'. Even when the last Quarto, that of 1637, was prepared for the press, the cause of the misprint was not recognized, but a change was made in the spelling, 'the thumb' becoming 'the thumbe'.

The Folio of 1623 gives 'thumbe' quite correctly without the 'the'. But here another mistake is made; 'fingers' is converted into 'finger', a blunder repeated in some modern editions of Shakespeare.

See Lecture I, p. 5, where the subject is discussed at greater length.

¹ Here, in the Quarto of 1604, Hamlet addresses himself to Guildenstern only, but in the issue of 1603, the surreptitious copy believed to be a compilation from memory or notes taken during the representation, he invites both of his fellow students to play on the recorder, as will be seen from the following, which is the text of the scene in that edition:—

Ham.—I pray will you play vpon this pipe ?

Rossencraft.—Alas my Lord I cannot.

Ham.—Pray will you.

Gilderstone.—I haue no skill my Lord.

Ham.—Why looke, it is a thing of nothing,

T'is but stopping of these holes,

And with a little breath from your lips,

It will giue most delicate musick.

Gil.—But this cannot wee do my Lord.

Ham.—Pray now, pray hartily, I beseech you.

Ross.—My Lord wee cannot.

Ham.—Why how vnworthy a thing would you make of me ?

You would seeme to know my stops, you would play vpon mee,

You would search the very inward part of my hart,

And diue into the secreet of my soule.

Zownds do you thinke I am easier to be pla'yd

On, then a pipe ? Call mee what Instrument

You will, though you can frett mee, yet you can not

Play vpon mee. . . .

² The sentence should read 'from my lowest note to the top of my compass'. 'The top of', omitted here, appears in the Folio.

make it speak,¹ s'hlood (*sic*) do you think I am easier to be plaid on then a pipe, call mee what instrument you wil, though you fret me not,² you cannot play vpon me.

‘TO WITHDRAW WITH YOU’

In the very first sentence we are met by a remark which has been much discussed. What does Hamlet mean when he says ‘To withdraw with you’?

Of the various answers which have been given to the question we as musicians, are concerned with two only; one, that Hamlet is speaking to the flute-players, and that he intends to say ‘get you gone’; the other, that he is addressing Guildenstern, or both Guildenstern and Rosencrantz, with whom he desires to withdraw. Thus, according to Moberly, the words signify ‘just step aside for a moment’, whilst Malone interpolates the stage direction, *taking Guildenstern aside*.

Of the two explanations, the latter is, beyond all doubt, the more correct. A glance at the punctuation of the passage as it appears in the Quarto will show that Hamlet is speaking to his fellow students; nor should we forget that to dismiss the musicians in so summary a fashion, after summoning them to give a sample of

¹ In the Folio of 1623, the passage ‘there is much music, excellent voice in this little organ, yet cannot you make it speak. S’blood, do you think I am easier to be played on than a pipe’, reads differently, ‘speak’ and ‘S’blood’ being omitted, and ‘why’ inserted; thus: ‘there is much music, excellent voice in this little organ, yet cannot you make it. Why do you think,’ &c. Bearing in mind that the Folio was, in all likelihood, taken from an acting copy of the Play, we may suppose that ‘why’ was substituted for ‘S’blood’ in deference to the susceptibilities of Shakespeare’s foes, the Puritans. The omission of ‘speak’ has been thought to be due to the circumstance that the word was struck out accidentally when the alteration was made in the text. Knight, however, in the first edition of his Shakespeare, defends the reading of the Folio, on the ground that ‘speak’ is used in its musical sense, as equivalent to ‘sound’. The fipple-flute sounds more easily than any other wind instrument, no skill being required to elicit a note. Guildenstern, says Knight, could make the recorder speak, though he could not make it utter harmony; and he contends that the passage as printed in the Quartos should be pointed thus: ‘yet cannot you make it. Speak! S’blood,’ &c. But there can be little doubt that ‘speak’ corresponds to ‘discourse’ in Hamlet’s preceding speech. This seems to have been afterwards admitted by Knight, for, in a later edition, he withdraws his objection to the reading usually received, observing, ‘We now prefer to consider the Folio erroneous.’

‘Though you fret me not’ is obviously incorrect. Both the Quarto of 1603 and the Folio of 1623 read ‘though you can fret me’.

their skill, would be the reverse of a gracious act. Moreover, Hamlet, having no intention of appropriating the recorder he has borrowed, would surely wish the player to remain until he has done with it. But there is a more serious objection to the supposition that Hamlet is ordering the flute-players to leave the stage: 'to withdraw with you' does not mean 'go away'. Those who maintain that the words are addressed to the flute-players are obliged to propose an alteration of the text, suggesting that Shakespeare wrote 'So, withdraw you;' or, 'So withdraw, will you?' (Mason); or, 'Go, withdraw with you' (Tschischwitz); or, 'So,—[*taking a recorder*] withdraw with you' (Staunton).¹

It is not easy to understand how so forced and unnatural an interpretation can find acceptance, except as an explanation, or defence, of a common mode of playing the scene. Many of you may have seen so-called recorder-players, usually two in number, rush upon the stage, and as soon as one of them has handed to Hamlet a pipe not much larger than a penny whistle, make off with such haste as to suggest the idea that they must have committed the unpardonable sin, or were at least as guilty as Hamlet's uncle.

When the discourteous treatment of the flute-players began I am not in a position to say. Suspicion would naturally fall upon Heminge and Condell with their brother shareholders, as being its authors; but the punctuation of the passage² in the Folio militates against the supposition. It certainly did not originate in our time, for I have been able to trace it back a hundred years. In *Hamlet*,

¹ It does not appear to have occurred to any of the writers who have attempted to throw light on the passage, that Hamlet's object in withdrawing with the courtiers is to take them out of the hearing of the musicians; an explanation which, to a flute-player, seems to be self-evident. Monk Mason declares that the words 'to withdraw with you' have no meaning as they stand, 'yet,' he adds, 'none of the editors have attempted to amend them.' Capell thinks that Hamlet intended to say 'to have done with you, draw toward an end with you'. Steevens says that the obscure words may refer to some gesture which Guildenstern had used, and which was at first interpreted by Hamlet as a signal for him to attend the speaker into another room. So, too, Caldecott: 'They [Guildenstern and Rosencrantz] by a *waving of the hand or some such signal*, as the exclamation of Ham. denotes, intimate that he should remove to a more retired quarter.'

² In the Folio of 1623, the passage appears thus:—

Ham.—I, but while the grasse growes, the Prouerbe is something musty.

Enter one with a Recorder.

O the Recorder. Let me see, to withdraw with you, why do you go about to recouer the winde of mee, as if you would drive me into a toyle?

revised by J. P. Kemble, and now first published as it is acted by their Majesties' servants of the Theatre Royal Drury Lane, September 16th, 1800, Hamlet's speech is printed thus :—

Ham.—Ay, sir ; but, while the grass grows,—the proverb is something musty.

*Enter Horatio*¹ *and two Musicians, with Recorders.*

O, the recorders,—let me see one—[*Takes a recorder*]. So, withdraw with you.—

Exeunt Horatio and Musicians.

But in Capell's edition of Shakespeare, which was published in 1768, we find, after Hamlet's words, 'leave me, friends,' the stage direction, *Exeunt Ros. and GUI. Horatio, and the Players, withdraw.*² Assuming that the stage direction indicates the way in which the scene was played in Capell's time, we may infer that in the middle of the eighteenth century it was usual for the flute-players to be still on the stage when Hamlet requests his friends to retire. Possibly it may be known in the theatrical world whether or not the custom of dismissing the musicians as soon as Hamlet has taken the recorder was introduced by Kemble.

'I KNOW NO TOUCH OF IT'

Let us now consider the allusions to music with which the scene abounds. The first which calls for comment is the phrase used by Guildenstern when he says, referring to the recorder, 'I know no touch of it.' This obsolete expression is equivalent to 'I cannot play a note on it'. Shakespeare had already employed the phrase in *Richard II* (Act I, Scene iii, 163) :—

Like a cunning instrument cased up,
Or, being open, put into his hands
That *knows no touch* to tune the harmony.

The touches, however, were not only the fingerings ; they included the notes to which the fingerings gave rise. Thus, in the *Merchant of Venice* (Act v, Scene i), we have 'the *touches* of sweet harmony', and

With sweetest *touches* pierce your mistress' ear.

¹ When Hamlet calls for the recorders, it is usual for Horatio to go and fetch the players, and return with them.

² It will be noticed that Rosencrantz and Guildenstern *exeunt*, but Horatio and the Players *withdraw*. Capell appends the following explanatory note : 'It will be seen from the regulation of the exits at the bottom of this page what is the editor's opinion concerning who the word "*friends*" is address'd to, and, consequently, what the tone of pronouncing it should be.'

It would seem more appropriate if the term had been confined to lutes, harps, and other instruments, the sounds of which were elicited without the aid of the breath. Shakespeare, however, is not the only writer who uses it to indicate the notes of the flute ; Milton speaks of the 'solemn *touches*' of the recorder.

'GOVERN THESE VENTAGES'

To a flute-player, the most interesting sentence of the passage we are discussing is in Hamlet's next speech. Shakespeare there sums up the art of flute playing, declaring it to consist in the government of the holes with the fingers, and the quickening of the instrument with the breath : 'govern these ventages with your fingers and thumb, give it breath with your mouth, and it will discourse most eloquent music.'

Whether the word *ventages*, or *ventiges* as it is spelt in the Folio of 1623, here used to denote the finger-holes, was coined by Shakespeare I am unable to say. Perhaps it might have been in use amongst flute-players in his time. It appears that the holes are even now called *vents* in America, whilst in England we speak of *vent holes*, applying the term to holes when opened for the special purpose of influencing the emission, intonation, or quality of notes other than those which the holes so termed are intended to produce ; and we say that we *vent* a note by opening such a hole.¹

The description of execution as consisting in the government of the ventages is a most apt illustration of its nature. Practice is but the act of so disciplining the rebellious fingers as to enable them to acquire the power of governing the ventages. Shakespeare is usually credited with being the first to use the expression ; I find, however, that he was anticipated. In one of the poems of St. Paulinus of Nola, who was born in 353, and died in 431, we have the exact phrase ; the flute-player, says Saint Paulinus, *governs (regit)*—the poem is in Latin—the holes with his fingers.²

¹ If we take one of the fundamental notes, say, for instance, E, by blowing with great force we can, without changing the fingering, produce an E two octaves higher, but it will be dull, flat, and unpleasant to the ear. If we now open the A hole, the high E will become bright, sharp, and clear. The A hole, when used in this way, is called a *vent hole*.

² Ut citharis modulans unius verbere plectri
Dissona fila movet, vel qui perflantia textis
Labra terit calamis, licet unum carmen ab uno
Ore ferat, non una sonat, variosque magistra
Temperat arte sonos ; arguta foramina flatu

‘GIVE IT BREATH WITH YOUR MOUTH’

The next phrase ‘give it breath’, does not merely mean ‘supply it with wind’; the words are used in a far higher sense: *breathe* it; *inspire* it; *animate* it; *endue it with life*.

The artful youth proceed to form the quire,
They *breathe* the flute or strike the vocal wire.—*Prior*.

Ye nine descend and sing,
The breathing instruments *inspire*.—*Pope*.

Explicet irruptos *animata* ut tibia cantus.
St. Paulinus of Nola.

With *breath* and fingers *giving life*
To the shrill cornet and the fife.—*Drayton*.

Shakespeare elsewhere speaks of *breathing* life into a stone, and St. Augustine refers to the *breath* blown into the flute as if it were the spirit or soul of the instrument. ‘Si unus flatus,’ he says (*Tract. XIX in Ioan.*), ‘inflat duas tibias, non potest unus spiritus implere duo corda?’ The metaphorical figure which attributes to the breath of the flute-player the power of creating life is expressed in all its fullness by Tertullian, who denies that when we blow the flute, we convert the instrument into a human being, although we *breathe* into it as the Deity *breathed his soul* into man.¹ A similar thought, which, as I have said,² roused the wrath of the matter-of-fact Sir John Hawkins, is found in the wild rhapsodies of Fludd, who

Mobilibusque regit digitis, clauditque, aperitque,
Ut rapida vice dulcis eat, redeatque cavernis:
Currens Aeolio modulabilis aura meatu,
Explicet irruptos animata ut tibia cantus:
Sic Deus omnisonae modulator et arbiter unus
Harmoniae, per cuncta movet quam corpore rerum,
Et naturae opifex Deus omnis, et artis; in omni
Fons opere, et finis, faciens bona, factaque servans,
Ipse manens in se media pietate vicissim,
Qua Pater in Verbo, qua Filius in Patre regnat,
Quo sine nil factum, per quem sata cuncta in eodem
Consistunt, idem novat omnia principe Verbo.

Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus*, Vol. LXI, p. 650, S. Paulini Poema, xxvii. 73.
See also Grynaeus, *Monumenta S. Patrum*, Vol. I, p. 250, Natalis Felicis, vi, where the passage is differently punctuated.

¹ ‘Nec tu enim si in tibiam flaveris, hominem tibiam feceris, quanquam de anima tua flaveris, sicut et Deus de spiritu suo’ *Adv. Marcion*. Lib. VI.

² Lecture I, p. 104.

represents the Supreme Being vivifying the universe, as the flute-player gives life to his instrument with his breath. Fludd introduces a drawing, reproduced by Sir John, of a fipple-flute, and says, 'as *this instrument does not sound*, is not moved, nor has any virtue in its own nature, and by itself *without a moving spirit*; so also neither can the world, or the parts of the world, move or act by themselves, without the stirring of an infinite mind. As, therefore, the highest mind, God, at the top of the whole machine . . . makes the structure of the world produce his music . . . so also when *the musician blows life*,'¹ &c. The same notion is expressed by St. Paulinus of Nola, in a passage just alluded to; but the conception is not confined to Christian thought, nor, indeed, to the thought of our hemisphere. An idea so similar to Shakespeare's that Carl Engel² was struck with the resemblance, is to be found in a prayer offered up by an Aztec prince on his accession to the throne: 'I am thy flute,' he said, addressing the deity, 'reveal to me thy will; *breathe into me thy breath* like into a flute, as thou hast done to my predecessors on the throne. As thou hast opened their eyes, their ears, and their mouth to utter what is good, so likewise do to me.'

The flute thus brought to life proceeds in its turn to *breathe* :—

The *breathing* flute's soft notes are heard around,
And the shrill trumpets mix their silver sound.—*Pope*.

Thus long ago,
Ere heaving bellows learn'd to blow,
While organs yet were mute,
Timotheus to his *breathing* flute
And sounding lyre

Could swell the soul to rage and kindle soft desire.—*Dryden*.

The *breath* of the flute is its music. Aristophanes, in the *Frogs* (154), represents the blessed in a future state as bathed in a flood of most beauteous light, whilst round them floats the *breath* of flutes (αἰλῶν πνοή); Pindar uses the same expression (*Nem.* iii. 137); Theocritus (Epigram V) calls syrinx-music wax-bound *breath*,³

¹ Fludd wrote in Latin. The original of the passage here translated will be found in Cap. VI (p. 95) of his treatise 'De Musica mundanâ', published in Vol. I of his work, entitled *Utriusque Cosmi*, &c.

² Engel's *Catalogue of the Instruments in the South Kensington Museum*, p. 68.

³ κηροδέτω πνεύματι μελπόμενος. The allusion is to the circumstance that the pipes of the syrinx were united to each other by means of wax.

Euripides (*Or.* 145) terms it the *breath* of the reed ¹ (πνοὰ δόνακος), and styles flute music (*Phoen.* 788) the *breathings* of lotus ² (λωτοῦ πνεύματα); a similar phrase (*flamina tibiae*) is found in Horace (*Od.* iii. 19. 19); in Sidonius the following lines are devoted to the audible flute breath:—

Date ravulos choraulas,
Quibus antra per palati
Crepulis reflanda buccis
Gemit aura tibialis.³

IT WILL DISCOURSE MOST ELOQUENT MUSIC

In the remaining member of the sentence we have a description of the music the recorder can ‘discourse’. There are three different readings of the epithet by which it is characterized. In the Quarto of 1603, the apocryphal version of the play, it is termed most *delicate*; in the Quarto of 1604, the first issue according to the true copy, most *eloquent*; in the Folio of 1623, the acting edition, most *excellent*. The first-named epithet, *delicate*, was applied by Laneham, as you may perhaps remember, to the ‘harmony of flutes’ with which Queen Elizabeth was greeted on her arrival at Kenilworth.⁴

The editors of the Cambridge edition of Shakespeare have thought it right to expunge *excellent* and restore *eloquent*. Few, I apprehend, will question the wisdom of their decision. Any commonplace writer would think of *excellent*, whereas *eloquent*, which so admirably keeps up the figure by which, throughout the scene, the faculty of speech is attributed to the recorder, bears the stamp of Shakespeare’s genius. This will become more evident if we paraphrase the pregnant sentence, ‘give it breath with your mouth, and it will discourse most eloquent music,’ so as to bring forth the embryonic ideas lying undeveloped within it, thus: ‘breathe into it the breath of life, and it will speak; its voice will be music, and it will discourse most eloquently.’ Not only does the substitution of *excellent* for *eloquent* rob the happy expression of its beauty, but it gives rise to a repetition so objectionable that it would occasion a reprimand if it occurred in a schoolboy’s exercise, for in his next speech, Hamlet applies the same epithet, *excellent*, to the voice of the recorder.

¹ The pipes were made of reeds.

² The lotus here referred to is not the Egyptian lotus, but an African wood of which some flutes were made.

³ Sidonius, Lib. ix, Epist. 13. See Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus*, Vol. LXXII, p. 613.

⁴ Lecture I, p. 2.

It is, however, only fair to say that *excellent* is not without a defender. Mr. Hiram Corson, M.A., Professor of Anglo-Saxon and English Literature in the Cornell University, in a *brochure*, printed in 1874, entitled *Jottings on the text of Hamlet (First Folio versus Cambridge edition)*, expresses himself thus : ‘ I feel a certain seriousness—that ’s hardly the word—about “eloquent”, not in keeping ; whereas in the word “excellent”, there seems to be implied the idea, that the music that can be got out of the little instrument is superior to what one would suspect. The word “excellent” should be pronounced with a downward circumflex on the “ex”, imparting a patronizing tone.’ Surely those Hamlets who think that a fitting use to make of a recorder is to break it up and throw it to the dogs, should take the reading favoured by the learned Professor, and, adopting a patronizing tone, pronounce the word with a downward circumflex on the ‘ex’.

‘ LOOK YOU, THESE ARE THE STOPS ’

In the word *stops* here used by Hamlet we have another technical term which is now quite obsolete. It is true that we still speak of *stopping* the flute by closing the holes, and we say that the flute *stops* when the pads of the keys are so well adjusted as to render the tube air-tight ; but the substantive *stop* has disappeared from the flute-player’s vocabulary. In the seventeenth century, however, it was a common word. Several meanings were attached to it. It is chiefly through not being acquainted with the different senses in which it was used, that expositors have so often run aground when attempting to explain its significance. The term was employed to indicate :—

First, the *finger-holes*, that is, the holes *stopped* with the fingers when the instrument is played. It is to these that Hamlet points, or should point, when he says : ‘ Look you, these are the *stops*.’

Secondly, the *fingerings*, or several positions of the fingers by which the different notes were produced. Hamlet uses the word in this sense in his next speech, when he says, ‘ you would seem to know my *stops*.’ *Stop* is again employed to denote the *fingering* of a wind instrument in the Induction to the Second Part of *King Henry IV* :—

Rumour is a pipe
 of so easy and so plain a *stop*,
 That
 The multitude
 Can play upon it.

The same meaning attaches to *stop* in a speech in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, the word being implied only, not actually used. The passage is often misunderstood, and taken to indicate that Shakespeare looked upon the recorder as a childish instrument ; he is not, however, reflecting on the recorder, he is only playing on the term *stops* in its double signification as *points* in punctuation and *fingerings* in the manipulation of a musical instrument ; but, in the refinement of his wit, he does not express the word, but leaves it to be understood. Prologue having kept his *stops* so badly as to pervert the meaning of his address, so that ' His speech was like a tangled chain ; nothing impaired, but all disordered ', Theseus says, ' This fellow doth not stand upon *points* ; ' Lysander adds, ' He hath rid his prologue like a rough colt ; he knows not the *stop*, ' and Hippolyta follows with, ' Indeed he hath played on his prologue like a child on a recorder ; a sound, but not in government ; ' her meaning being that as Prologue knew nothing of the use of *stops* or *points*, his speech, as he had spoken it, was words without the true sense, just as the sound produced by a child playing on a recorder would not be a tune owing to the child's ignorance of the *stops* or *fingerings*. The recorder is the easiest of wind instruments to sound ; a child can make it speak, but, not knowing how to *finger* it, cannot govern the ventages, and command them to an utterance of harmony.

Shakespeare is not the only poet who uses *stop* in the sense of *fingering* ; Drayton, for instance, credits Euterpe with—

Teaching every *stop* and kay (key)
To those upon the pipe who play.

Amongst recorder-players, *stops* denoted not only the simple fingerings of the notes of the diatonic scale for which the recorder was pierced, but also the more complex combinations of the fingers known as *cross-fingerings*, by which accidentals were obtained before the application of closed keys to the flute. The following, in which *cross-fingerings* are referred to, is from a Tutor for the recorder, entitled ' The Delightful Companion, or, choice new lessons for the Recorder or Flute : ' ' This Table directs and is a Guide to know all the *Stops* upon the Recorder or Flute, both Flat and Sharp, or the *half notes* ascending and descending, according to the Scale of Musick.'

Thirdly, mechanical appliances for the production of notes are sometimes spoken of as *stops*. Lord Bacon employs the word to

signify the *frets* of the lute, and Shakespeare writes : ‘ his jesting spirit . . . is now crept into a lute string and now governed by *stops*.’ Milton calls the *keys* of the organ and the *pipes* of the syrinx *stops*. The *knobs* attached to levers, which open and close sets of pipes in the organ, as well as the *sets of pipes* acted on, are now known as *stops*.

Fourthly, *stop*, like *touch*, has been transferred from the means by which a note is produced to the *note* itself. We can find an example in *Hamlet* :—

— a pipe for fortune’s finger
To sound what *stop* she please.

Milton speaks of the *stops*, or *notes* of organs, meaning by the term organs, wind instruments, and calls the *notes* of the syrinx the *stops* of quills, that is, of reeds of which the pipes of the syrinx are made. Again, Drummond, in a sonnet addressed to the lute, terms the *notes* of the instrument *stops* :—

Thy pleasing notes be pleasing notes no more,
But orphan wailings to the fainting ear ;
Each *stop* a sigh, each sound draws forth a tear.

‘ YOU WOULD PLUCK OUT THE HEART OF MY MYSTERY ’

We now come to Hamlet’s last speech. It contains but one obscure expression : ‘ You would pluck out the heart of my mystery.’ As there is a reference to music in every other member of the sentence in which the words occur, it is not likely that Shakespeare intended the phrase to form an exception. We may therefore suppose that Hamlet is likening the stealthy attempts of Rosenkrantz and Guildenstern to draw from him, by smooth words, the heart of his mystery, to the gentle action of the soft tips of the fingers, by which the harper makes his instrument speak.

The harp, however, was once plucked in a rougher way ; instead of the fleshy fingers, those natural plectra, the nails, were used for the purpose. Thus in *The geste of King Horne*, quoted by Strutt,¹ young Horn, in pursuing his musical studies, is described as

Toggen o’ the harpe
With his nayles sharpe,

he having been placed under the tuition of Althelbrus, the king’s steward, who was commanded to make him master of all the

¹ *Sports and Pastimes of the People of England*, Introduction, p. x.

accomplishments suitable for one of his exalted station, special injunctions being given to

Tech him of harp and song.

Engel tells us ¹ that the ancient Irish minstrels, like the Chinese of the present day, sounded their harps, the strings of which were of wire, with the nails of their fingers, and adds that there is on record an old tradition about one of them who, having committed some indiscretion, was punished by having his finger-nails clipped off, so that he could not play until they were grown again. The dulcimer, an instrument still in use, is sometimes played with the nails, the effect being more sympathetic and finer than when the strings are struck with hammers. The players, however, object to pluck the strings with their nails because the practice gives rise to pain under them ; but the pain ceases if they persevere.

‘THOUGH YOU CAN FRET ME’

Hamlet takes leave of the recorder with a pun. He plays upon the word *fret* in its double meaning as a verb, to chafe or irritate, and as a noun, the name of the transverse ridges applied to such instruments as the lute to guide the finger in stopping the string. ‘Though you can *fret* me,’ he says, ‘you cannot *play upon* me.’² Shakespeare again makes use of *fret* as a vehicle for his wit in the

¹ *History of the Violin Family*, p. 8.

² In the discussion which followed the Lecture, Dr. Cummings remarked, ‘As a matter of fact the early viols had no fretting ; and when people tried to find short ways of learning to play on them, they used temporarily to make frets with a piece of string. They were put round the neck of the instrument and fastened with wax. The idea of fretting suggested something that can be put on to-day and taken off to-morrow. The instruments of the guitar kind had regular frets, but the early viols had no such thing. The learners did just what they do now. At the shops of dealers in cheap violins you can buy a piece of paper, which you can paste on the finger-board, and which shows the points at which the strings should be stopped to make the notes. But in those days they used the more primitive device of tying a string round the finger-board.’ The circumstance pointed out by Dr. Cummings, that viols were at one time fretted, not by the maker, but by the player, gives point to Hamlet’s words ‘you can fret me’. We are not to think with Mr. Douce that the finger-holes of the recorder were called frets, nor to suppose that Shakespeare believed that the recorder was fretted, and so was unacquainted with the construction of the instrument ; the great dramatist was familiar with every detail of its make. See p. 255. Hamlet, when introducing the pun on fretting, says, ‘call me what instrument you will,’ that is, call me a lute, a viol, or any other instrument with frets.

Taming of the Shrew (II. i.), where, drawing on his inexhaustible fund of *jeux de mots*, he puns on it with *fume*. Hortensio, describing how he was assaulted by his pupil when giving a lesson on the lute, says :—

I did but tell her she mistook her *frets*,
And bow'd her hand to teach her fingering ;
When, with a most impatient devilish spirit,
Frets, call you these ? quoth she : I'll *fume* with them :
And, with that word, she struck me on the head,
And through the instrument my pate made way ;
And there I stood amazed for a while,
As on a pillory, looking through the lute :
While she did call me, rascal fiddler,
And twangling Jack ; and twenty such vile terms,
As she had studied to misuse me so.

LECTURE IV

SHAKESPEARE'S ALLUSIONS TO FLUTES AND PIPES

Derivation of 'Flute', 184. 'Flout 'em and scout 'em,' 186. Pompey's Banquet, 196. Cleopatra's Water-music, 199. Pipe, 210. Organ-pipe, 212. Eunuch Pipe, 212. The Pipe of Hermes, 214. Cassio's Pipes, 218. Pipes in Romeo and Juliet, 223. The Fife, 232. The Fife in Shakespeare, 239. The Wry-necked Fife, 240. The Tibia Obliqua, 247. Whiffler, 249.

WE used to think that the derivation of the word flute gave but little trouble to the etymologist. *Flare*, to blow, we were taught, passed naturally into the Low Latin *flauta*,¹ the connexion being traced thus :² *flare, flatum, flatio, flauto, flautare, flautare, flauta*. Thence, we believed, came the French *flautel*,³ *flaute* (in three syllables), *flahute, fluste, flûte, fleute*, a flute, *fluter*, to play the flute, and *flauteur*,⁴ *flahuteur, fleüsteor, fleüster, fleüter, flüter*, a flute player. As for the derivation of 'flute' from *fluta*, a lamprey, brought forward by Sir John Hawkins,⁵ we regarded it with the

¹ 'Quidam *flautas* dulcorabant.' Du Cange, *Glossarium*, s. v. *Dulciana*.

² Richardson's Dictionary, s. v. *Flute*.

³ Madame musique as clochettes,
Et li cler plain de chançonetes
Portoient gignes & vieeles,
Salterions & *Flauteles*.

Du Cange, s. v. *Flauta*.

⁴ Et des *Flauteurs* de Behaigne,
Et des gigneours d'Alemaigne,
Et de *Flahuteurs* à deux dois,
Tabours & cors Sarrasinois.

Du Cange (Supplement).

⁵ 'The word flute,' writes Sir John, 'is derived from *Fluta*, the Latin for a Lamprey or small eel, taken in the Sicilian seas, having seven holes the precise number of those in front of the flute, on each side, immediately below the gills.' The Latin for a lamprey is *muraena*, not *fluta*; but it is true that there is a kind of lamprey called *fluta*, i. e. the floater (ή πλωτή), because it floats on the surface of the water, a habit said to be due to its fatness. The word *fluta*, however, thus applied to the lamprey, is not connected etymologically with flute, but is derived from *flutare*, a contraction of *fluitare*, to float. It is also true, as Sir John says, that the lamprey has seven holes on each side. They are not, however, below the gills, as he believes, but below the eyes, they being the gill

mingled ridicule and contempt with which we looked upon the mediaeval etymology of *mons*—*a non movendo*. It now appears, however, if we are to accept the *dicta* laid down in Murray's Dictionary, that we have been as much in the dark as was Sir John Hawkins; for we are there told that for *flauta* to come from *flautare* is a phonological impossibility.¹

Again; *flagot*, *flagol* or *flageol*² (whence *flagoler*, *flageler*, *flageoler*, to openings of the animal, whose respiratory apparatus is of great interest to the physiologist. I may mention that the seven holes appear in our own necks at one stage of our development, so that Sir John might have added that man is marked with a flute before he is born. It is, of course, needless to point out that Sir John Hawkins did not originate the derivation of flute from *muraena fluta*. In Grassineau's *Musical Dictionary* (1740) it is attributed to Borel. 'Some,' says Grassineau, 'derive the word flute [from *fistula*]; though Borel will have it derived from *Flutta* a Lamprey, thus called a *Fluitando* in *Fluviis*,



FIG. 64. LAMPREY

regard, the Flute is long like a Lamprey, and hath holes along it like that fish.' Grassineau's dictionary is for the most part a translation of that of Brossard (1703), as is mentioned by Sir John in his account of Grassineau and his work. In a passage from a sixteenth-century writer (1572), quoted in Murray (s.v. Flute) 'fluite' is used in the sense of 'floater': 'The best... are those that be called Flutæ, in Greke Plootai, good saylers or fluites.' Cotgrave curiously reverses the derivation, stating that the German flute has given its name to the lamprey: '*Fleute d'Alleman*. A lamprey, called so in some places by reason of the little holes which she hath in the upper part of her body.' The German flute, however, had only six open holes; it was the English flute which, as Sir John correctly says, had seven holes in front (the eighth was at the back), corresponding in number to the respiratory openings of the lamprey.

¹ 'Diez's suggestion that the Rom. *flauta*, *flauto* was from the verb *flautare*, and that this was a metathesis of the Latin *flutare*, is phonologically impossible. Ascoli's proposal to refer the verb to a Latin type *flavitare* is also inadmissible.' Murray's Dictionary, s.v. Flute.

² 'Comme le-dit Richart euste baillié à Raoulet Bressart une *fleute* ou *Flagol* &c. Le suppliant dist qu'il yroit querir une *fluste* ou *Flagot*.' Du Cange, Supplement, s.v. Fistulare.

play the flageol, *flagolleur*, a flageol player, and *flagollement*,¹ flageol playing), are stated by Littré and Skeat to be diminutives of *flute*, and *flageolet* a double diminutive (*flûte*, *flagol*, *flageolet*) of that word. But this notion, it seems, must be abandoned, for *flagol* is asserted to be a word of uncertain origin; the derivation from *flauto* being pronounced to be untenable on phonological grounds.²

‘FLOUT ’EM AND SCOUT ’EM’

The word flute has given rise to many a colloquial saying. Thus ‘to blow one’s flute’ for a thing is to adopt a hopeless way of trying to obtain it. In Skelton’s *Vox Populi* (1529) we have

When thei have any sute
Thei may goo blowe their flute.³

Shakespeare uses the phrase, and, like Skelton, in connexion with the administration of the law:

. . . then we may go pipe for justice.⁴

A similar expression still survives, but, instead of ‘fluting’ or ‘piping’, we speak of ‘whistling’ for what we want, but cannot expect to get by this means.⁵ In French, when men tittle, they are playfully said ‘to flute’; when they are coming to an agreement, they are spoken of as ‘tuning their flutes’.⁶ Again, the verb

‘J’oi Robin *flageoler* Au flagol d’argent. Rayn.’ Wedgwood’s *Dictionary of Etymology*, s.v. Flageolet.

‘Ces pastoriax oit (il entend) lor *flagox* sonner, Qui par matin vont lor bestes garder.’ Littré’s *Dictionary*, s.v. Flageolet.

¹ ‘Vint ung bedonneur ou *flagolleur* devant l’uis de la taverne, au bedonnement ou *Flagollement* duquel gens se assemblerent.’ DU CANGE.

² See ‘Flagel’ in Murray’s *Dictionary*. Flagol was introduced into English. Murray gives two instances of its use, both in the early part of the fourteenth century:—

‘They herde no pype, ne flagel.’

‘The waite gan a flegel blawe.’

The drawing of a flagel has been given in Lecture I, p. 52.

³ The passage is quoted in Murray’s *Dictionary*.

⁴ *Titus Andronicus* IV. iii. 24.

⁵ The saying may perhaps have arisen out of contempt for a discarded religious belief. Sailors whistle to act on the Devil and cause him to make the wind blow. In some places, men whistle for the spirit of a dead person with a view of inducing it to return to the body. See note 2, p. 377. I shall endeavour to show that the flute was formerly blown for the same purpose.

⁶ The following French saws relating to the flute are from Cotgrave’s *Dictionary*:

flagorner, to flatter, or wheedle, is believed by etymologists to be derived from *flagoler*; to flatter being to pour agreeable sounds into a person's ear. But to flatter is to deceive, and so to mock or make sport of, and thus in Dutch the word *fluiten* signifies both to play the flute and to mock. In our own language 'to flute' has the same double meaning; but we pronounce ['flute' differently in its two senses: when we refer to music, we speak of 'fluting', when we talk of mockery, we call it 'flouting'. 'Flout' is a Middle English form of 'flute'. In Chaucer we meet with 'flout' and 'floutours', i. e. flute, and flute players; in the *Promptuarium*, or *Promptorium*, *Parvulorum* we have 'FLOWTE, pype', and 'FLOWTYN', or pypyñ'. Shakespeare speaks of 'vlighting stogs'; he means 'flouting-stocks', but puts the expression into the mouth of a Welshman, Sir Hugh Evans, who mispronounces it. Addressing the host of the Garter Inn, Sir Hugh says, . . . 'You are wise and full of gibes and 'vlighting stogs.'¹ He uses the term 'vlighting stogs' evidently in the sense of jeers or mocking sayings; this, however, is not its ordinary signification, 'flouting-stock,' like 'laughing-stock', being usually employed to denote a butt for ridicule.

Shakespeare was fond of the word 'flout'; in his Plays we meet with it more than twenty times. One of the passages in which it occurs is of interest both to flute players and to musicians in general; to flute players, because the pipe and tabour are referred to—the pipe being an instrument of the flute family—to musicians, inasmuch as it illustrates the state of music amongst the lower orders in England in Shakespeare's time; for a jester, a drunken butler, and a savage and deformed slave—a brutish being, half man, half fiend—are represented as being able to sing in parts.

Caliban, the fiendish monster, persuades Stephano, the drunken butler, to undertake to murder Prospero, the lord of the island in which the scene is laid; and Stephano induces Trinculo, the jester, to join in the plot:—

Il y a de l'ordure dans leur fleutes. All goes not well with them; somewhat is amiss among them.

Ce qui est venu par la fleute s'en retourne avec le Tabourin; Prov. What the pipe hath gathered the Taber scattereth; goods ill gotten are commonly ill spent.

Robin se souvient tousiours de sa fleute. A drunkard ever dreams of pots, a miser of his pelfe; the ambitious of greatness, the lecher of filthiness; every one thinks most of the thing he affects most.

¹ *The Merry Wives of Windsor* IV. v. 81.

Caliban. . . . I am subject to a tyrant,
A sorcerer, that by his cunning hath
Cheated me of this island.

. . . If thy greatness will
Revenge it on him . . .

Stephano. Monster, I will kill this man : his daughter and I
will be king and queen,—save our Graces !—and Trinculo and thy-
self shall be viceroys :—Dost like the plot, Trinculo ?

Trinculo. Excellent.¹

Caliban is so overjoyed at the prospect of his master being made away with, that he is impelled to give vent to his feelings in song. But he does not propose that he and his companions shall sing a low ballad in unison, as English drunkards would do nowadays ; he suggests that they shall join in a catch. A catch proper, no matter in how many parts it may be, has but one tune. One of the singers, who is said to lead the catch, begins to sing the tune alone ; at a given point he is caught up by the second singer, and he again, in like manner, by the third, and so on by the others ; but although, ultimately, they are all singing the same tune at the same time, they do not sing in unison, but in parts ; the parts being so interwoven as to form harmony.²

¹ *The Tempest* III. ii. 48-118.

² There is a most curious reference to the circumstance that a catch, though in parts, has only one tune, in *Twelfth Night* (II. iii. 59). A three-part catch is there described as drawing *three* souls out of *one* weaver. 'Why he says *three* souls,' writes Warburton, 'is because he is speaking of a catch in *three* parts ; and the peripatetic philosophy, then in vogue, very liberally gave every man three souls. The *vegetative* or *plastic*, the *animal*, and the *rational*. To this, too, Jonson alludes in his *Poetaster* : "What, will I turn shark upon my friends ? or on my friends' friends. I scorn it with my three souls." The drawing out of the soul is an allusion to the power of music to entrance men, or throw them into an ecstasy ; a state in which it was once believed that the soul had gone out of the body. Shakespeare explains his meaning in a passage in *Much Ado about Nothing*, where he says, 'Now is his soul ravished. Is it not strange that sheep's guts should *hale* souls out of men's bodies ?' In mentioning a weaver, Shakespeare refers to the Protestant refugees from the Netherlands who brought with them to England important improvements in the manufacture of cloth. They appear to have been as musical as they were religious. We learn from Sir John Falstaff that they were conversant, not only with psalmody, but with all kinds of vocal music : 'I would I were a weaver,' he says in *The First Part of King Henry IV* (II. iv. 146), 'I could sing psalms or *anything*.' Their fondness for catch-singing is

It is plain that Shakespeare was well acquainted with catch-singing.¹ On the present occasion there were three singers, Stephano,

alluded to by Ben Jonson in *The Silent Woman* (II. iv.), where the hoarseness of a parson is attributed to a cold, which he got 'with sitting up late and singing catches with cloth-workers'.

The following is the passage, in *Twelfth Night*, relating to the catch in three parts. The singers are Sir Andrew Ague-cheek, Sir Toby Belch, and the Clown. The last-named leads the catch:—

Sir To. Shall we rouse the night-owl in a catch that will *draw three souls out of one weaver*? shall we do that?

Sir And. An you love me, let's do't. I am a dog at a catch.

Clo. By'r lady, sir, and some dogs will catch well.

Sir And. Most certain. Let our catch be, 'Thou knave.'

Clo. 'Hold thy peace, thou knave,' knight? I shall be constrained in't to call the knave, knight.

Sir And. 'Tis not the first time I have constrained one to call me knave. Begin, fool: it begins 'Hold thy peace'.

Clo. I shall never begin, if I hold my peace.

Sir And. Good, i' faith! Come, begin. [They sing a catch.

Both the words and the music of the catch here sung survive, and are given in Sir John Hawkins's *History of Music*. 'The humour of the catch,' says Sir John, 'consists in this, that each of the three persons that sing calls, and is called, knave in turn':—

1 Hold thy peace, and I pree-thee hold thy peace.

2 Thou knave. Hold thy peace, thou knave.

3 Thou knave.

In singing the catch, the first singer sings the first line alone. When he has got to the end of the first, he goes on to the second, line; at the same time, the second singer begins to sing the first line. When they have reached the end of their respective lines, the first singer goes to the third, and the second to the second, line, whilst the third singer begins the first line. They are now all singing together. On coming to the end of the third, the first singer goes back to the first, line. In this way the music can be repeated again and again, the singers going *round and round*, a circumstance from which catches were sometimes called *rounds*.

¹ A notice of the catches mentioned in Shakespeare, and the music of two or three of them, will be found in Naylor's excellent little book, *Shakespeare and Music*, one of the Temple Shakespeare Manuals.

Trinculo, and Caliban; accordingly, Shakespeare gives them a catch in three parts, but to the three parts he assigns but one tune. He makes Stephano lead the catch and begin the singing alone: the drunken butler, however, has had recourse so often to the bottle he carries with him that he is unable to sing the tune. It

not unlikely that the tune of the catch was well known to the audience before whom *The Tempest* was played in Shakespeare's time, in which case an opportunity was given to the actor who took the part of Stephano of adding to the merriment of the house by making a grotesque attempt to sing it. At this juncture, the spirit, Ariel, who is present invisible, plays the tune on the Pipe and Tabor.¹ In the consternation caused by the ghostly music, Trinculo, true to his calling, instinctively makes a jest, but quickly has recourse to a prayer; the pot-valiant Stephano calls upon the invisible performer, whether he be natural or supernatural, to show himself; whilst defying him, however, even should he come from the lower regions, he cannot refrain from a pious ejaculation. It is left for Caliban to reassure his fellow conspirators by explaining that noises,² as he calls musical sounds, both vocal and instrumental, abound in the enchanted island, and are as harmless as they are delightful; whereupon Stephano proceeds to congratulate himself

¹ The tune played by Ariel when *The Tempest* was first put on the stage has disappeared, but there is a setting of 'Flout 'em and scout 'em' by Purcell still in existence.

² The use of the word 'noise' in the sense of 'music' was formerly very common. An instance will be found on p. 2, where the sound of trumpets is termed a noble 'noise'. Again, in note 1, p. 254, the notes of different instruments played together are called their 'noises'. Milton speaks of a melodious 'noise' (*At a solemn Music*, 18) and terms the music of Angels' harps a stringed 'noise' (*On the Nativity*, 97). The examples which occur in the Authorized Version of the Old Testament, and in the Prayer-Book Version of the Psalms—such as the 'noise' of viols (Isaiah xiv. 11), in the former, and the passage, 'God is gone up with a merry noise: and the Lord with the sound of the trump' (Psalm xlvii. 5), in the latter—are too familiar to need repetition.

'Noise,' like 'music', was extended to a band or company of musicians. Thus in *The Second Part of King Henry IV* (II. iv. 12) we have '... see if thou canst find out Sneak's noise; Mistress Tearsheet would fain hear some music'. When Sneak's 'noise' comes on, the stage direction is *Enter Music*. The following is from Ben Jonson (*The Silent Woman* III. iii. 2):

Daup. . . . how shall we do for music.

Cler. The smell of the venison, going through the street, will invite one noise of fiddlers or other.

on the prospect of being king of a country where his music will cost him nothing.

Cal. Thou mak'st me merry ; I am full of pleasure :
Let us be jocund : Will you troll the catch
You taught me but while-ere ?

Ste. At thy request, monster, I will do reason, any reason.—
Come on, Trinculo, let us sing. *[Sings.]*

The original music of the catch has perished, but judging from the punctuation and arrangement of the words in the Folio of 1623, in which *The Tempest* first appeared, the parts were divided as follows :¹

(First Part)

Flout 'em, and scout 'em :

(Second Part)

and scout 'em and flout 'em,

(Third Part)

Thought is free.

Cal. That's not the tune.

[Ariel plays the tune on a tabor and pipe.]

Ste. What is this same ?

Trin. This is the tune of our catch, played by the picture of No-body.²

Ste. If thou beest a man, show thyself in thy likeness : if thou beest a devil, tak't as thou list.³

Trin. O, forgive me my sins !

Ste. He that dies pays all debts : I defy thee.—Mercy upon us !

Cal. Art thou afeard ?

Ste. No, monster, not I.

Cal. Be not afeard ; the isle is full of noises,
Sounds and sweet airs, that give delight and hurt not.

¹ In the Folio the words are printed thus :

Flout 'em, and cout em : and skout 'em and flout 'em,

Thought is free.

'Cout' is believed to be a misprint of 'scout', the letter 's' having accidentally slipped from its place in the type. We have here an illustration of the vagueness of orthography in the seventeenth century, the word 'scout' being spelt in different ways in the same sentence.

² *The picture of No-body.* 'The allusion,' says Reed, 'is here to the print of *Nobody*, as prefixed to the anonymous comedy of *Nobody and Somebody* ; without date, but printed before 1600.'

It appears that the picture of Nobody was sometimes used as a trade sign. Malone mentions a book printed for John Trundle in Barbican, at the sign of the Nobody.

³ *Take't as thou list*, Assume what likeness, or form, you please.

Sometimes a thousand twangling instruments
 Will hum about mine ears ; and sometimes voices,
 That, if I then had waked after long sleep,
 Will make me sleep again : and then, in dreaming,
 The clouds, methought, would open, and show riches
 Ready to drop upon me ; that, when I wak'd,
 I cried to dream again.

Ste. This will prove a brave kingdom to me, where I shall have my music for nothing.

Ariel now moves off, at the same time playing so enchantingly that the conspirators are constrained to follow him :

Trin. The sound is going away ; let's follow it. . . .

Ste. Lead, monster ; we'll follow.—

I would I could see this tabourer ; he lays it on.¹

How Ariel punishes the would-be murderers is best described in his own words addressed to Prospero.

Ariel. . . . they were red-hot with drinking ;
 So full of valour, that they smote the air
 For breathing in their faces ; beat the ground
 For kissing of their feet. . . .

. . . Then I beat my tabor ;
 At which, like unback'd colts, they prick'd their ears,
 Advanced their eye-lids, lifted up their noses,
 As they smelt music : so I charm'd their ears,
 That, calf-like, they my lowing follow'd, through
 Tooth'd briers, sharp furzes, pricking goss, and thorns,
 Which enter'd their frail shins : at last I left them
 I' th' filthy-mantled pool beyond your cell,
 There dancing up to their chins, that the foul lake
 O'erstunk their feet.²

It may perhaps be thought that only a supernatural player could elicit such soul-stirring sounds from a pipe and tabour ; Shakespeare, however, has done nothing forced in representing these humble instruments capable of giving birth to ravishing music. Given a gifted player, great effects can be produced by the simplest means. In our own time, Picco, the blind Sardinian minstrel, held audiences spellbound at Covent Garden Theatre and other places with an instrument styled a *tibia*. He 'performed with immense execution and "astonishing facility, to say nothing of delicacy, taste, and feeling". . . . His tone is described as "between that of a flageolet

¹ *He lays it on*, that is, he is lavish of his music. *To lay it on* is to be profuse in expenditure.

² *The Tempest* iv. i. 171.

and a flauto piccolo ; at times somewhat shrill, at others as soft and suave as possible".¹ His *tibia* was a fipple flute about three inches and a half in length, pierced, like that played by Ariel, with only three holes, but able to produce, as the table of fingering shows, two and a third octaves of chromatic notes. (Fig. 65.)

The pipe and tabour as represented by Virdung and Praetorius have already been figured.² Mersenne, under the name of the three-holed flute (*la flûte à trois trous*), gives a description and a table of fingering, as well as a drawing, of the pipe ; he also notices the curious sequence of the notes³ and the great range of the little instrument, declaring that some players can make on it the compass of the twenty-second, as he can testify from experience in the person of John

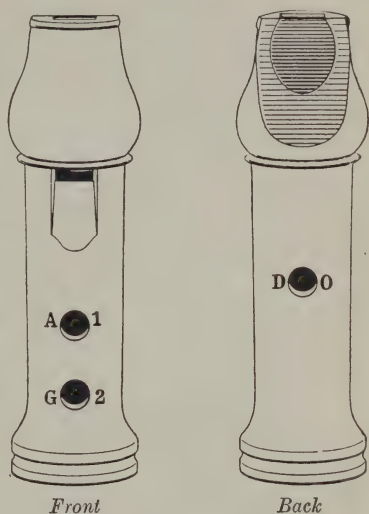


FIG. 65. PICCO'S TIBIA

Price, Englishman. Fig. 66 shows the method of playing the instruments, the tabour being suspended from the left wrist and the drumstick held in the right hand. The holes on the top of the pipe were closed with the first two fingers, the hole underneath with the thumb. The drawing represents Shakespeare's fellow actor, Kemp, attended by his tabourer, Tom Slye, dancing a morrice with bells on his legs from London to Norwich. Kemp states that in a still morning or evening the pipe could be well heard a mile.⁴

The pipe and tabour are associated with dancing in the passage just quoted from *The Tempest*, where the conspirators dance in the

¹ Grove's Dictionary, s.v. Picco.

² Lecture I, pp. 38, 41.

³ The subject is also discussed by M. Mahillon in his *Catalogue of the Museum of the Conservatoire of Brussels*, 2nd edition, Vol. I, p. 244.

⁴ Kemp makes the statement in his *Nine daies wonder*, a little book in which he narrates his adventures on the way. He was unfortunate in the weather so that he was more than three weeks completing his task, but only nine days were required for dancing. The feat brought him great fame and much gold.

pool. It is again connected with dancing in *The Winter's Tale* (iv. iii. 181) :

Servant. O master, if you did but hear the pedlar at the door, you would never *dance again after a tabour and pipe* ; no, the bagpipe could not move you : he sings several tunes faster than you'll tell money ; he utters them as he had eaten ballads, and all men's ears grew to his tunes.

In *Much Ado About Nothing* (II. iii. 13) Claudio, having fallen in love, prefers the strains of the pipe and tabour to the music of the



FIG. 66. TABOURER WITH HIS PIPE

fife and drum. Both the fife and the tabourer's pipe belong to the flute family, both are played in combination with the drum, but they differ widely in the ideas they call up, one being suggestive of war, the other of peace :

Benedick. . . I have known when there was no music with him but *the drum and fife* ; and now had he rather hear *the tabour and pipe*.

Amongst the Basques the tabour assumes the form of a box, or resonator, over which seven strings are stretched, the strings being acted on with a padded stick, thus making an approach to a harp

played with a plectrum. The resonator with the strings is called the Toontoona ; the pipe, the Cherula, two imitative words.



FIG. 67. CHERULA AND TOONTOONA

The conjunction of a stringed and a wind instrument in the hands of the same player, suggests a fanciful speculation which I will take the liberty of mentioning. There was a kind of harp well known

in ancient Greece called the magadis, and in a passage from Ion, quoted by Athenaeus (*Deipnosophists*, xiv. 35), mention is made of the magadis flute, an instrument said to speak little and big, or to give out a shrill and a deep sound, at the same time (iv. 79, xiv. 35); Athenaeus also speaks of the horn-sounding (κερατόφωνος) magadis with five strings (xiv. 40), and (xiv. 42) the magadis called the whistle (σφυγμός). The magadis flute was a puzzle to him; he debates the question whether it was a flute or a harp, but does not suggest that it might have been a union of the two. Is it possible that the combination of the cherula with the toontoona may help to unriddle the mystery? It is true that they are quite separate; but it is easy to imagine two such instruments joined together; indeed Dr. Burney says¹ that in one of the ancient paintings at Portici he 'saw a Lyre with a Pipe or Flute for the crossbar, or bridge at the top'. Could this have been a magadis flute?

POMPEY'S BANQUET

Except as a Proper Name the word flute is found but twice in Shakespeare. Both times, it is used in the same play; both times, in the plural; both times, in association with shipping.

Antony and Cleopatra, the tragedy in which it occurs, deals with events in that troubled chapter of the history of Rome when the political changes brought about by the Radical party having paved the way for a despotism were followed by a long period of bloodshed and terror. At one juncture in the conflict of ambitions, three competitors for supreme power, Antony, Lepidus, and Octavianus Caesar having come to terms with a fourth, Sextus Pompeius, and also with each other, resolved to celebrate the compact by entertainments, one to be given in turn by each of the four contracting parties to the other three. Pompey, who was to be the first host, chose to feast his guests on board a man-of-war, and invited them to his flagship, a vessel with six banks of oars, lying close to the shore off Cape Misenum. The banquet is often referred to by historians on account of the answer given by Pompey to the proposal of an act of treachery made to him on the occasion by Menas, a perfidious turncoat, who was at the time in command of his fleet. When the party were well warmed, and raillery and merriment at their height, Menas came close to Pompey so that the guests could not overhear, and said, 'would you like me to

¹ *History of Music*, Vol. I, p. 515.

cut the cables of the ship and make you lord of the whole of the sovereignty of Rome?' Pompey, after considering for a little while, replied, 'You should have done this, Menas, without letting me know beforehand, but now let us be content with the present state of things: I am not the man to forswear myself.'¹ Shakespeare dramatizes the incident thus:—

Menas. Pompey, a word.

Pompey. Say in mine ear: What is't?

Menas. Forsake thy seat, I do beseech thee, captain,
And hear me speak a word.

Pom. Forbear me till anon.
This wine for Lepidus. . . .

Go, hang, sir, hang! Tell me of that? away!
Do as I bid you. Where's this cup I call'd for?

Menas. If for the sake of merit thou wilt hear me,
Rise from thy stool.

Pom. I think thou'rt mad. The matter?
[Rises, and walks aside.]

Menas. I have ever held my cap off to thy fortunes.

Pom. Thou hast serv'd me with much faith. What's else to
say?

Menas. Wilt thou be lord of all the world?

Pom. What say'st thou?

Menas. Wilt thou be lord of the whole world? That's twice.

Pom. How shall that be?

Menas. But entertain it,
And, though thou think me poor, I am the man
Will give thee all the world.

Pom. Hast thou drunk well?

Menas. No, Pompey. I have kept me from the cup.
Thou art, if thou darest be, the earthly Jove;
Whate'er the ocean pales, or sky inclips,
Is thine, if thou wilt ha't.

Pom. Show me which way.

Menas. These three world-sharers, these competitors,
Are in thy vessel: Let me cut the cable;
And, when we are put off, fall to their throats:
All there is thine.

Pom. Ah, this thou shouldst have done,
And not have spoke on't! In me, 'tis villany;
In thee, 't had been good service. Thou must know,
'Tis not my profit that does lead mine honour;
Mine honour, it. Repent that e'er thy tongue
Hath so betray'd thine act: being done unknown,

¹ Plutarch's *Life of Antony*, chap. xxxii.

I should have found it afterwards well done,
But must condemn it now. Desist, and drink

As the guests are departing, Menas shouts :—

These drums ! these trumpets, *flutes* ! what !—

Let Neptune hear we bid a loud farewell

To these great fellows : Sound and be hang'd, sound out.¹

The brusque way in which the musicians are addressed seems to indicate that Menas had complied with Pompey's injunction to drink. It is certain that some of the party had had their fill of wine. Octavianus declares that he

... had rather fast from all four days
Than drink so much in one.

Lepidus has to be carried ashore. Indeed, Menas does not mince the matter ; when Enobarbus, pointing to the attendant who is carrying Lepidus, says, ' there 's a strong fellow, Menas, . . . a ' bears the third part of the world,' Menas answers, ' the third part then is drunk.'

The flute was in universal use in the navies of the ancient world. Every trireme had its *τριηραύλης*, or man-of-war flute player with his *αὐλὸς τριηρικός*, or man-of-war flute, on which he played *τὸ τριηρικόν* (*sc. μέλος*) the man-of-war music. The *syrinx*, too, was not unknown in vessels propelled with oars, as it is easy to show. Euripides, in a hyperbolical metaphor, represents the wax-bound reed of Pan (a periphrasis for the *syrinx*) as shouting to the oars of a *penteconter*,² and Aristophanes, when referring to

¹ *Antony and Cleopatra* II. vii. 41–89.

² καὶ σὲ μὲν, πότν', Ἀργεῖα
πεντηκόντορος οἶκον ἄξει·
συρίζων δ' ὁ κηροδέτας
κάλαμος οὐρείου Πανὸς
κόπαις ἐπιθωῖξει

(Euripides, *Iphigenia in Taur.* 1124).

M. Gevaert pronounces the *αὐλὸς τριηρικός* to be a whistle-flute (see note, p. 216). ' L'instrument,' he writes in his *Histoire de la Musique de l'Antiquité* (Vol. II, Liv. iv, chap. vi, note I, p. 569), ' dont on se servait sur les trirèmes (*αὐλὸς τριηρικός*) était une flûte à sifflet (*σύριγξ*). ' Cogent evidence must be adduced before such an assertion can be accepted. Unfortunately, however, M. Gevaert does not give his reasons, but refers his readers to a dissertation not easy of access, ' Leutsch, *Metrische Studien*, dans le *Philol.*, T. XI, p. 225 et seq.'

The *syrinx* played to the oarsmen of the *penteconter* in the passage quoted at the beginning of this note was undoubtedly not a ' whistle-flute '. It can be identified with certainty as a *syrinx polycalamus*, for Euripides not only connects it with Pan, but describes it as bound with wax. See below, p. 268.

the sounds heard in connexion with shipping, mentions not only flutes (αἰλῶν) but the notes of the syrinx¹ (συριγμάτων).

CLEOPATRA'S WATER-MUSIC

When Antony summoned Cleopatra to his presence she made sport of him and scoffed at his letters. Knowing her own power, and having been made acquainted with Antony's weakness when

¹ In the following line :

αἰλῶν, κελυστῶν, νιγλάρων, συριγμάτων

Achar. 554.

Of the meaning of νιγλάρων various explanations have been offered. A scholiast says that the νίγλαρος is a twang, and a musical strain of a cheering-on character (ὁ νίγλαρος κροῦμά ἐστι, καὶ μέλος μουσικὸν παρακλειυστικόν); Brunck cites Julius Pollux to show that the νίγλαρος was a certain mode in flute music. In Hesychius and Photius νίγλαροι are explained to be tootlings, elaborate twangings (τερετίσματα, περίεργα κρούσματα). An opinion, however, which finds favour with some scholars is that Aristophanes uses the word to denote a musical instrument. For the existence of an instrument called by this name we have the authority of Julius Pollux, who states that the νίγλαρος was a little Egyptian flutelet, suitable for playing by itself (νίγλαρος δὲ μικρὸς τις αἰλίσκος Αἰγύπτιος, μοναυλία πρόσφορος.) The small size of the νίγλαρος suggests the idea that its tone was shrill and piercing, like that of our boatswain's call, the pipings, or commands, given on which can be heard when the voice would be drowned by the noise of the winds and waves. It is conceivable that the νίγλαρος was not played by the τριηραύλης, the ship's flute player, but by the κελυστής, the captain, or exhorter, of the rowers; indeed it is stated in Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon* (s.v. νίγλαρος) that it was he who played it, and that it was used to give the time in rowing; but whether the assertion rests on direct evidence, or on inference only, does not appear. There seems no doubt, however, that the functions of the κελυστής were in part musical. Some sailors mentioned in the *Pastoralia* of Longus (III, 14) are described as doing what sailors usually do, one, as κελυστής, sang sea songs (ᾠδὰς ναυτικὰς), whilst the others, chorus-like, at the proper time shouted in unison with his voice (Εἰς μὲν αὐτοῖς κελυστὴς ναυτικὰς ᾄδεν ᾠδὰς, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ καθάπερ χορὸς ὁμοφώνως κατὰ καιρὸν τῆς ἐκείνου φωνῆς ἐβόων) We learn from a scholium on Lucian (*Catap.* 19) that the exhortation by singing was called ὑποκέλυσμα, but nothing is said by the scholiast to show whether or not the κελυστής availed himself of the νίγλαρος in the performance of his musical duties. The singing, however, was certainly something more than a mere Yo! Ho! or monotonous chant, for in Lucian (loc. cit.) Cyniseus, a ghost about to cross in Charon's vessel, who, not being provided with the fare, offers to work his passage by taking an oar and officiating with the ὑποκέλυσμα, calls Charon's attention to the passengers, who are making so much noise with their lamentations that the lay (τὸ ᾄσμα) will be thrown into confusion. The nautical odes, or sea songs, appear to have been numerous for Cyniseus assures Charon that he knows many.

there was a lady in the case, she determined to show herself, not as a vassal, but as a conqueror ; nay more, as a deity whom Antony should adore. Accordingly, one day, a heavenly being in a celestial barge was seen gliding along the river Cydnus : it was Cleopatra in the character of Venus. She was lying at length under a canopy shot with gold, decked as Venus was represented in pictures. Her surroundings were not less correct than the details of her person ; three of the most beautiful of her waiting-maids personated the Graces, the frequent companions of Venus, others were attired as Nereids, deities of the sea whence Venus sprang, whilst about her were boys in the guise of Loves. Divine honours were being paid to her, and with such care was the worship conducted, that, as I shall be able to show, the same offering was made, and the same musical instruments employed, as are mentioned by Horace in an allusion to the ritual of the irresistible goddess of Love.

The flutes are introduced by Shakespeare in the description of the barge in which Cleopatra appeared :—

The barge she sat in, like a burnish'd throne,
 Burn'd on the water : the poop was beaten gold ;
 Purple the sails, and so perfumed, that
 The winds were love-sick with them : the oars were silver ;
 Which to the tune of *flutes* kept stroke, and made
 The water, which they beat, to follow faster,
 As amorous of their stroke.¹

Of this incomparable word-painting, only the colouring owes its origin to the imagination of Shakespeare ; all the objects—the flutes, the purple sails, the silver oars, the gilded poop, and even the perfumes—are taken from Plutarch's *Life of Antony* ; not indeed direct from Plutarch, as they would have been had the Plays of Shakespeare been written by a scholar like Lord Bacon ; nor second, or even third hand ; but from North's *Plutarch*, which was an English adaptation of a French version of a Latin translation of the original Greek. It is true that neither North nor Plutarch states, as does Shakespeare, that the sails were perfumed, but North, referring to the perfumes which were wafted to the land, writes that out of the barge ' there came a wonderful passing sweete savor of perfumes that perfumed the wharf's side ', thus leaving the reader at liberty to suppose that the barge and its tackle were perfumed. North, however, had wandered away from Plutarch. In the Greek, both the source and the nature of the perfumes are

¹ *Antony and Cleopatra*, II. ii. 196.

given: 'wondrous odours,' writes Plutarch, '*from many incense-fumes* overspread the banks of the river.' We may be sure that the incense was not burnt only for the sake of its agreeable scent, it was meant as a sacrifice to Cleopatra. Venus revelled in incense. In her cult as carried out in Cyprus, the most important seat of her worship, her altars were never stained with the blood of victims, they were reserved for spicy offerings.¹ In such quantities was incense consumed in her honour, that Virgil speaks of a hundred altars smoking with the costly aromatic in her temple at Paphos² alone. So, too, it seems not unlikely that Cleopatra had more than one incense-fed fire on board the barge. Had Shakespeare but known of the burning of incense, he would, in all likelihood, have added another to the superb touches with which the sketch abounds. Little suspecting, however, that the perfume was in the form of smoke, he described it as invisible, his phraseology not being too happy:—

From the barge,
A strange invisible perfume hits the sense
Of the adjacent wharfs.

It is not only on the subject of the perfumes that North has departed from Plutarch; he is at variance with him as regards the instruments played on board the barge. According to Plutarch the stroke of the oars was timed to the flute (*αἰλός*), combined with Pan pipes (*σύριγγες*) and citharas (*κιθάραι*);³ North represents

¹ Tacit. *Hist. Lib.* ii. cap. 3.

² *Aeneid* i. 416.

³ Cleopatra, though Queen of Egypt, was not, as Shakespeare thrice calls her, a gypsy, nor was she, as he represents her,

With Phoebus' amorous pinches black.

She was the daughter of Ptolemy the Fluteplayer, and so was of Greek descent, and might have been of fair complexion. The deity she was personating was Aphrodite, the Greek Venus. The Graces, the Nereids, and the Loves, by whom she was surrounded, were not Egyptian, but Greek mythological personages. So, too, her band was composed of Greek instruments. The *cithara* is believed to have been a kind of lyre, an instrument too well known to need description. The *syrinx*, or Pan-pipe, is mentioned in page after page of Greek poetry. It was not, however, as M. Gevaert and some other modern writers would have us believe, a purely rustic pipe (*instrument exclusivement champêtre*—Gevaert, *Liv.* iv. ch. i), but was, and still is, played in concert with other instruments—in fact, it was one of the chief attractions of the Rumanian bands which have visited Paris and London. In another part of this work (pp. 261, 270) its structure is described, and a short notice given of the delightful effects it is capable of producing.

Cleopatra's band as consisting of flutes with the addition of hautboys, citherns, and viols, instruments familiar enough to North, but of which Cleopatra had never heard nor dreamed. Even these did

Cleopatra's remaining instrument was an αἰλός. Although, for want of a more suitable name, we call this instrument the flute, we are not to suppose that Cleopatra's flute bore any resemblance to the flute with which we are familiar. Αἰλός was a term of as wide a significance as our word pipe, yet just as we can make tolerably sure that when Shakespeare wrote 'will you play upon this pipe'—'a pipe for fortune's finger'—'Rumour is a pipe'—he meant, by pipe, a recorder, so there is a fair presumption that the αἰλός said by Plutarch to have been played in Cleopatra's barge was a reed instrument of the kind so popular with the Greeks, the sort of αἰλός which Minerva threw away, and Alcibiades refused to learn, on the ground that it distorted the features. See p. 208. The term αἰλός, however, was far from being confined to instruments made to speak by the vibration of a reed, it included all tubular instruments except those played with a cupped mouth-piece, such as the trumpet and its congeners.

The reed instruments of the Greeks and Romans were far more numerous than our own. We have our hautboys, our clarionets, our bassoons, our bagpipes, our saxophones and sarrusophones, but the αἰλοί played with a reed can be enumerated by the score. The ancients had δίαυλοι, or double flutes—two tubes blown by the same player—but we have neither double hautboys nor double clarionets. Another sort of αἰλός to which we have no parallel was a reed instrument with the reed inserted, if not at right-angles, at least obliquely, to the tube, so that the αἰλός was held transversely by the player; whereas, no transverse reed instrument is now in use. Two such instruments, found in Italy, were shown at the Music Exhibition held at Milan in 1881, and are now in the British Museum. Each of them is constructed with two tubes, an inner, and an outer, the outer, which is pierced with five finger holes, consisting of movable bronze rings like the Pompeian flutes mentioned in note, p. 208. The opening to receive the reed is in an ornamental projection, in the form of a human head, believed to be that of a Maenad, at the side of the tube. The instruments are described and figured by M. Victor Mahillon in his *Catalogue du Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire de Bruxelles* (Vol. II, p. 245). Their discovery may, perhaps, throw light on an instrument in the hands of a term, or half statue, in the British Museum. The figure is playing on a pipe held transversely, and connected with the player's mouth by means of a short stem. The nature of the stem is a puzzle, but it may, possibly, be intended to represent the reed with which the instrument is sounded. It is true that the stem and the greater part of the pipe are a restoration, but the direction in which the tube is held shows that it could not have come into contact with the lips as it should have done had it been an ordinary πλαγίαυλος. The statue, which was found at Civita Lavinia, may be as early as the time of Augustus, but is probably somewhat later. It used to be thought to represent Pan, but now goes by the name of Midas. It is figured in the *Century Dictionary* under the word Terminus, also below, p. 243.

not complete the list, there were others which North leaves to the imagination of the reader.¹

Here Shakespeare showed his good sense ; he broke away from North and took the flutes only, wisely rejecting the 'howboyes, citherns, viols, and such other instruments as they played upon in the barge'.² Rowing to the sound of the flute, as we have just

¹ The following is Plutarch's text of the passage we are considering, taken from his *Life of Antony*, ch. xxvi : πολλά δὲ καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ παρὰ τῶν φίλων δεχομένη γράμματα καλούντων, οὕτω κατεφρόνησε καὶ κατέγελασε τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὥστε πλεῖν ἀνὰ τὸν Κύδνον ποταμὸν ἐν πορθμίῳ χρυσοπρίμῳ, τῶν μὲν ἰστίων ἀλουργῶν ἐκπεπετασμένων, τῆς δ' εἰρεσίας ἀργυραῖς κώπαις ἀναφερομένης πρὸς αὐτὸν ἅμα σύριγξι καὶ κιθάραις συνηρμοσμένων. Αὕτῃ δὲ κατέκειτο μὲν ὑπὸ σκιάδι χρυσοπάστῳ, κεκοσμημένη γραφικῶς, ὥσπερ Ἀφροδίτῃ· παῖδες δὲ τοῖς γραφικοῖς Ἑρῶσιν εἰκασμένοι, παρ' ἐκάτερον ἐστῶτες ἐρρίπιζον. Ὅμοιως δὲ καὶ θεραπαινίδες αἱ καλλιστεύουσαι, Νηρηίδων ἔχουσαι καὶ Χαρίτων στολὰς, αἱ μὲν πρὸς οἶαξιν, αἱ δὲ πρὸς κάλοις ἦσαν. Ὅδμαί δὲ θαυμασταὶ τὰς ὄχθας ἀπὸ θυμαμάτων πολλῶν κατεΐχον.

In North it appears thus :

'Therefore when she was sent unto by divers letters, both from Antonius him selfe, and also from his frendes, she made so light of it, and mocked Antonius so much, that she disdained to set forward otherwise, but to take her barge in the river of Cydnus, the poepe whereof was of gold, the sailes of purple, and the owers of silver, which kept stroke in rowing after the sounde of the musicke of flutes, howboyes, citherns, violls, and such other instruments as they played upon in the barge. And now for the person of her selfe : she was layed under a pavillion of cloth of gold of tissue, apparelled and attired like the Goddess Venus, commonly drawen in picture ; and hard by her, on either hand of her, prettie faire boyes apparelled as painters doe set forth God Cupide, with little fannes in their hands, with the which they fanned wind upon her. Her Ladies and gentlewomen also, the fairest of them were apparelled like the nymphes Nereides (which are the mermaides of the waters) and like the Graces, some stearing the helme, others tending the tackle and ropes of the barge out of which there came a wonderfull passing sweete savor of perfumes, that perfumed the wharfes side, pestered with innumerable multitudes of people.'

² North has substituted instruments in use in England in his own time for those mentioned by Plutarch. Moreover, as a Royal band in the sixteenth century would have been composed of instruments of more than three kinds, he has increased the number, mentioning four by name (the *flute*, the *viol*, the *hautboy*, and the *cittern*), and giving it to be understood that they formed only a part of Cleopatra's orchestra. The *flutes* known to North, it is needless to repeat, had little in common with the Greek αὐλοί. The viols, which differed from our violin, viola, and violoncello chiefly in having six instead of four strings, were played with a bow, a method of sounding instruments probably unknown to, and certainly not practised by, the Greeks and Romans.

The *hautboy* is familiar to us all, but the instrument we know by this name is one of a family, four members of which, the treble, the alto, the tenor, and the bass formed, in North's time, a quartet and played in parts. Our hautboy is the treble, but two other members of the quartet, now known as the cor

seen, was not an original idea of Cleopatra, nor was the purple sail a novelty. Purple was costly as well as brilliant and showy : it was associated with splendour, ostentation, and riotous revelry.

anglais and the bassoon, survive. There can be little doubt that a band of hautboys was available at the Globe Theatre when Shakespeare's Plays were brought out, for in the Folio of 1623, which, as I have said, is believed to be taken from an acting version of the play, hautboys are often mentioned in the stage-directions. Once they are required in our play, *Antony and Cleopatra* (iv. iii. 12), where the supernatural music heard by the soldiers on guard in front of the Palace at Alexandria the night before the overthrow of Antony is assigned to them. The stage-direction in which they are called for is expressed in the Folio in a singular way: *Musicke of the Hoboyes is under the Stage*. Some think that 'is' should here be 'as'; but be this as it may, no sooner are the mysterious notes of the hautboys heard, than we have the following :

Fourth Soldier. Peace, what noise ?

First Sold. List, list !

Second Sold. Hark !

First Sold. Music i' th' air.

Third Sold. Under the earth.

Fourth Sold. It signs well,

Does 't not ?

Third Sold. No.

First Sold. Peace, I say. What should this mean ?

Second Sold. 'Tis the god Hercules, whom Antony loved,

Now leaves him.

Shakespeare mentions the hautboy once only in the text of his plays; that being in the *Second Part of Henry IV* (III. ii. 351) where is a reference to the case in which the instrument was kept. It occurs in Falstaff's description of the leanness of Justice Shallow, who is represented as being so lank that *the case of a treble hautboy* would be a mansion for him. The hautboy is a very slender instrument : its case is less bulky than even that of the flute. The case of the modern hautboy, however, would not have suited Shakespeare's purpose, for the hautboy-player now takes his instrument to pieces, and lays the pieces side by side in the case ; whereas the body of Justice Shallow, however scannell it might have been, could not have been divided up and packed away in parts. In Shakespeare's time there were no joints to the hautboy. As it was in one piece only, it was deposited at full length in its case, which, being extremely narrow in proportion to its length, could be said to form a fitting receptacle for an attenuated *homunculus*. The circumstance did not escape the observation of Shakespeare : he makes Falstaff say : 'I do remember him [Shallow] at Clement's-inn, like a man made after supper of a cheese-paring : when he was naked, he was, for all the world, like a forked radish, with a head fantastically carved upon it with a knife : he was so forlorn, that his dimensions to any thick sight were invisible : he was the very Genius of famine ; . . . you might have thrust him, and all his apparel, into an eel-skin ; *the case of a treble hautboy* was a mansion for him, a court.'

Alcibiades, who was as vain as he was dissolute, on his triumphant return to Athens in command of the fleet with which he had swept the sea of the Lacedaemonians, ran right up to the narrows of the Piraeus with full-spread purple sails on his flagship. When the vessel had got inside, and the rowers took their oars, no less a flautist than Chrysogonus, flute victor at the Pythian Festival, played the oarsman-music (τὴν εἰρεσίαν, Plutarch; τὸ τριηρικόν, Athenaeus), vested in the Pythian stole. I may mention, in passing, that, although Plutarch speaks of the sails of Cleopatra's barge, it is unlikely that the vessel carried more than one sail. There is no contradiction involved. The ancient sail was made up of smaller sails joined together, so that the term sails could be, and sometimes was, applied to a single sail. Fig. 68. Thus Athenaeus says that Alcibiades ran up to the Piraeus with purple sails (ἀλουργοῖς ἱστίοις), Plutarch with a purple sail (ἱστίῳ ἀλουργίῳ), although both accounts of the incident are taken from the same author, Duris of Samos.

To return to Cleopatra's music. According to Plutarch the instruments played on board the barge were, as I have said, the flute, the syrinx, and the cithara. We have seen that there was nothing unusual in the employment of the flute, or the syrinx, in a vessel in which oars were used; what is peculiar in the case before us is the introduction of an instrument of the harp kind, the cithara. The addition to the flute and syrinx of a cithara,

The other instrument named by North, the *cithern*, or cittern, bore no resemblance, except in name, to the Greek *cithara*. It was not a lyre, but a sort of lute or guitar with wire strings. Like the banjo of the present day, it was a popular, but a somewhat despised, instrument. It was associated with immorality, a cittern-girl being synonymous with a person of doubtful chastity:

Get you a cittern, Lady Vanity,

cries Corvino in Ben Jonson's *Fox* (II. v), when throwing discredit on his wife's honour. Modern writers, following Sir John Hawkins, seldom mention the cittern without referring to its connexion with barbers' shops, in which one was usually kept when England was a musical country, for the use of customers whilst waiting their turn. So intimately associated was it with barbers, that, in *The Silent Woman* (III. v.), Morose, who has had a wife palmed off upon him by a barber, exclaims, 'That cursed barber! . . . I have married his cittern that's common to all men.' The cithern, however, was not always thus played alone, or as an accompaniment to the voice; North was perfectly correct when he introduced it in a band. It forms one of the instruments for which Milton's father is said to have written concerted music (note 1, p. 254): an earlier instance of its use in an instrumental combination will be found in the music for the dumb show which preceded the First Act of Gascoyne's *Jocasta* (1566); see note 2, p. 131.

or lyre (instruments which, though seemingly not identical, differed from each other in particulars on which authorities are not agreed), imparted to the band a new complexion, transferring it from the domain of marine to that of religious music. But although the instruments were suggestive of religion, they were not playing sacred airs; they were giving time to the oars with a boat-tune. This double purpose was in harmony with Cleopatra's other arrangements. The Graces and the Nereids were not standing idly by as immortal beings in attendance on their mistress in her impersonation of

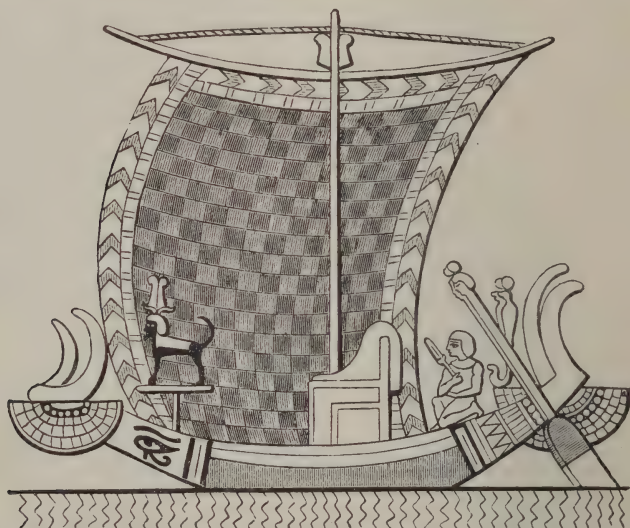


FIG. 68. EGYPTIAN BARGE WITH COMPOSITE SAIL, AFTER HALLIWELL

Venus, they were working the tiller and the ropes of the barge; even the Loves had their employment; stationed on each side of the recumbent Cleopatra, they were engaged in fanning the would-be goddess, the scantiness of whose attire (if we may judge from pictures of Venus) enabled her to enjoy to the full the luxury of a service so agreeable in a hot climate.

I have said that the union of flute, syrinx, and lyre, the combination employed by Cleopatra, was suggestive of sacred¹ music, but,

¹ It will, of course, be understood that the union of a stringed instrument with the flute and syrinx, though suggestive of religion, was not confined to religious music. Herodotus, for example, mentions a military band composed of Pan-pipes, feminine and masculine flutes (that is, flutes corresponding to the woman's and the man's voice, and so of different pitch and compass),

as the question has never, to my knowledge, been before discussed, I will not pass on without saying a word or two on the point.

First, then, the instruments named appear in the hands of mythical personages. Those fabulous beings the Syrens have been depicted with them: 'On an Etruscan vase,' writes Burney, 'in the grand duke's collection at Florence, the middle Siren holds a *syringa* with seven pipes; another plays on a lyre with the plectrum, and the third on a monaulos or single pipe.'¹ They were also shown on a set of statuettes representing the three Graces, the syrinx again being placed between the flute and the lyre. This we learn from Plutarch,² who says that in the Temple of Apollo at Delos the hallowed image of the God himself bare on its left hand the Graces, each with a musical instrument; one held flutes, one, a lyre; the one in the centre had a syrinx applied to her mouth. We have, too, accounts of the lyre, the flute, and the syrinx being played in concert when sacred music was required. An instance will be found in the statement of Plutarch³ that they formed the band when the offerings (τὰ ἱερά) of the Hyperboreans to the Temple of Apollo at Delos were dispatched to the island; an annual ceremony conducted with great solemnity. Again, we hear of them in connexion with the rite of marriage. At the nuptials of Peleus and Thetis, which being the union of a mortal with a goddess, a unique event, attracted so much attention in heaven that all the deities of Olympus (with the exception of one, to whom, through an oversight, an invitation was not sent) were present, the Wedding March (ὁ ὑμέναιος), says Euripides, was played on Libyan lotus (a wood sometimes used for making flutes), on Pan pipes, and on the dance-loving cithara.⁴ The same instruments were connected with religious delirium; Horace calls for them when wishing to be wrought to the frenzy of an orgy.⁵

combined with a kind of harp or lyre called the pectis (l. 17). Theocritus represents the same instruments as used in pastoral music. In the Fifth Epigram of that poet it is proposed that one performer shall take the pectis, a second the double flute, a third the syrinx. They are to stand and play near a gnarled oak. Amongst ourselves the mention of an organ would suggest sacred music, but the use of the organ is not confined to churches.

¹ Burney's *History of Music*, Vol. I, p. 307.

² *De Musica*, xiv.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Iph. in Aul.* 1036.

⁵

Insansire iuvat—cur Berecynthiae

Cessant flamina tibiae ?

Cur pendet tacita fistula cum lyra ?

Carminum Lib. iii. 19, 18.

The mention of Horace reminds me that I promised to quote a passage from his works in which the instrumental combination to which we are referring is coupled with the burning of incense in large quantities in a description of the ceremonial in a Temple of Venus. In the First Ode of the Fourth Book, an ode addressed to Venus, the poet holds out to the goddess the prospect of the erection of a shrine in which she shall be set up in marble under a dome of citron-wood, where she shall inhale a profusion of incense, and be charmed with the mingled strains of the flute and lyre. But the music was not to be a mere *synaulia*, or concert, of the two instruments—a common form of harmony—a special promise is made that the syrinx shall not be absent from the band :—

. . . te . . .

Ponet marmoream, sub trabe citrea.
 Illic plurima naribus
 Duces tura, lyraeque et Berecynthiae
 Delectabere tibiae
 Mixtis carminibus, *non sine fistula*.¹

¹ *Car.* iv. 1. 21. In both of the passages quoted, Horace specifies the kind of flute to be used, and, in both, he names the same instrument, the Berecynthian or Phrygian flute—Berecynthus being a mountain in Phrygia. It is, however, inconceivable that the instrument he selects for his banquet and for the service in the shrine of Venus should be identical with the coarse Phrygian flute used in the rites of Cybele, a flute fitted with an upturned bell-mouth, formed of a calf's or young bullock's horn, and emitting a sound described as horrible. Conjecture, which plays so large a part in statements relating to the flutes of the ancients, would suggest, that, by a Phrygian flute, Horace only meant a flute pierced for playing in the Phrygian mode (a mode used in orgies and in exciting religious frenzy), and would point to the ivory instrument styled a Mygdonian or Phrygian flute which Propertius called for (iv. 6. 7) when in want of the sacred strains of a sacrificial flute-player :—

Spargite me lymphis carmenque recentibus aris
 Tibia Mygdoniis libet eburna Cadis.

But was a special flute necessary for playing in the Phrygian mode ? A separate flute, we are told, was required for each mode, until Pronomus invented an instrument on which it was possible to play in three modes, the Lydian, the Phrygian, and the Dorian. The question arises whether, or not, the invention came into universal use. M. Gevaert (Vol. II, Liv. ii, Chap. i, p. 303) is of opinion that it must have been quickly adopted, or Plato (*Republic*, Book iii, ch. 10) would not have refused to admit flute-makers and flute-players into his *Republic* (where music was to be confined to two modes, the Phrygian and the Dorian) on the ground that harps with a very great number of strings, and other panharmonic instruments were an imitation (*μίμημα*) of the flute. But M. Gevaert appears to have overlooked the circumstance that the pectis, one of the objectionable many-stringed harps mentioned

Thus not only were the Loves, the Graces, the Nereids, and the clouds of incense in harmony with Cleopatra's impersonation,

by Plato, was introduced into Hellas by Sappho (Athenaeus, xiv. 37) long before Pronomus was born, and so could not have been imitated from the Pronomus flute. And if in Plato's time the flute of Pronomus had superseded flutes made on the old system of a flute for every mode, how came it to pass that Horace, four hundred years afterwards, called for a Phrygian flute? The objection is met by saying that Horace did not intend to allude to a Phrygian flute, but only meant that the flute-player should play in the Phrygian mode (*φρυγιστί*). Such are the subtleties in which expositors can indulge with impunity; for no one knows, or is likely ever to know, how the flute was constructed which Horace had in his mind when he wrote the two passages I have just quoted.

Although the idea of keys acted on by springs does not seem to have been known to the Greeks or Romans, yet before the destruction of Pompeii (A. D. 79) the art of flute-making had made such progress that a method of opening and closing holes by means of broad movable rings, or bands, had been introduced; a system of construction which enabled a player to put his instrument into different modes. A description and drawings of such flutes will be found in Mahillon's *Catalogue instrumental du Musée du Conservatoire de Bruxelles* and in Gevaert's *Histoire de la Musique de l'Antiquité*. Fragments of an instrument thus constructed are figured below, p. 248. The method of adjusting the bands seems to be alluded to in the following passage from Arcadius, quoted by Salmatius (*Exer. Plin.* 84):—*καθάπερ οἱ τοῖς αὐλοῖς τὰ τρήματα εὐραμένοι, ἐπιφράττειν αὐτὰ καὶ ἵπανοίγειν ὅποτε βούλονται, κέρασί τισιν ἢ βόμβυξιν ὑφορκίοις (al. ὑφολκίοις) ἐπιτεχνάσαντο, ἄνω καὶ κάτω καὶ ἔνδον τε καὶ ἔξω στρέφοντες*. Horace also may refer to the metal bands in the expression *orichalco vincta* in his allusion to the development of the flute from a simple, slender, few-holed, and comparatively feeble pipe to the trumpet-emulating instrument of his time:—

Tibia non, ut nunc, *orichalco vincta* tubaeque
Aemula, sed tenuis simplexque foramine paucō
Adspirare et adesse choris erat utilis atque
Nondum spissa nimis complere sedilia flatu.

Ars Poetica, 202-5.

And who can say that both Horace and Propertius, when referring to a Phrygian flute in the passages just quoted, might not have meant a flute which could be put into the Phrygian mode by turning the rings? Indeed Propertius states that the flute he wished for was made of ivory, the material of which the tube of bronze-ringed flutes was constructed.

We should scarcely expect that difficulties could be raised as to the sort of instrument which Horace indicates by the term *fistula* in his account of the band which was to play at the banquet and in the temple of Venus. To ordinary minds the Pan-pipe, which Latin poets again and again designate the *fistula*, seems to be meant. Orellius, however, relying seemingly on an authority he does not name, in commenting on the passage quoted in the last note, suggests that, as the *syrix polycalamus* was properly a shepherd's

but even the musical instruments had their significance ; all alike were proofs of the skill with which the highly gifted but abandoned queen had woven the net she was spreading for the ill-fated Antony.

PIPE

The word *pipe* is thought to have a musical origin. It is said by etymologists to be derived from the *peeping*,¹ or chirping sound a tube can be made to emit, or from the puffing, or *piffing* of wind into the tube by him who makes it sound,² the tube being still called a *pipe* when not *piffed* into.

instrument, the *fistula* to which Horace alludes was the *fistula unius calami*, or *syrinx monocalamus*. Much obscurity hangs over the *syrinx monocalamus*, but it was not, it seems, as Bartholinus and other old writers thought, a Pan-pipe consisting of a single tube, but an instrument pierced with finger-holes (see below, note, p. 216). However the use of the *syrinx polycalamus* was certainly not confined to shepherds ; it was, and still is, an orchestral instrument (see below, p. 270). It is not always easy to disprove a proposition even when it is founded on an inaccurate premiss ; but, in the case before us, in order to show that the *syrinx polycalamus* was played in combination with the flute and lyre, we can appeal to the passage in Plutarch alluded to above, in which, when speaking of the *syrinx* held by one of the Graces, he says that it was 'applied to' her mouth. The word he uses is *προσκειμένην*, which means 'laid against', an expression descriptive of the *syrinx polycalamus* which is played by bringing the sides of the pipes into contact with the lower lip, not by placing their ends in the mouth (see p. 264). But we have stronger evidence. It happens that on the Etruscan vase mentioned by Burney there is a picture of a band composed of *syrinx*, flute, and lyre. That the *syrinx* here represented is a *syrinx polycalamus* there cannot be the slightest doubt, for Burney mentions that it was composed of seven pipes. Before writing his *History of Music*, Burney undertook two Continental tours to collect materials for the work, and had, no doubt, actually seen the vase. Again, mention has just been made in note 1, p. 206, of a military, and a pastoral, band, each consisting of *syrinx*, flute, and pectis. In the latter, the pastoral band, it is certain that the *syrinx* intended is the *syrinx polycalamus*, for there is an allusion to the wax used in its construction. Moreover, if the *syrinx polycalamus* was nothing but a rustic instrument, how could St. Clement have proposed that it should be *handed back* to shepherds (see below p. 331).

¹ *Pipe* is explained by Skeat, in his *Etymological Dictionary* to be 'a musical instrument formed of a long tube ; hence any long tube, or tube in general (*E*). The musical sense is the original one' . . . The word *pipe*, he adds, is 'obviously of imitative origin from the peeping or chirping sound'. According to the *Century Dictionary* the substantive *pipe* is 'from the verb in the orig. sense, "chirp", "peep" as a bird'.

² Richardson derives *pipe* from the German *Puffen* or *Pfuffen*, to *puff*, to *blow*. '*Fife*', he says, 'is applied to the hollow instrument *puffed* or blown into. *Pipe* to any similar shaped tube, whether blown into or not.'

Pipe is a generic word applicable to all tubular instruments, and so, as we should expect, is used much more frequently by Shakespeare than flute; in fact, he employs it in its musical sense, if we include the verb 'to pipe', more than twenty times. On four or five of these occasions we may consider it to be synonymous with recorder.¹ Twice we hear of the straw-pipe;² twice, as already pointed out, the three-holed pipe played with the tabour is named; thrice that instrument seems to be suggested: in *Richard III* (I. i. 24), where we are told of the *piping* time of peace; in the *Midsummer Night's Dream* (II. i. 88) where fairies dance to the whistling and *piping* of the winds; in *As You Like It* (II. vii. 162) where in the sixth act of Shakespeare's description of the drama of life, the actor, who has already played the infant, the schoolboy, the lover, the soldier, and the justice, now takes the part of the lean and slippered pantaloon, when

—his big, manly voice,
Turning again toward childish treble, *pipes*
And whistles in his sound.

Once Shakespeare calls the trumpet a *pipe*. It is in *Troilus and Cressida* (IV. v. 7). Ajax, desirous of getting an *fff* effect, gives his purse to the trumpeter as an inducement to exert himself:

Ajax. Thou trumpet,³ there's my purse.
Now crack thy lungs, and split thy brazen *pipe*:
Blow, villain, till thy sphered bias cheek
Outswell the colic of puff'd Aquilon;
Come stretch thy chest and let thy eyes spout blood.

It is needless to say that if Ajax expected his command to be obeyed to the letter, it is to be hoped, for the trumpeter's sake, that the purse was well filled.

¹ — a *pipe* for fortune's finger
To sound what note she please.

Hamlet, III. ii. 75.

Will you play upon this *pipe*?

Ibid., 364.

Do you think I am easier to be played on than a *pipe*?

Ibid., 387.

Rumour is a *pipe*.

Henry IV, Part II, Induction 15.

See Lecture III, p. 169, note.

² See below, p. 278.

³ I have taken the liberty of making a change in the punctuation here. The passage is usually pointed thus: 'Thou, trumpet, there's my purse.' But by 'thou trumpet' Shakespeare meant 'thou trumpeter', therefore, if I am right, there should not be a comma after 'thou'.

ORGAN-PIPE

In a former lecture I mentioned that the words *touch* and *stop* were not confined in their meaning to the expedients by which notes are produced, but were extended to the notes themselves. In the same way *pipe* sometimes signifies *the sound of a pipe*. When employed to denote sound, *pipe* is usually applied to the sound of the voice, and chiefly, but not exclusively, to such voices as are shrill, as those of birds, women, and pantaloons. There is little dignity in the term, but Shakespeare, by the simple expedient of substituting *organ-pipe* for *pipe*, imparts to it such power and grandeur that he is able to apply it to the deepest, loudest, and most awe-inspiring of voices, the voice of thunder. The passage in which he thus uses it is in *The Tempest* (III. iii. 96), where the guilty Alonso, a prey to the pangs of conscience, seems to hear in the sounds of a storm at sea the story of his crime :—

Alonso. Methought the billows spoke, and told me of it ;
The winds did sing it to me ; and the thunder,
That deep and dreadful *organ-pipe*, pronounced
The name of Prosper : it did bass my trespass.

Shakespeare has recourse to the same device when describing the voice of a dying man. King John in his last hours is delirious, and, in his delirium, sings. The great poet by calling his throat an *organ-pipe* gives solemnity to the song.

Prince Henry. . . . his pure brain,
Which some suppose the soul's frail dwelling-house,
Doth by the idle comments that it makes
Foretell the ending of mortality.

Doth he still rage ?

Pembroke. He is more patient
Than when you left him ; even now he sung.

P. Henry. 'Tis strange that death should sing.
I am the cygnet to this pale faint swan,
Who chants a doleful hymn to his own death,
And from the *organ-pipe* of frailty sings
His soul and body to their lasting rest.

EUNUCH PIPE

Pipe, I have just said, sometimes signifies the voice of a woman with its treble tones. Shakespeare uses it in this sense in *Twelfth Night* (I. iv. 32) where the Duke, little suspecting the true sex of

Viola, who is in man's attire, is struck with the feminine character of her voice, and says to her :—

. . . thy small *pipe*
Is as the maiden's organ, shrill and sound.

This brings me to a passage of which I will offer an explanation never, I believe, before proposed—not that I think it to be the true explanation—but as it enables us to interpret the passage without doing violence to the text, I think it right to bring it forward.¹

Coriolanus, desiring to drop the lion, and, clothing himself with the mantle of humility, play the lamb, cries :—

My throat of war be turn'd,
Which quired with my drum, into a *pipe*
Small as an eunuch.²

'A pipe small as an eunuch' seems nonsense. A eunuch cannot be a pipe, much less a small one, whilst to say, as does an expositor, that eunuch stands for the 'piping of an eunuch' is little short of frivolous. The simplest, and to my mind the most satisfactory elucidation is to suppose that Shakespeare wrote Eunuch's—meaning by Eunuch's pipe a eunuch's voice³—but that the printer omitted to add the letter *s* to the word, thus converting Eunuch's into Eunuch. The idea has struck Sir Thomas Hanmer and Mr. Dyce, both of whom have substituted Eunuch's for Eunuch. There can be no doubt, however, that there was no *'s* when *Coriolanus* originally appeared. The Play was first printed, as far as is known, in the Folio of 1623, where the passage stands thus :—

My throat of Warre be turn'd,
Which quier'd with my Drumme into a Pipe,
Small as an Eunuch.

Now there was in Shakespeare's time a pipe called the eunuch flute. It was not an instrument that could generate sound but only a contrivance for imparting to the voice a trembling or buzzing sort of tone not unlike that which children produce by means of a piece of paper folded over a comb.⁴ Is Shakespeare here alluding

¹ As the idea has been already alluded to, I ought to mention that the suggestion was made known in a short article on the Eunuch flute contributed to Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* in 1904.

² *Coriolanus*, III. ii. 112.

³ Lord Bacon, like Shakespeare, calls the voices of women and eunuchs *small*: 'Children, women, eunuchs, have more *small* and shrill voices than men.' *Sylva Sylvarum*, Cent. II. 180.

⁴ For a drawing and description of the Eunuch flute see Lecture I, p. 118.

to the eunuch flute? If so, we are to suppose that Coriolanus wished his voice (which, like that 'brazen throat of war', that 'harbinger of blood and death', the trumpet, 'quired' or blended with the drum) to be turned into the voice of the most puerile and contemptible of musical instruments, a voice resembling the tremulous voice of the pantaloons, the bleating of a goat, or the piteous cry uttered by a fly immeshed in a spider's web on seeing his remorseless enemy emerge from his lair.

THE PIPE OF HERMES

We now come to a pipe about which few, if any, of the older editors of Shakespeare's Plays seem to have troubled themselves to make remarks, the pipe of Hermes, or Mercury. In *Henry V* (III. vii. 18) the Dauphin, speaking of his horse, says:—

. . . the earth sings when he touches it; the basest horn¹ in his hoof is more musical than the *pipe of Hermes*.

What, then, was the pipe of Hermes?²

In Homer's 'Hymn to Hermes' we are told that, after Hermes had gained the friendship of Apollo by inventing the lyre and the way to play it, he moulded the craft of another art; he caused the sound of syrinxes to be audible afar off.³ The construction which a plain man would put on Homer's statement is that Hermes effected an improvement in the syrinx, making its tone louder so that it could be heard at a greater distance; scholars, however, are of opinion that Homer intended to convey the idea that Hermes was the inventor of the instrument. There are two kinds of syrinx, the *syrinx monocalamus*, or syrinx with one pipe only, and the *syrinx polycalamus*, or syrinx with more pipes than one. The latter still survives and is heard daily in our streets when Punch

¹ Observe the double pun on *base* and *bass*; and *horn*, a part of the horse's hoof, and *horn* a musical instrument.

² In the Cowden Clarke *Shakespeare*, a comparatively modern edition, we are told that 'as the patron god of shepherds the instrument played by Hermes was "the pipe".' Hermes, however, was not the patron god of shepherds, but of thieves. It is true that he was called the pastoral god (*νόμιος θεός*), and that shepherds worshipped him because he was believed to watch over and influence the growth of cattle; but it was his son, Pan, who was their patron god. It was he who played the shepherd's pipe, which bears his name to this day.

³ *Αὐτὸς δ' αὖθ' ἐτέρης σοφίης ἐκμάξατο τέχνην·
συρίγγων ἐνοπήν ποιήσατο τηλόθ' ἀκουστήν.*

Hymn to Hermes, 508-9.

and Judy is played. Of the former little is known; there is, however, reason for believing that it was a finger-holed instrument furnished with a movable head-joint, or mouthpiece, which could be applied to a flute ordinarily blown with a reed, and that not only the instrument itself, but the mouthpiece, when so used, was called the *syrinx*.¹ Now, on turning to the discourse on flutes

¹ How was the sound of the *syrinx monocalamus* produced? The answer to this, is included in a second question: what was the nature of the mouthpiece, or head-joint, called the *syrinx*?

There are three kinds of mouthpiece which could be applied to an instrument usually blown with a reed; the mouthpiece of an end-blown lip flute, of which the Egyptian nay is an example, the mouthpiece of the side-blown flute which is in daily use amongst ourselves, and the mouthpiece of the fipple flute with which we are so familiar in the common whistle. Either of them could be so constructed as to be drawn up and down to sharpen or flatten the instrument to which it was applied, as it appears from Aristotle, was the *syrinx* mouthpiece. To which of these three sound-producers did the head-joint called the *syrinx* correspond?

First, the end-blown lip flute. Of the three sound-generators just named the end-blown flute is best entitled to the name of *syrinx*, it being a simple pipe or tube (*σῦριγξ*), and, as I shall explain in a future Lecture, essentially a pipe of the *syrinx polycalamus*, but open below and pierced with finger-holes. The use of the *syrinx* head was not approved of, it seems, by some of the flute-players of the ancient world, for we are told by Plutarch (*De Musica*, xxi) that Telephanes had so great an aversion to it that he would not allow the flute-makers to apply it to his flutes, which was the chief reason, adds Plutarch, why he did not enter for the flute competition at the Pythian games, where, it is inferred from the passage, it was necessary for the performer to be able to play with the *syrinx* mouthpiece. The solo played on the occasion (*νόμος Πυθικός*) appears to have been a piece of programme music intended to represent the combat of Apollo with the serpent Python. The last of the five parts into which it was divided was called *syrinxes* (*σύριγγες*). The word *syrinx* is sometimes used to indicate a hiss, so scholars explain the name by supposing that the music in this movement imitated the hisses of the dying snake, but it has been thought that possibly the name was taken from the circumstance that this part of the solo might have been played on a flute fitted with the *syrinx*. It is certain, however, that the whole of the solo was not played on a flute to which the *syrinx* head had been applied; part of it must have been executed on a reed-blown flute, for a scholiast on Pindar (Ode xii) tells us that when Midas was playing for the prize his reed failed him, whereupon he played on the pipes alone after the manner of a *syrinx* (*μόνοις τοῖς καλάμοις τρώφῃ σύριγγος ἀλλῆσαι*), that is, he blew across the open end of the flute as if it had been a nay. Now, if by a *syrinx* the scholiast should mean a *syrinx monocalamus*, the question of the structure of the *syrinx* head might be looked upon as settled, for the statement would be a proof (assuming that we can trust the scholiast) that the *syrinx monocalamus* was an open-end lip-blown instrument. Be this as it may, it is certain that

in the Fourth Book of the *Deipnosophists* of Athenaeus, we find it stated, on the authority of Euphoriion, the epic poet, that Hermes

Midas must have been an adept in the art of blowing the open-end flute, for it is very difficult (*experto crede*), even for one conversant with both the lip-flute and the Pan-pipe, to elicit a sound from, much less to play a solo on, an end-blown flute at the first trial.

Secondly, the flute blown by means of a hole in the side like the flute now in use. It is, however, often denied that the Greeks and Romans employed the side-blown flute, it being said that proof that they were acquainted with it cannot be adduced. See below, p. 247. This opinion is not shared by a distinguished writer, M. Gevaert, who has no doubts on the subject. He states (*Histoire de la Musique de l'Antiquité*, Vol. II, p. 228) that one of the ancient oblique flutes, the kind called the photinx, was like—if the keys and other modern mechanism were removed—our orchestral flute (*semblable — si l'on fait abstraction des clefs et autres mécanismes modernes — à la flûte de nos orchestres*), but he does not tell us on what grounds his *dictum* on this controverted point rests, nor does he say how he has arrived at the conclusion.

Thirdly, the fipple-flute in which the lips are not employed to form the flue, but the tube is narrowed for the purpose by means of a plug, or fipple, as it is technically called, the jet of air which issues from the flue passing across an opening in the tube called the mouth and striking against a cutting-edge, the method of producing sound in whistles and flageolets. Probability seems in favour of the suggestion that the syrinx head was thus constructed and that the syrinx monocalamus was a fipple-flute. M. Gevaert is quite certain that this was the case. He pronounces the syrinx monocalamus to be a whistle-flute (*flûte à sifflet*) exactly like (*entièrement semblable*) our *flûte à bec* and flageolet. He states that as many representations of the syrinx monocalamus have come down to us as of the syrinx polycalamus, but he does not tell us where they can be seen, or how they can be distinguished and identified. He describes the instrument as furnished with a wind-channel (*canal d'insufflation*), and a mouth with a cutting-edge (*bouche biseautée*) he does not, however, quote, or refer to, any ancient writer on whose authority he makes the statement. He speaks of the word syrinx (σὺριγξ) as if it were synonymous with whistle ('σὺριγξ, c'est-à-dire sifflet'). It is true that one can whistle with a pipe—the pipe of a syrinx, or of a key, for instance—but a pipe when used as a whistle is not the sort of whistle meant by M. Gevaert, which is a whistle with a fipple, a mouth, and a cutting-edge. If M. Gevaert had lived two thousand years ago, and seen and heard the syrinx monocalamus played he could not speak with greater confidence. He even goes so far as to say that the common name of the *flûte à bec* in ancient times was monaulos, whereas the monaulos was the reputed invention of the Egyptian deity Osiris, and was so popular in Egypt that the Alexandrians were charged with it being the only instrument they were accustomed to play; it was called not only the monaulos but the calamus, or reed (Athenaeus, iv. 77–8) the name of the modern nay, for nay means reed—circumstances which favour the probability that the monaulos was an end-blown lip-flute. It is true, as M. Gevaert reminds us, that the monaulos resembled the *flûte à bec* in being very sweet, but it was not

invented the one-pipe syrinx. Strictly speaking, then, the pipe of Hermes was the *syrinx monocalamus*.

But Milton mentions the pipe of Hermes, and mentions it in such a way as to make it certain, as will be seen, that he means, not the *syrinx monocalamus*, but the *syrinx polycalamus*. He refers to the instrument in connexion with a story dear to school-boys, the story of Io.

When Jupiter wooed the lovely Io, to guard against prying eyes, he caused clouds to form so that he and Io were hidden in a fog. His watchful spouse, Juno, saw the clouds, her suspicions were aroused, she hastened to the spot and ordered the clouds to disperse; Jupiter, however, became aware of her approach in time to save a compromising situation by changing Io into a heifer. Juno, who saw through the artifice, asked her husband to give her the beautiful heifer, a request which Jupiter thought it best not to refuse. Having obtained the heifer, Juno placed her in charge of Argus Panoptes who had a hundred eyes, only two of which were closed at the same time, so that, no matter what Argus was doing, some of the remaining ninety-eight were fixed upon Io. Jupiter, thus foiled, put the matter into the hands of Hermes, who was a cattle-stealer from his cradle. Argus was very formidable. In addition to his extraordinary sight, he was possessed of super-human strength, and, in every combat in which he had been engaged, had slain his antagonist; Hermes, therefore, had recourse to craft. He came to the place where Argus was watching Io, disguised as a shepherd, driving a flock of goats and playing the *syrinx polycalamus*, an instrument on which every Arcadian shepherd was a performer. Argus was enchanted with the sound of the syrinx, and asked Hermes to take a seat with him on a rock.

necessarily a fipple-flute because it was sweet. Flutes blown at the open end are most sweet, as any one who has heard the nay played by an Egyptian performer, as I have, can testify. If a modern writer, following in the steps of Bartholinus, would bring together passages throwing light on Greek and Roman flutes, and would enrich his work with representations of wind instruments as they survive in museums and appear in ancient works of art, he would render a service to scholars and musicians alike; but great is the responsibility which rests on one who states authoritatively that ancient instruments actually were what it seems to him they must have been. It was by applying this method to the recorder that Sir John Hawkins misled the world for a century, whilst Mr. William Chappell's erroneous notions, arrived at in the same way, are even now sometimes accepted as facts.

Hermes complied, and played with such effect, that after a time Argus was so overcome with the sweetness of the music that he closed all his eyes. Hermes had not omitted to bring with him his mesmeric staff. To wave it over Argus was the work of an instant. A few passes of the magic rod were sufficient to hypnotize him so completely that Hermes had no difficulty in cutting off his head.¹

It is in allusion to this story that certainly Milton, and probably Shakespeare, introduced the pipe of Hermes. Milton represents the band of Cherubim whom the Archangel Michael took with him when he went down to drive Adam and Eve out of Paradise, as furnished with eyes more numerous than those of Argus, and far too wide awake to be lulled to sleep with the strains of a Pan-pipe, even when played by a god :—

. . . the Archangelic Power prepared
For swift descent ; with him the cohort bright
Of watchful Cherubim. Four faces each
Had, like a double Janus ; all their shape
Spangled with eyes more numerous than those
Of Argus, and more wakeful than to drowse,
Charmed with Arcadian *pipe*, the pastoral reed ²
Of *Hermes*, or his opiate rod.³

CASSIO'S PIPES

Cassio, wishing to pay Othello and Desdemona a compliment, brings a band of performers on wind instruments to salute them with a musical greeting—a reveille, or hunts-up,⁴ as it was called—

¹ Ovid (*Met.* i. 568 seq.) gives a somewhat different version of the tale. He represents Argus as struck as much with the novelty, as with the melody of the syrinx, which was a recent invention. Argus wished to know how the instrument originated, and Hermes was telling the story of Syrinx and Pan (see below note 1, p. 262) when he perceived that Argus had shut the whole of his eyes.

Another account makes it appear that Hermes at first did not intend to kill Argus, but only to steal Io.

² Milton had previously called the syrinx polycalamus a pastoral reed in *Comus*. See below, note 2, p. 281.

³ *Paradise Lost*, xi. 126.

⁴ In Cotgrave's Dictionary (1650) Reveil, or Resveil, is explained to be a *Hunts-up*, or *Morning song for a new-married wife, the day after the marriage*. *Reveille* has reference to the soldiers' morning musical call ; *hunt 's-up* to the rousing of hunters with the sound of the horn when a hunt was about

played under their bedroom window before they are up in the morning (*Othello*, III. i. 1-21):—

Enter CASSIO and some Musicians.

Cas. Masters, play here; I will content your pains;
Something that's brief; and bid 'Good morrow, general'.¹

Enter Clown.

[*Music.*

Clo. Why, masters, have your instruments been in Naples,²
that they speak i' the nose thus?

to begin. Both *reveille* and *hunts-up* can be applied to any musical awakening, e. g.

I walk as ere I walked forlorn,

When all our path was fresh with dew,

And all the bugle breezes blew

Reveillée to the breaking morn.

Tennyson, *In Memoriam*, LXVIII.

. . . *hunt's up* to the morn the feather'd sylvans sing.

Drayton, *Polyolbion*, Song XIII.

They came to play you and your love a *hunts up*.

Beaumont and Fletcher, *The False One*, iv. 2.

Hunts up is found in Shakespeare. It occurs in the passage so well known to musicians (*Romeo and Juliet* III. v. 27), in which Shakespeare puns on the word *division* in its musical sense—a florid phrase—and its ordinary meaning:

Juliet. It is the lark that sings so out of tune,
Straining harsh discords, and unpleasing sharps.
Some say, the lark makes sweet *division*;
This doth not so, for she *divideth* us:

. . . that voice doth us affray,
Hunting thee hence with *hunts-up* to the day.

¹ With reference to Cassio's instructions to the musicians to bid 'Good morrow, general', Ritson writes as follows: 'It is the usual practice of the *waits* or nocturnal minstrels in several towns of the north of England, after playing a tune or two, to cry "Good morrow, maister Such-a-one, good morrow, dame", adding the hour and state of the weather. It should seem to have prevailed at Stratford-upon-Avon. They formerly used *hautboys* which are the wind instruments here meant.'

² More than one explanation has been offered of Shakespeare's reference to Naples in connexion with the nasal tone of the wind instruments. Cowden Clarke suggests that there is an allusion to the nasal drawl of the Neapolitan peasant; Parr, to the Neapolitan Pulcinella, which speaks through the nose, the man who works the puppet putting into his mouth a reed similar to that of the hautboy. I may add that the bagpipe appears to have been highly esteemed at Naples, for Mersenne describes and figures a kind of bagpipe, with a prodigious number of keys, which he terms the musette of Naples (see Lecture I, p. 89). But far more convincing is the opinion of Dr. Johnson, who believes that Shakespeare was thinking of a complaint which used often to be called the Naples complaint (*la maladie de Naples*), it having prevailed

First Mus. How, sir, how !

Clo. Are these, I pray you, wind-instruments ?

First Mus. Ay, marry, are they, sir.

Clo. O, thereby hangs a tail.

First Mus. Whereby hangs a tale, sir ?

Clo. Marry, sir, by many a wind-instrument that I know. But, masters, here 's money for you : and the general so likes your music, that he desires you, for love's sake, to make no more noise with it.

First Mus. Well, sir, we will not.

Clo. If you have any music that may not be heard, to't again : but, as they say, to hear music the general does not greatly care.¹

First Mus. We have none such, sir.

Clo. Then put up your pipes in your bag, for I'll away : go vanish into air ; away !
[*Exeunt Musicians.*]

In considering what instruments are here meant, so as to be able to say how the musicians who come upon the stage should be equipped, the circumstance that the pipes are said to 'speak i' the nose', that is, to have a reedy or nasal tone, enables us to limit our choice (for we may exclude the shawm) to two, the bagpipe, and the hautboy. The advocates of the bagpipe point to a passage in the *Merchant of Venice* (iv. i. 49) where Shakespeare refers to that instrument in terms almost identical with those here used : 'the bagpipe,' says Shylock, 'sings i' the nose.' But the claims of the hautboy are stronger. Apart from the circumstance that bagpipes are scarcely the instruments Cassio would have chosen to please a lady's ears, in favour of the hautboy we can point to the way in which the musicians carried their instruments, namely, in a bag. 'Put up your pipes,' says the Clown, 'in your bag.' Now, had he been referring to bagpipes, he would have said 'in your bags', for although bagpipes may be carried in bags, each bagpipe would, in all likelihood, have had a bag of its own (and in such

as an epidemic at the siege of Naples in 1494, mowing down its victims by hundreds. The Naples complaint has a tendency to attack and destroy the bones of the nose and palate, thus imparting a nasal twang to the voice of the sufferer. Shakespeare was acquainted with the complaint. He describes the symptoms, alludes to the treatment, and makes Timon say in his ravings,

Consumptions sow

In hollow bones of man . . . Crack the lawyer's voice ;

. . . down with the nose,

Down with it flat, take the bridge quite away.

Timon of Athens, iv. iii.

¹ In to't a pun is probably intended, Shakespeare playing on *to it*, or *go at it*, and *toot*, make a *tooting* sound. It has also been suggested that in *the general* there is a sly allusion to the *general public*.

seeming trifles dependence can be placed on Shakespeare's accuracy), whereas a set of hautboys could well have been carried in a bag.¹

The hautboy family comprised instruments ranging from seventeen or eighteen inches to nine feet or more in length. To show the shape of the dummy hautboys with which the musicians should be provided, I have reproduced (Fig. 69) five members of the family from the *Syntagma* of Praetorius (1620). M. Mahillon has calculated the length of each from a scale which accompanies the plate. The Discant-Schalmey (No. 4), twenty-six inches long, is in his opinion the primitive type of the modern hautboy.²

On being told by Cassio to play, the musicians on the stage would put their seeming hautboys to their mouths, and at the same time the instruments to which the hautboy music was entrusted would strike up. But, it may be asked, have we in the modern orchestra instruments capable of producing such music as would be required? Certainly; for not only the treble hautboy survives, but the tenor of the family, now called the cor anglais, is still in use, whilst the bassoon may be regarded as a bass hautboy doubled on itself; thus a near approach to the effect intended by Shakespeare could be obtained from a quartet consisting of two orchestral hautboys, a cor anglais, and a bassoon. If it were thought desirable, even the music of the largest member of the family might be represented by means of a double bassoon. On hearing the combination, the audience would be quite prepared to endorse the clown's remark that the instruments 'speak i' the nose', so that the little scene would be both comic and instructive. Original music for the quartet is in existence and some of it easily accessible. Three compositions for four hautboys were played at a lecture given by Mr. Blaikley at the Music Loan Exhibition 1904. Two of them, one by Martin

¹ A set of wind instruments was usually kept in a case, but a bag was sometimes used for the purpose; in the inventory of the wardrobe of Henry VIII, for instance, there is the following entry:

Item iij flutes in a redde leather bagge. See Lecture I, p. 29.

I learn from Flora Fraser, who comes of a noted bagpiping family, that her grandfather carried his pipes in a leather bag; her father in a bag made of green baize; her brother in a case of wood. Flora Fraser's grandfather and great-grandfather were not only pipers but bards—that is composers of the words and tunes of songs on passing events—her father was pipe-major to the Seaforth Highlanders.

² *Catalogue instrumental du Musée du Conservatoire de Bruxelles*, Vol. I (2nd edition, 1893), p. 228. In the same work (Vol. II, p. 21) will be found drawings of four ancient hautboys taken from instruments still in existence.

Hotteterre, the other by Lully, would be in conformity with Cassio's request for 'something that's brief'. They are both taken from the Philidor Collection.¹



FIG. 69. FIVE MEMBERS OF THE HAUTOY FAMILY, AFTER PRAETORIUS (PLATE XI)

1 Bas-Pommer; 2 Basset- oder Tenor-Pommer; 3 Alt-Pommer; 4 Discant-Schalmei; 5 Klein-Schalmei.

¹ The Lectures are published by the Walter Scott Publishing Company, under the title of *English Music* [1604 to 1904]. The hautboy music referred to will be found at p. 344. As I was about to send the manuscript of this work to the printers, I was made acquainted with an able and instructive article from the pen of Mr. E. W. Naylor on *Music and Shakespeare*, published in the *Musical Antiquary* (April 1910, pp. 130 to 148). Mr. Naylor mentions that in Kappey's *Military Music* (Boosey), a publication unknown to me, there are to be found capital photographs of the various members of the hautboy family and music in the form of Marches for these instruments.

PIPES IN ROMEO AND JULIET

The second occasion on which unspecified pipes are mentioned is in *Romeo and Juliet* (IV. v. 96). Here it is impossible to say with certainty to what instruments Shakespeare is referring. It will be remembered—for all who take an interest in Shakespeare's allusions to music are acquainted with the passage—that there are three musicians who speak. One of them says, 'Faith, we may put up our pipes, and begone.' Juliet's nurse, addressing them; replies, 'Honest good fellows, ah, put up, put up; For well you know, this is a pitiful case.' The nurse is referring to the pitiful case of Juliet who has been found seemingly dead in her bed on her wedding morning; the musician, however, supposes that she is reflecting on the state of a musical instrument case, which it seems, was in need of repair, or, at least, in a shabby condition, for he exclaims, 'Ay, by my troth, the case may be amended.'

On looking into a modern Shakespeare,¹ the question of the instruments intended seems, at first sight, easy to settle. We

¹ I transcribe here the text as it appears in the Cambridge edition of Shakespeare for the sake of comparison with two other versions which I am about to quote:

First Musician. Faith, we may put up our pipes, and begone.

Nurse. Honest good fellows, ah, put up, put up; For well you know, this is a pitiful case. [Exit.]

First Mus. Ay, by my troth, the case may be amended.

Enter PETER.

Pet. Musicians, O, musicians, 'Heart's ease, Heart's ease'; O, an you will have me live, play 'Heart's ease'.

First Mus. Why 'Heart's ease'?

Pet. O, musicians, because my heart itself plays 'My heart is full of woe': O, play me some merry dump, to comfort me.

First Mus. Not a dump we, 'tis no time to play now.

Pet. You will not, then?

First Mus. No.

Pet. I will then give it you soundly.

First Mus. What will you give us?

Pet. No money, on my faith, but the gleek; I will give you the minstrel.

First Mus. Then will I give you the serving-creature.

Pet. Then will I lay the serving-creature's dagger on your pate, I will carry no crotchets: I'll re you, I'll fa you; do you note me?

First Mus. An you re us and fa us, you note us.

Sec. Mus. Pray you, put up your dagger, and put out your wit.

Pet. Then have at you with my wit! I will dry-beat you with an iron wit, and put up my iron dagger. Answer me like men:

have to do, one would think, with a set of wind instruments kept in the same case and therefore of the same family, and, as they are to be played at a wedding, they would be in all likelihood, either recorders, or hautboys.¹ If, however, we examine the earliest editions of *Romeo and Juliet*, we find indications that, when the tragedy was first performed, musicians appeared who were furnished with instruments played with a bow. This circumstance, taken alone, would not affect our inquiry, for we know that Shakespeare's ideas on such matters were ignored by actors. If, we might argue; the band of recorders for which Hamlet called was cut down by the management to a single instrument, there would have been no scruple about introducing fiddles where Shakespeare meant pipes to appear. But we have other evidence. Shakespeare's nick-names, Catling, Rebeck, and Sound-post, betoken that the musicians to whom they were applied played on stringed instruments. Fiddles, then, as well as pipes must have been present, so that the conclusion is forced upon us that Shakespeare wished a mixed band of wind and strings to enter.

I will, however, propose another solution. There was a saying 'to put up one's pipes'. It meant to give up one's occupation, or cease doing what one was about, and was often associated with going away.² I suggest that the phrase 'we may put up our

'When griping grief the heart doth wound,
And doleful dumps the mind oppress,
Then music with her silver sound'—

why 'silver sound'? why 'music with her silver sound'? What say you, Simon Catling?

First Mus. Marry, sir, because silver hath a sweet sound.

Pet. Pretty! What say you, Hugh Rebeck?

Sec. Mus. I say 'silver sound' because musicians sound for silver.

Pet. Pretty too! What say you James Sound-post?

Third Mus. Faith, I know not what to say.

Pet. O, I cry you mercy; you are the singer: I will say for you. It is 'music with her silver sound', because musicians have no gold for sounding

'Then music with her silver sound

With speedy help doth lend redress.'

[Exit.]

First Mus. What a pestilent knave is this same!

Sec. Mus. Hang him, Jack! Come, we'll in here; tarry for the mourners, and stay dinner. [Exeunt.]

¹ Mersenne mentions weddings, when enumerating the various occasions for which hautboys were specially suitable.

² The following examples are taken from Murray's Dictionary:—

Than maye the B[ishop] of Rome put up his pypes.

pipes' is not to be taken literally, but only signifies 'we may give up the idea of playing again' (the musicians had been heard playing as they approached the house); so that the use of the word pipes in the text does not necessarily imply the presence of wind instruments on the stage. By adopting this view, we are left at liberty to suppose that the instruments Shakespeare had in his mind were fiddles, and that the case which needed mending was a fiddle-case.

If we had an edition of the Play as Shakespeare wrote it, we might perhaps be able to make the matter clear, but no reliable copy of the autograph has come down to us. The first issue of *Romeo and Juliet* (Q 1), a quarto printed in 1597, is a supposititious publication made up out of notes taken in the theatre, or obtained by the publisher in some other clandestine way. In 1599 a second quarto (Q 2) appeared, which 'was in all likelihood', say the editors of the Cambridge Shakespeare, 'an edition authorized by Shakespeare and his "fellows", and intended to supersede the surreptitious and imperfect edition of 1597.' But they add 'it is certain that Q 2 was not printed from the author's MS., but from a transcript, the writer of which was not only careless, but thought fit to take unwarrantable liberties with the text.' I will quote the scene as it appears in Q 2. It will be noticed that instead of musicians only, as in the text with which we are familiar—it is given in note 1, p. 223—three designations, musician, fiddler, and minstrel, are applied to the speakers,¹ and that the speech, 'Faith, we may put up our pipes and begone,' is assigned to a musician, whilst the words, 'Ay, by my troth, the case may be amended,' are put into the mouth of a fiddler :—

Musi. Faith we may put vp our pipes and begone.

Nur. Honest good fellowes, ah put vp, put vp,
For well you know, this is a pitifull case.

Fid. I my² my troath, the case may be amended.

He could haue found in his hart to haue packt vp hys pipes and to haue gone to heauen.

Poke up your pypes be nae mair sene At Court.

¹ In the Folio of 1623 the text of which, as I have said, is thought to have been taken from acting copies, the musical personages who speak are all styled musicians, the appellation being universally adopted in modern editions of Shakespeare.

² 'I my my troath' is intended for 'I (that is, 'ay') by my troath', 'my' having been carelessly substituted for 'by'.

*Enter Will Kemp.*¹

Peter. Musitions, oh Musitions, harts ease, harts ease,
O an you will haue me liue, play harts ease.²

Fidler. Why harts ease?

Peter. O Musitions because my hart it selfe plaies my hart
is full :³

O play me some mery⁴ dump to comfort me.

Minstrels. Not a dump we, tis no time to play now.

Peter. You will not then?

Minst. No.

Peter. I will then giue to you soundly.

Minst. What will you giue us?

Peter. No money on my faith, but the gleeke,⁵

¹ We have here one of the 'unwarrantable liberties' which the transcriber of Q 2 has taken with the text; he has substituted '*Enter Will Kemp*' for '*Enter Peter*'. The change, however discreditable it may be to the transcriber, is not without interest to us, for we learn from it that the part of Peter was taken by Kemp, who was a celebrated comic actor and jig-dancer. Kemp is known to have played Dogberry as well as Peter. 'It is possible,' writes Mr. S. Lee, 'that Shakespeare had at times to complain of Kemp's interpolated buffoonery, and that Hamlet's advice to the players, "Let those that play your clowns speak no more than is set down for them"' is intended as a reflection on him.' He once danced from London to Norwich. Fig. 66, p. 194, is taken from the account he published of his Terpsichorean exploit.

² The tune, but not the words, of 'Heart's ease' survive. In *Mysogonus*, by Thomas Rychardes, written about 1560, certainly before 1570, is a song to the tune of 'Heart's ease'. See Chappell's *Collection of National English Airs*, p. 137, tune No. 178, and Naylor's *Shakespeare and Music*, p. 193; also Chappell's *Popular Music of the Olden Time*.

³ The burden of the song from which Peter is quoting is *my heart is full of woe*; the two last words, omitted in Q 2, are added in Q 4 and Q 5. The following is the first verse of the song:—

Complaine, my lute, complaine on him
That staves so long away;
He promised to be here ere this,
But still unkind doth stay;
But now the proverbe true I finde,
Once out of sight, then out of mind.
Hey ho! *my heart is full of woe.*

⁴ As a dump was a slow, melancholy dance, in its nature doleful, a merry dump is, of course, a ridiculous contradiction. We find the same idea in the *Winter's Tale* (IV. iv. 187):

Clown. I love a ballad but even too well; if it be a doleful matter, merrily set down, or a very pleasant thing indeed, and sung lamentably.

⁵ A gleeke is a gibe, or gird; to gleeke a person, or give him the gleeke, is to mock him, or sneer at him. 'I have seen you gleeeking and galling at this

I will giue you the Minstrell.

Minstrel. Then will I giue you the Seruing-Creature.¹

Peter. Then will I lay the seruing-creatures dagger on your pate.

I will carry no crochets,² ile re³ you Ile fa⁴

You, do you note me ?

Minst. And you re vs, and fa vs, you note vs.⁵

gentleman twice or thrice,' says Gower in *Henry V* (v. i. 77). The word *gleek* is said to have been taken from a game of cards of the same name, or else to be derived from the Anglo-Saxon *glig*, *ludibrium*; Douce points out that a jest is here intended, a *gleek man*, *glig man* or *glee man* signifying a *minstrel*.

¹ Staunton is of opinion that in 'I will give you the serving-creature' an *équivoque* was meant, the double allusion being now unknown. Peter evidently considers that the minstrel was referring to his menial calling in an offensive way, for he instantly threatens him with his dagger.

² A crotchet is a quarter-note and also a whim. 'Peter intends to say, writes Ulrici, "I will not endure your whims, your refusal to play," but says in effect, "I will play no quarter-notes (but whole ones) on your pates."'

³ The double-entendre is on *re* in its sense as a musical note, and to *rey*, *ray*, or *beray*, a verb, which means to make foul, or cover with filth. Shakespeare uses the word in the *Taming of the Shrew* (iv. i. 3):

Fye . . . on all foul ways . . . was ever a man so *rayed* ?

⁴ It is believed that there is a pun here on *fa*, the note F, and to *fay* (West Yorkshire *faah*, *Dialect Dictionary*), that is, to cleanse or clean out, as a foul ditch or pond.

⁵ The quibble on *note* in its musical and its ordinary sense is too obvious to require remark. In *Much Ado about Nothing* (II. iii. 45) Shakespeare again puns on *note*; and also on *crotchet*, as a musical term, and an odd or perverse opinion:—

Don Pedro. Come, Balthaser, we'll hear that song again.

Balth. O, good my lord, tax not so bad a voice

To slander music any more than once.

D. Pedro. It is the witness still of excellency

To put a strange face on his own perfection.

I pray thee, sing, and let me woo no more.

Balth. Because you talk of wooing, I will sing;

Since many a wooer doth commence his suit

To her he thinks not worthy, yet he woos,

Yet will he swear he loves.

D. Pedro. Nay, pray thee, come;

Or, if thou wilt hold longer argument,

Do it in *notes*.

Balth. Note this before my *notes*

There's not a *note* of mine that's worth the *noting*.

D. Pedro. Why, these are very *crotchets* that he speaks;

Note, notes, forsooth, and noting.

2. *M.* Pray put up your dagger, and put out your wit.
Then¹ haue at you with my wit.

Peter. I will dry-beate you with an yron wit, and put up my yron dagger.

Answer me like men

When griping griefes the hart doth wound,² then musique with her siluer sound.

Why siluer sound, why musique with her siluer sound, what say you Simeon Catling?³

Minst. Mary sir, because siluer hath a sweet sound.

Peter. Prates,⁴ what say you Hugh Rebeck?

2. *M.* I say siluer sound, because Musitions sound for siluer.

Peter. Prates to, what say you James Sound-post.⁵

3. *M.* Faith I know not what to say.

Peter. I cry you mercy, you are the singer
I will say⁶ for you, it is musique with her siluer sound

¹ We have more carelessness here; the line belongs, of course, not to the Second Musician but to Peter. The passage should read thus:

Peter. Then haue at you with my wit. I will dry-beate you, &c.

² The quotation is mutilated. It should be:

When griping grief the heart doth wound,
And doleful dumps the mind oppress.

See below, note 1, p. 231.

³ A *catling* is a small catgut string. Shakespeare uses the word in *Troilus and Cressida*, (III. iii. 305)—‘unless the fiddler Apollo get his sinews to make *catlings* on.’ In Q 1 Minikin is substituted for Catling. See note 2, p. 231. A minikin is a small lute-string. Pepys, writing on the 18th of March, 1666–67, tells how Mr. Caesar, the lute-player, turned a minikin to account for fishing: ‘This day, Mr. Caesar told me a pretty experiment of his, of angling with a minikin, a gut-string varnished over, which keeps it from swelling, and is beyond any hair for strength and smallness. The secret I like mightily.’

⁴ In Q 4 and Q 5 ‘Prates’ is altered into ‘Pratee’. In Q 1, quoted below, it appears as ‘Pretie’ and ‘Prettie’. Pretty, no doubt, is the word Shakespeare intended to use, but ‘Prates’ is not without defenders. The suggestion has been made that the word stands for ‘thou pratest’, or is the plural of the substantive ‘prate’ which means twaddle.

⁵ The *sobriquets* applied to the musicians afford, as I have said, presumptive evidence that Peter was addressing performers on instruments of the violin family. Two of them, Catling and Sound-post, are each connected with such instruments; a catling being a string, and the sound-post the prop which supports the bridge of a violin, or viol. The third, Rebeck, is the name of a kind of fiddle. Here Peter, by implication, calls the musician to whom he is speaking, a fiddle, there being a pun (although it has hitherto, as far as I know, passed unnoticed) on ‘Hugh’ and ‘You’, so that ‘Hugh Rebeck’ is equivalent to ‘you fiddle’.

⁶ It has been suggested that Shakespeare is having a fling at the inarticulate way in which so many singers pronounce the words they sing. Be this as it may, there is a play on *sing* and *say*. ‘I cry you mercy,’ that is, I beg your

Because Musitions haue no gold for sounding :
Then Musique with her siluer sound with speedy help doth lend
redresse.¹

Exit.

Mins. What a pestilent knaue is this same ?

M. 2. Hang him Jack, come weele in here, tarrie for the
mourners, and stay dinner.²

pardon, 'for asking you to *say*,' implies Peter, 'for you are the *singer*, and, as such, do not *speake* (intelligibly ?), I will therefore *say* for you.' In Q 1 the passage reads thus :—

Third Mus. I *say* nothing.

Peter. I think so. I'll *speake* for you because you are the *singer*.

¹ The words of 'When griping grief', or, as it should be, 'Where griping grief,' are by Richard Edwards. They are found in a collection of poems by various authors, entitled *The Paradise of Daintie Deuises*, and printed in 1577. Edwards was Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It was he who superintended them when they were formed into the company of actors, who, as Rosencrantz testifies (Lecture III, note 1, p. 162) proved such formidable rivals of the players of the Globe. We learn from Theobald's edition of Shakespeare that it was once customary for Peter to sing as he left the stage, the stage direction for his departure being, in that edition, *exit singing*. It is by no means impossible that Kemp sang the song as he went out, and that the custom was handed down by tradition to Theobald's time (1688–1744). A setting in four parts of the words of 'Where griping grief' is given by Sir John Hawkins. Sir John says that he took it from an old manuscript, and Knight states that it is by Adrian Batten who was organist of St. Paul's in the reign of Charles I. Batten, who was a chorister of Winchester, did not get the appointment of Vicar Choral of Westminster (whence he went to St. Paul's) until 1614, whereas *Romeo and Juliet* was brought out in 1597. We may take it for granted that there was an earlier setting, perhaps by Edwards himself. No doubt the song was popular when *Romeo and Juliet* was written, or Shakespeare would not have been so familiar with it as to trust to his memory for the words, which he evidently did, for he does not quote them correctly. I will transcribe the lines quoted, and draw attention with italics to the difference between the original and Shakespeare's version :—
*Where griping grief y^e hart would woūd (and doleful domps ye mind oppresse)
There Musick with her silver sound, is wont with spede to giue redresse.*

² The proposal of the Second Minstrel, to tarry for the mourners, and stay dinner, has reference to the funeral feast, which, made up of viands intended for the wedding banquet, would be served when the mourners returned from Juliet's funeral :—

Capulet. All things that we ordained festival,
Turn from their office to black funeral :
Our instruments, to melancholy bells ;
Our wedding cheer, to a sad burial feast.

In *Hamlet* the order is reversed, the dishes provided for the funeral serving for the wedding :—

Hamlet. The funeral baked meats
Did coldly furnish forth the marriage tables.

In Q 1, the pirated copy, the musicians are addressed throughout the scene as fiddlers, so that there can be no reasonable doubt that fiddle-players were present. Pipes are not named although the *jeu d'esprit* on the case is retained. The text is as follows :—

*Enter Musitions.*¹

Nurse. Put vp, put vp, this is a woful case.

Exit.

1. I by my troth Mistresse it is, it had need be mended.

Enter Servingman.

Ser : Alack alack what shall I doe, come Fidlers play me some mery dumpe.²

1. A sir, this is no time to play.

Ser : You will not then ?

1. No mary will wee.

Ser : Then I will giue it you, and soundly to.

1. What will you giue vs ?

Ser : The fidler,³ Ile re you, Ile fa you, Ile sol you.

1. If you re vs and fa vs, we will note you.

Ser : I will put vp my Iron dagger, and beate you with my wodden wit.⁴ Come on Simon found Pot, Ile pose you,⁵

¹ The musicians should have come on the stage with the bridegroom. He has promised to bring them, and they are heard playing before he and they make their appearance. Here, in the pirated copy, they do not enter until they are required for the business of the scene.

² The pirate does not appear to know that the servant's name is Peter, but calls him a *serving man*. Moreover, he fails to mention *Heart's Ease* with Peter's spritely allusion to it in connexion with his own *heart*, and to the song, 'My *heart* is full of woe,' but proceeds at once to the more clownish pleasantry involved in a 'merry dump'.

³ Here again the scene is mutilated. The reference to the *gleek* is omitted, and its attendant equilocation on *gleek man* and *minstrel* destroyed by the conversion of *minstrel* into *fidler*. 'I will carry no crotchets' with its jocose allusion to music is also ignored.

⁴ 'I will put up my *iron* dagger, and beat you with my *wodden* wit' is substituted for 'I will dry beat you with an *iron* wit, and put up my *iron* dagger'. The passage as altered, whether the alteration be due to Kemp or the pirate, is not without smartness. But Shakespeare's *badinage* is of a higher order. Peter would never admit that his wit was *wodden*; he would have it thought to be *iron*, as sharp as his dagger.

I ought not to omit to call attention to the gap in the pirate's text, for it is soglaring as to constitute one of the proofs that Q 1 is an imperfect copy of the Play, not, as has been suggested, the work in the form in which Shakespeare first conceived it. Peter, we see, proposes to put up his dagger, although there is nothing to show that he had drawn it. It is not until we turn to Q 2 that we discover that he had previously threatened to lay it on the musician's pate.

⁵ In 'Come on Simon Sound-post, I'll pose you', we surely have the words of Will Kemp. What Shakespeare set down for him was 'Answer me like men'.

1. Lets heare.

Ser : When griping griefe the heart doth wound,
And dolefull dumps the minde oppresse :¹

Then musique with her siluer sound,
Why siluer sound ? Why siluer sound ?

1. I thinke because musicke hath a sweet sound.

Ser : Pretie, what say you Mathew minikine ?²

2. I think because Musitions sound for siluer.

Ser : Prettie³ too : come, what say you ?

3. I say nothing.

Ser : I thinke so, Ile speake for you because you are the Singer.
I saye Siluer sound, because such Fellowes as you haue sildome Golde
for sounding.⁴ Farewell Fidlers, farewell.

Exit.

1. Fare well and be hangd : come lets goe.

Exeunt.

¹ We are here greatly indebted to the pirate. He has given us the second line, 'and doleful dumps the mind oppress,' of the song quoted by Peter. This line is omitted both in Q 2 and the Folio of 1623. It has been restored to the text on the pirate's authority.

² The pseudonyms given by Shakespeare to the three musicians who speak are Simon Catling, Hugh Rebeck, and James Soundpost. The pirate has made havoc of them. One, Hugh Rebeck, he has altogether excluded. Simon, the Christian name of Catling, he has transferred to Soundpost, which he or the printer has converted into Found Pot. A new Christian name, Mathew, is found for Catling, whom he dubs Minikin, a word which, like catling, signifies a small gut-string. The changes in the musicians' names suggest that the pirate was writing more from memory or conjecture than from shorthand notes ; but it is possible that he was misled by Kemp.

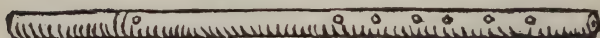
³ Here the pirate is more correct than either Q 2 or the Folio, in one of which the reading is *prates*, in the other, *pratest*. See note 4, p. 228.

⁴ The text is here tampered with in a way which savours of Kemp ; ' *Musicians* have no gold for sounding ' gives place to ' *such fellows as you* have seldom gold for sounding ' ; Shakespeare's refined sarcasm being thus degraded into personal invective, obviously designed, to borrow Shakespeare's stricture on the clowns of his time, to set on some quantity of barren spectators to laugh, or, as we should say, intended for the gods in the gallery. In fact, in the pirated copy the whole scene, which Shakespeare crowded with flashes of wit, is sadly marred. The more subtle sallies of the dramatist's fancy are disregarded, whilst such banter as the groundlings, standing in the pit, could understand and appreciate is retained and reduced to a coarser form. It is to such spurious editions as this that Hemming and Condell, the editors of the Folio of 1623, allude in their address to 'the great Variety of Readers', where they write, 'You were abus'd with diuerse stolne, and surreptitious copies, maim'd, and deformed by the frauds and stealthes of iniurious impostors, that expos'd them.'

THE FIFE

Etymologically fife and pipe are so closely connected that pipe (German *pfeife*) is said to be a doublet of fife. In English the name of the instrument is variously spelt fife, fyfe, fiest, fiphe, phyfe, phife, phiphe. The earliest passage quoted by Sir James Murray in which the word occurs is from Waterman (1555): 'Thei [Turkes] vse a dromme and a fiphe, to assemble their Bandes.' I shall have occasion to cite Holinshed with reference to the use of the fife in England about half a century earlier; Littré has traced its French

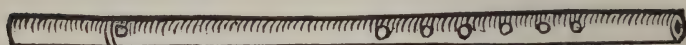
**Vier Schweitzer Pfeiffen:
Discantus.**



Altus.



Tenor.



Bassus.



FIG. 70. SWISS PIPES, AFTER AGRICOLA

form, fifre, to the fifteenth century: 'c'est sans fifre un tabourin.'—BASSELIN, LVI.

The fife is the military member of the lip-flute family, its shrill, inspiring notes combined with the rhythmical beat of the drum being admirably adapted for regulating the movements of soldiers on the march. It was formerly called the Swiss Flute, the name, it is said, having been given to it after the battle of Marignano (1515), on which occasion, so it is stated, the fife was first employed in war by Swiss troops. But Agricola (1528) terms the whole family of transverse flutes—the discant, the alto, the tenor, and the bass—Swiss pipes. Praetorius, however, writing nearly a century after Agricola, confines the name Swiss pipe to a small member of the family, distinguishing the other members as *Doltzflöten*, *Quer-pfeiffen*, and *Querflöten*, the complete compass of the consort of *Querflöten*, as figured in Plate IX (Fig. 71, 3), being composed of instruments of three sizes only. A separate drawing of the

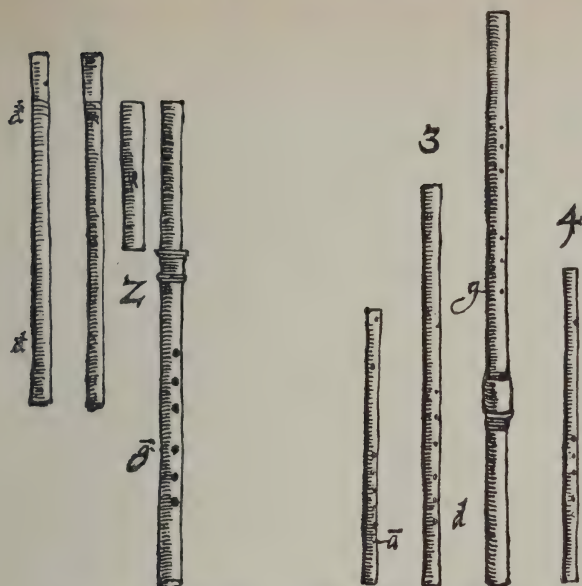


FIG. 71. TRANSVERSE FLUTES, AFTER PRAETORIUS

2. Doltzflöt *d*, *g*. 3. Querflöten ganz Stimmwerk. 4. Schweitzer Pfeiff.

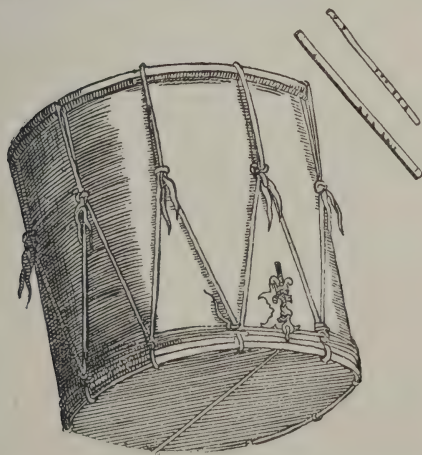


FIG. 72. FIFES AND DRUM, AFTER PRAETORIUS

Doltzflöte¹ is given (Fig. 71, 2), but in what it differed does not appear. Praetorius figures the military Swiss pipes (Fig. 72), or

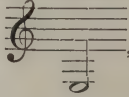
¹ In Rockstro's *Treatise on the Flute* (p. 214) the bass of the Querflöten is inadvertently figured as a Swiss Pipe.

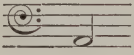
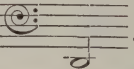
Fieldpipes as he terms them, together with the drum with which they were played. They are two in number, both of them being smaller than the Swiss pipe figured in Plate IX (Fig. 71, 4). It will be noticed how closely the drum resembles that of the present day; even the snare stretched across the lower end to produce the rattle was in use when Praetorius wrote, nearly three hundred years ago.¹

Leaving Germany, we find in the pages of Mersenne's *Harmonie universelle*, 1636, a French account of the fife, 'which,' says that writer, 'only differs from the German Flute inasmuch as it speaks louder and its sounds are much more acute and piercing and is much shorter and narrower. It is the characteristic instrument of the Swiss and others who beat the Drum, although some sound it in one fashion, others in another, according to the different ways and the different fingerings which the ear and usage can supply. But music in all the parts is not usually played with fifes as with German Flutes.'² Passing over rather more than a century, we come to the *Encyclopaedia* of Diderot and d'Alembert. Here, in

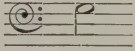
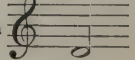
¹ M. Victor Mahillon writes as follows on the account of the transverse flute as given by Agricola and Praetorius:—

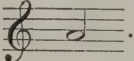
'Du temps d'Agricola les flûtes traversières formaient une famille complète

composée des variétés suivantes: le *discantus* en , l'*altus* et

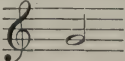
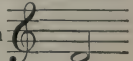
le *tenor* en  et le *bassus* en . Il y a évidemment erreur

dans l'indication du diapason de ces différentes flûtes, que l'on doit considérer comme ayant produit des sons d'une octave supérieure à ceux indiqués. Praetorius, dans une note spéciale, met ses lecteurs en garde contre les inexactitudes que l'on commettait alors assez fréquemment dans l'estimation de la hauteur de l'octave. Cet auteur désigne la flûte traversière sous le nom de *Traversa*, *Querpfeyff* et *Querflöte* et renseigne les variétés suivantes

alors en usage: la basse en , le ténor et l'alto en 

et le discant en . Un concert de flûtes comprenait alors:

2 discants, 4 altos ou ténors, 2 basses. Le même auteur fait une distinction entre la flûte traversière et le *Schweizerpfeyff* (qu'il appelle aussi *Feldpfeyff* [flûte militaire] bien que la construction de ces deux instruments fût semblable).

Il y avait deux sortes de *Feldpfeyffe*, celle en  et celle en 
elles s'employaient exclusivement avec le tambour militaire.'

² Liv. V, Prop. ix, p. 243.

Vol. V of the Plates (1756),¹ we have figures of a 'Swiss fife' and 'another fife'. The Swiss fife is in two pieces; the other, in one only. On comparing them with Mersenne's figure, it will be seen that they differ from it slightly in shape. The writer in the *Encyclopaedia* states that formerly there were fifes in all the companies of (French) infantry; but when he wrote there were scarcely any except in the Swiss companies. It was the Swiss, he adds, who brought the instrument into France, where it was in use from the time of Francis I.

That the fife was employed in England as a military instrument when Shakespeare wrote may be inferred from passages in the text of his Plays. Still stronger evidence can be found in stage-directions, such as: *Enter the PRINCE and PETO, marching, and FALSTAFF meets them playing on his truncheon like a fife* (*Henry IV*, Part I, III. iii); *Enter ALCIBIADES with drum and fife in warlike manner* (*Timon of Athens*, IV. iii). I am not acquainted with any record showing how or when the fife found its way into the English army, but conjecture would naturally suggest that it was taken from the French, who are represented to have taken it from the Swiss after their rout by Francis I at the battle of Marignano. However, I shall have occasion to mention that in 1510, five years before that battle was fought, the fife was employed in England for leading maskers—the mask was at first a procession—and if it was thus used by civilians, one is tempted to think that soldiers also might have marched to its music. After Shakespeare's time it was abandoned,²

¹ In a one-keyed flute figured in the Plate from which the fifes are taken, the key appears to work on French pillars. It would thus seem that this contrivance—the French pillars—is much earlier than is usually supposed.

² There were fifes in the Royal Household in the reign of James I; soon after he ascended the throne we have the following entry:

Drumslades fee £18 5s. 0d. apiece

Fyfe, fee 18 5 0

Farmer says that the fife 'appears for the last time in the Coronation Pro-



FIG. 73. FIFE,
AFTER MERSENNE

but was reintroduced about the middle of the eighteenth century,¹ the fife and drum becoming for a time the only music officially recognized in the British army and navy. The calls or commands now assigned to the bugle, were formerly given by the fife and

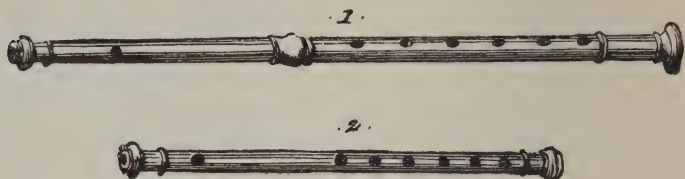


FIG. 74. FIFES FROM THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA
1 Fife Suisse, 2 Autre fife.

drum.² The fife calls, which are not without interest, are carefully preserved and kept in use by the Guards; they are believed to be fragments of ballad tunes, once popular, but now disused and forgotten; some of them, such as *The Roast Beef of Old England* (a

cession of James I. In Sandford's picture of that event, a fifer is shown (having a banner attached to his fife) dressed in the King's livery marching in front of four drummers of the Guards, dressed in a like manner.' *Memoirs of the Royal Artillery Band*, Ch. I.

¹ 'In mentioning the *fife* joined with the *drum*, Shakespeare, as usual, paints from the life; those instruments accompanying each other being used in his age by the English soldiery. The *fife*, however, as a martial instrument, was afterwards entirely discontinued among our troops for many years, but at length revived in the war before the last. It is commonly supposed that our soldiers borrowed it from the Highlanders in the last rebellion: but I do not know that the *fife* is peculiar to the Scotch, or even used at all by them. It was first used within the memory of man among our troops by the British guards by order of the Duke of Cumberland, when they were encamped at Maestricht, in the year 1747, and thence soon adopted into other English regiments of infantry. They took it from the allies with whom they served.'—Warton. 'John Ulrich, a Hanoverian fifer, was brought over from Flanders to teach the Royal Regiment of Artillery.'—Farmer.

² The fife appears to have been used for giving calls from the time of its first introduction. Farmer quotes one Ralph Smith, who, writing about 1557, says: 'They [drummers and fifers] must often practice their instruments, teach the companie the soundes of the marche, allarum, approche, assaulte, battaile, retreate, skirmishe, or any other callinge that of necessitie should be knowen.' Farmer adds, 'The drum was discarded as a signal or duty instrument in 1848, the trumpet and the bugle being retained. But at Woolwich an efficient band of drums and fifes was retained until 1856, when it was converted into a bugle band.'

dinner call), Hearts of Oak, Sailor Jack, and The Rogues' March (used for drumming out, or expelling from the regiment), can be identified.¹

Those conversant with the history of the transverse flute do not need to be reminded that up to the third or fourth decade of the seventeenth century, if not later, the instrument was simply a cylindrical tube pierced with a mouth-hole and six finger-holes, and that before the close of the century two important modifications, the tapering bore and the D \sharp Key, were introduced. By whom these alterations were brought about is unknown, but the tapering bore, and sometimes the D \sharp Key, have been ascribed to Denner, the inventor of the clarionet. In the next century—the eighteenth—the four other keys required to complete the chromatic octave made their appearance, the application to the flute of three of them having been suggested—there is reason for believing—by an English flute-player, Joseph Tacet.²

These improvements were slow in making their way to the fife. When the nineteenth century was far advanced the British army fife had undergone but little change, except in the material of which it was sometimes constructed, since it was figured by Praetorius and Mersenne two hundred years before. Each fifer was supplied with two fifes, one in C, the other in B \flat . They were keyless cylindrical tubes without a joint, made for some regiments of wood (Fig. 75), for others of brass³ (Fig. 76). The



FIG. 75. FIFE
OF WOOD



FIG. 76. FIFE
OF METAL

¹ See Potter's *Drum, Flute and Bugle Duty Tutor*, revised and enlarged from the authorised drum, fife and bugle books, published March 15, 1817.

² See Lecture I, p. 95.

³ It would appear that metal pipes were not introduced until 1810, it being in that year that George Miller, claiming that he 'had, by much study and

first modification was the introduction of the key of the one-keyed flute. This was followed in May 1859 by other keys for the chromatic notes and the substitution of the conical for the cylindrical bore; a set of regimental flutes, as they were now called, being made up as follows: one F and one E♭ piccolo, furnished to the same player and carried by him in a case with two compartments, eight B♭

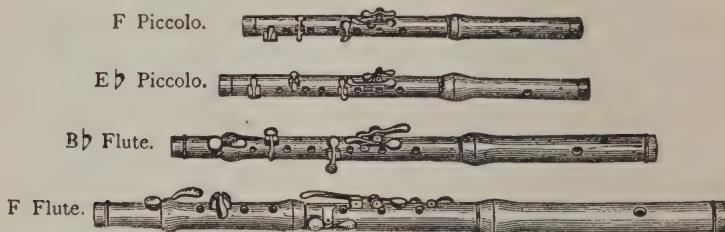


FIG. 77. MILITARY FLUTES FROM 'POTTER'S DRUM, FLUTE, AND BUGLE DUTY TUTOR'

flutes superseding the old fifes, and two F flutes.¹ The advantages conferred on the fife and drum band were, from a musical point of view, very great. The new flutes, constructed with keys, could be played in every mode; the conical bore rendered the tone sweeter,

experience found out and invented "A METHOD OF MAKING WIND INSTRUMENTS COMMONLY CALLED MILITARY FIFES OF SUBSTANCES NEVER BEFORE USED FOR THAT PURPOSE", and declaring that he was the first and true inventor thereof, and that the same had not been practiced by any other person or persons to the best of his knowledge and belief, took out a patent (No. 3383).

According to the specification any hard metal might be employed, but that which best answered the purpose, it was stated, was a mixture of about one-third copper to two-thirds brass. A thin silver plate an inch in diameter was to be soldered round each mouth-hole. Fifes varying in length from $18\frac{3}{8}$ inches to $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches are represented in the drawings which accompany the specification. They are stated to be in the Keys of G A B C D E F and G, the octave of the first named. They are simply cylindrical drawn tubes, or 'hollow rods', with six finger-holes and a mouth-hole. In addition to the cylindrical pipes, or 'military pipes for common purposes', as they are termed, others described as 'military fifes for superior purposes so as to join in military bands of music' are figured. The larger of these are made in two pieces or joints, the upper of which is to be cylindrical, but the lower conical. No key is represented on either of the fifes, but a way by which keys could be applied to any of them is indicated, viz. by soldering boxes, as such contrivances are technically called, to the tube.

¹ My authority for these statements is the late Mr. Henry Potter, the military musical-instrument maker, who was born about 1812 and died about 1875.

and enabled the player to elicit the high notes with greater ease ; but in losing its shrillness, the fife was deprived of its claim to Shakespeare's epithet, earpiercing, and, possibly, to some extent, of its martial value as an inspiring instrument.

THE FIFE IN SHAKESPEARE

We meet with *fife* four times in Shakespeare's Plays. Once its music is heard amongst tumultuous sounds of popular joy (*Coriolanus*, v. iv. 52) :—

The trumpets, sackbuts, psalteries and *fifes*,
Tabors and cymbals and the shouting Romans,
Make the sun dance. Hark you !

Twice it is alluded to in its military capacity ; first, in *Much Ado about Nothing* (II. iii. 13), where Claudio, who is in love, transfers his predilection from the bellicose fife and drum to the dance-loving pipe and tabor : ' I have known,' says Benedick, ' when there was no music with him but the drum and the fife ; and now he had rather hear the tabor and the pipe.' Secondly, in the oft-quoted passage where Othello, declaring his occupation gone, bids a sad, solemn adieu to war (*Othello*, III. iii. 351) :—

Farewell the neighing steed, and the shrill trump,
The spirit-stirring drum, the earpiercing *fife*,
The royal banner, and all quality,
Pride, pomp and circumstance of glorious war !

In 1829 *Othello* was translated into French for the Théâtre Français by M. Alfred de Vigny. When rendering the line

The spirit-stirring drum, the earpiercing fife,

M. de Vigny introduced *les bruits de tambour*, but did not mention the fife. On the omission Knight comments as follows : ' Among the French regiments the fife is not found, and is so completely unknown to the French of the present day that M. Alfred de Vigny, in his translation of the passage of *Othello*, gives us only the drum.' To this Dr. Furness, the editor of the New Variorum edition of Shakespeare, replies : ' It is to be feared that Knight drew a conclusion from insufficient premises. The instrument was known in France in the days of Shakespeare. Cotgrave gives " Fife : m. A Fife ; a Flute, a little pipe accorded with a Drumme, or Taber ", and that it was never " completely unknown " may be inferred, I think, that from LE TOURNEUR in 1776, down through LAROCHE, GUIZOT, HUGO, and CAYRON, to AICARD in 1882, the word

“fife” is translated “fifre”, and DE VIGNY is the solitary exception where it is not found, the omission being presumably due to the exigencies of his rhythm.’

Notwithstanding the learned pleading of Dr. Furness, it is, I believe, certain that the fife has not been employed in the French army for many years. We have seen that it was beginning to be restricted to the Swiss regiments when the *Encyclopaedia* was written, but there can be no doubt that it was in use during the First Empire, and also that it was to be found in the Second, but, as I learn from M. Victor Mahillon, only in the Imperial Guard. Whether it lingered amongst the French troops in the interval between the two Empires, during which M. de Vigny’s translation was made, or was a restoration brought about by Napoleon III, I am unable to say. It disappeared with the Second Empire in 1870.

THE WRY-NECKED FIFE

The remaining passage in which the fife is named is remarkable for the circumstance that in it Shakespeare is believed to have imitated a classical author, with him an unusual proceeding. Attention was called to the supposed imitation by Malone, and the parallel is generally thought to be too close to be fortuitous. The author said to be imitated is Horace, who, in the Seventh Ode of the Third Book, puts Asteria, a lady whose lover is absent on a voyage, on her guard against the attentions of a neighbour. Enipeus—for this was his name—was a rapid swimmer, and a skilful and showy horseman; but these were not his only attractions; he combined with them the accomplishment of flute-playing, and thus could appeal to a lady’s heart with a love-call so potent that Asteria is advised to shun the influence of the insidious lure. The poet bids her to close her house at nightfall, and not look down into the street on hearing the strains of the soft complaining flute:—

Prima nocte domum claude; neque in vias
Sub cantu querulae despice tibiae.

Shakespeare makes Shylock say to his daughter (*Merchant of Venice*, II. v. 28):—

What, are there masques? Hear you me, Jessica:
Lock up my doors; and when you hear the drum
And the vile squealing of the wry-neck’d fife,
Clamber not you up to the casements then,
Nor thrust your head into the public street
To gaze on Christian fools with varnish’d faces.

I have already alluded incidentally to the connexion between the fife and the mask; we may infer from the passage before us that in the early days of that entertainment the two were constantly associated; for, on hearing of a mask, Shylock takes it for granted that it will be accompanied with the fife. In confirmation of Shakespeare's accuracy we can appeal to Holinshed, who gives an account of a mask (A.D. 1510), one of the maskers being King Henry VIII, at the commencement of which 'there came in a drum and fife¹ apparelled in white damaske & gréene bonnets, and hosen of the same sute. Then certain gentlemen followed with torches, apparelled in blue damaske,' &c. Here we have not only the fife and drum but torches. There were torches, it will be remembered, in the mask in the *Merchant of Venice*, where Jessica, in boy's clothes, was Lorenzo's torch-bearer, and boys carrying torches accompany the masked ladies shown in Fig. 43, p. 88. Holinshed again mentions fifes (here called flutes), drums, and torches on the occasion of another mask (1530), when Henry VIII, intending to take Cardinal Wolsey by surprise, 'came suddenlie' (to Wolsey's house) 'in a maske with a dozen maskers all in garments like shéepheards . . . having sixtéene torch bearers, besides their drums . . . whereas they receiued them with twentie new torches, and conueied them vp' (into the chamber where Wolsey was banqueting), 'with such a noise of *drums and flutes* as seldome had béene heard the like.'

Another point to which attention has been drawn by commentators is the word used by the ill-natured Shylock in describing the sound of the fife; was it *squeaking*, or *squealing*? The difference is one of a letter only; did Shakespeare write *k*, or *l*?

The earliest known issues of the *Merchant of Venice* are two quarto editions, both published in the same year, 1600, one by Roberts, the other by Heyes. In the Roberts Quarto we find *squeaking*, in the Heyes *squealing*. Both Quartos are believed to have been printed from the same manuscript, but not the manuscript which Shakespeare wrote.² The Roberts Quarto is more accurately printed than the Heyes, and is thought to be the earlier of the two; the balance of probability would thus seem to lie on the side of *squeaking*; but the Folio, which is stated to be a reprint of the Heyes Quarto, has *squealing*. We are told in Latham's *Johnson*

¹ The name, Jaques, of a fifer in the Household of Henry VIII, is recorded. See note 1, p. 33.

² See the Preface to the second volume of Clark and Wright's *Shakespeare*.

that *squeak* seems a short, sudden cry, and *squeal* a similar cry continued; so that, if we accept the distinction, *squealing* would be more appropriate than *squeaking*. *Squeal* is a form of squall, but, according to Richardson, the sound is less loud than that of squall; it might, no doubt, be said also to be more acute.

Here most men would be inclined to agree with the remark of Collier, that the difference between *squeaking* and *squealing* is immaterial. This, however, is not the opinion of White, who declares that the difference *is* material, for the fife, he says, *squeals*, but does not *squeak*.¹ It is doubtful, however, if White's position can be maintained, squeaking being applicable to acute musical sounds; in the following it is used of the soprano voice and the violin:—

The trebles *squeak* for fear, the basses roar.—DRYDEN.

Blunderbusses planted in every loophole go off at the *squeaking* of a fiddle or the thrumming of a guitar.—DRYDEN.

The musitions

Hover with nimble sticks ore *squeaking* crowds,
Tickling the dried guttes of a mewling cat.²

The fiddle can *squeal* as well as *squeak*:—

Hark, from aloft his tortur'd catgut *squeals*.—SOMERVILLE.

But the chief bone of contention amongst critics lies in the epithet wry-necked, applied by Shakespeare to the fife. Which was wry-necked, the fife, or the fifer? 'It appears from hence,' writes Mason, referring to our passage, 'that the fifes in Shakespeare's time, were formed differently from those now in use which are straight, not wry-neck'd.' 'The fife,' declares Boswell, 'does not mean the instrument, but the person who played it. 'My father,' says Booth, 'illustrated this by turning his head as it is held when one plays the fife.' Amongst musicians, nothing is more common than to speak of a violin, a flute, or a hautboy, in the sense of a performer on the instrument named. Such language is not confined to musicians; I have just quoted a passage in which Holinshed, the Chronicler, a contemporary of Shakespeare, calls a fifer a fife. Moreover, if it were necessary, the epithet could be transferred from the instrument to the player. Shakespeare

¹ White's *Shakespeare*, Vol. IV, p. 226.

² Quoted by Mr. Skeat in *Notes and Queries*, April 10, 1886, from Marston's *What you will*, III. 1. The crowd, crouth, or crowth mentioned in the quotation is a rude kind of fiddle.

styles the mast of a ship giddy, referring, not to the mast, but to the sea-boy who climbs it.

In reading the debates on the question raised, one cannot fail to be struck with the circumstance that men who in ordinary affairs would shrink from meddling with matters of which they have no knowledge, do not scruple to speak *ex cathedra* on topics connected with music. The following extract from a note in Knight's *Shakespeare* is an example: 'Yet we are inclined to think that Shakespeare intended the instrument. We are of this opinion principally from the circumstance that the passage is an imitation of the lines of Horace cited by Malone, in which the instrument is decidedly meant. But independent of the internal evidence derived from the imitation, the form of the old English flute—the fife being a small flute—justifies, we think, the epithet wry-neck'd. This flute was called the *flûte à bec*, the upper part or mouthpiece resembling the beak of a bird. And this form was as old as the Pan of antiquity. The terminal figure of Pan in the Townley Gallery confirms it.'

Here we have a writer of repute who, when he comes to a point requiring an acquaintance with musical instruments, brings forward as facts two figments of his imagination; one, that the fife was a small English flute, or *flûte à bec* as it was sometimes called, whereas it was a small German flute; the other, that the *flûte à bec* bore a resemblance to the instrument in the hands of 'the terminal figure of Pan'. I have already made remarks (note, p. 202) on 'the terminal figure of Pan'; I here give a representation of it (Fig. 78). *Flûte à bec* is a modern French name for the recorder which has been figured again and again in Lectures I and III; for an example see Fig. 37, p. 78.

Knight believed the fife to be a small *flûte à bec*, another commentator, Halliwell, conceived it to be the pipe played with the tabour. The tabourer's pipe, like the *flûte à bec*, was, I need not repeat, perfectly straight, but just as Knight discovered a crooked *flûte à bec*, so Halliwell unearthed an 'angulated' tabourer's pipe, and this he dubbed 'a specimen of a wry-necked fife'. He writes



FIG. 78. KNIGHT'S WRY-NECKED FIFE

as follows : . . . ' the more obvious signification of the passage in the text seems to be that the instrument itself was crooked. At all events a specimen of a wry-necked fife is here copied by Mr. Fairholt from a curious sculpture at Rheims upon a building of the thirteenth century known as *La Maison des Musiciens*, in which there is a representation of a musician with a tabor hung on his neck, who is playing on a fife either end of which is augulated.' A glance at Fig. 79 will show that the sculptor whose work Mr. Fairholt copied was not better acquainted with the pipe and tabour than was Knight with the *flûte à bec*.

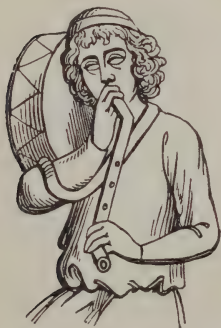


FIG. 79. MR. HALLIWELL'S
WRY-NECKED FIFE

Knight and Halliwell were Shakespearian scholars but had paid little attention to musical instruments ; we now come to a gentleman—Carl Engel—who was an authority on musical instruments, but does not seem to have made a study of Shakespeare. Engel, who knew perfectly well that the fife could not be wry-necked, endeavoured to explain the expression by supposing that Shakespeare did not mean the fife, but another instrument, the *cornet à bouquin*, or *Zinke*. In an account of a curved cornet given in his *Catalogue of the Instruments in the South Kensington Museum* (p. 292) is the following : ' In Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* (II. v) Shylock speaks of " the vile squeaking of the wry-necked fife ", probably referring to the *cornetto curvo* (German *Krummer Zinken*). . . . The smallest species of *Zinken* called *cornettino*, the tone of which was rather shrill, was often played on the continent during public festivities and processions.'

Now had Engel been conversant with the stage directions in Shakespeare, he would have known that cornets were amongst the instruments used in the theatre when the Plays were put on the stage ; Shakespeare, therefore, must have been far too familiar with the cornet to confuse it with the fife. In fact, in the Second Act of the *Merchant of Venice*—the very Act in which the wry-necked fife is mentioned—cornets are directed to be played no less than four or five times. In Scene i, the Prince of Morocco with his train enters and departs with a flourish of cornets ; in Scene vii, he and his train again come on, and in some editions quit,¹ the

¹ See Clark and Wright's *Shakespeare*, Vol. II, note iv, p. 370.

stage in the same pompous fashion ; in Scene ix, a flourish of cornets accompanies the entrance of the Prince of Arragon and his train. So pleased, however, was Engel with his idea, that when he was in charge of the Musical Instruments at South Kensington, one of the curiosities of the Museum was a small cornet to which was attached a label intimating that it was the wry-necked fife of Shakespeare.

The cornet was not a flute, but an instrument of the trumpet family, made of wood covered with leather, and pierced with finger-holes. It neither squeaked nor squealed, but, unless skilfully blown, blaired ; so much so that a cornet kept in German towns for the purpose of giving an alarm was playfully called the Town Calf. The illustration (Fig. 80) is a *Klein Discant-Zink* from Praetorius. One of the holes, that closed with the thumb, should be at the back of the



FIG. 80. CARL ENGEL'S WRY-NECKED FIFE

tube, not in front as represented in Praetorius. The cornet has long been disused and is now forgotten, but the bass of the family, the serpent, survived down to our own time, both Verdi and Mendelssohn having introduced it in their scores. There were two serpents in the band of the Sacred Harmonic Society until about twenty-five or thirty years ago.

All the writers to whom I have referred have accepted the text as it stands, there is one, however, who proposes to change the reading ; ' I would read,' says Lord Chedworth, ' actively, the *wryneck fife*, i. e. *the fife that wries the neck of him who plays it.*'¹

The reading of the two Quartos is wry-necked, spelt wry-neckt. Both of the Quartos are believed to have been taken from the same manuscript (though, possibly, not from the same transcript of it) but, as I have said, experts are of opinion that the manuscript was not that written by Shakespeare's own hand ; it is therefore impossible to say with certainty that the letter *t* might not have been added to the word ' wryneck ', just as an *r*, as we have seen,

¹ *Notes on some of the obscure passages in Shakespeare's Plays.* By the late Right Hon. John Lord Chedworth, p. 78.

was appended to 'thumbe' in *Hamlet*.¹ But if it could be established that 'wryneck' is the true reading, the expression would admit of an explanation very different from that proposed by Lord Chedworth. There is a bird called the wryneck. It is one of our summer visitors. Some of the names by which it is known—such as the pay-pay, the weet-bird, the pea-bird—are derived from a peculiar note which it repeats again and again, especially when it first reaches its breeding ground, 'so loud as to make the orchard or hedge-row ring again.' Seeböhm compares the sound to the word 'vite' uttered several times in succession; Morris writes, 'it is rendered by the syllable "good, good, good, cue, cue, cue, or qui, qui, qui"'; 'even while I write,' says Mortimer Collins in *Thoughts in my Garden*, 'I hear the quaint queak, queak, queak of the wryneck.' The bird was well known in the ancient world; it was in request by witches who used to fasten it to a wheel in the belief that, on the wheel being turned round, it would entice back unfaithful lovers of the male sex.² It was called by the Greeks the ἰνγξ, a name imitated from its cry, and, as we learn from Aelian (Περὶ ζῴων, vi. 19), a resemblance was traced between the cry and the notes of the πλαγίανλος, or transverse³ flute. Now, if Shakespeare wrote 'wryneck', those who maintain that he showed his learning by imitating Horace would be able to add that he might have wished to make known that he was acquainted with Aelian. Or, again, if in the Old World a similarity was detected between the note of the wryneck and the sound of the transverse flute, how can we tell that Shakespeare, who was a keen observer, might not have been struck by the likeness? I find that the idea of there being a connexion between the wryneck and the wry-necked fife is not a novelty, for Mr. Halliwell observes, 'it is a curious fact that one critic seriously suggested that there is an allusion to the bird called the wryneck'; unfortunately, Mr. Halliwell does not say who the critic was, or what reason he gave for his suggestion.

¹ Lecture III, p. 170, note 3.

² Its mysterious influence was accounted for by a myth. Iynx was said to be a daughter of Peitho and Pan, who, whilst attempting to act on Jupiter's amorous proclivities by means of magic, was changed by Juno into a bird. In Suidas, there is an allegation seriously affecting the character of Iynx.

³ Bartholinus (*Lib. III, Cap. vi*) says that the σῦριγξ μονοκάλαμος is called ἰνγξ by Hesychius, but I have not succeeded in verifying the statement.

THE TIBIA OBLIQUA

And here it will no doubt be asked if the sound emitted by the old transverse, or oblique flute—the *πλαγίανλος*, or *tibia obliqua*—resembled that of our fife. This leads to another question, were the Greeks and Romans acquainted with the transverse lip flute? Doubts have often been thrown on the trustworthiness of evidence derived from figures playing fifes, or side-blown flutes, in ancient works of art. Moreover, scholars, from Servius¹ downwards, have confused the *πλαγίανλος*, or cross-flute, a straight instrument held transversely, with the Phrygian flute, which was a hornpipe, crooked or curved in form, but held straight;² thus, when Apuleius (*Met. Lib. xi, Cap. 9*) described the oblique flute as put out towards the right ear (*ad aurem porrectum dextram*)—the ear, be it noted, to which we still extend it (see Fig. 47, p. 93)—Dr. Hildebrand, thinking that the instrument must have been bent round in the direction of the ear, attempted to elucidate the passage by imagining that the oblique flute was so curved as almost to form a ring. A change has even been made in the text, *dextrâ* having been substituted for *dextram*, thus giving rise to the conjecture that Apuleius was alluding to a trombone put out (*porrectum*) with the right hand towards the ear! Burney met the difficulty by boldly mistranslating *obliquum* ‘crooked’ (Vol. I, p. 211); others have supposed that by the oblique flute the old Egyptian end-blown flute of the nay type was meant, forgetting that although the Egyptian nay flute was held slightly sideways, the lower end was so depressed that it could not possibly be said to be pointed towards the ear. Dependence, however, has been placed on such statements until the existence in the Old World of a flute blown like that now in use has come to be regarded as little better than an illusion and a myth.³

¹ Servius fancies that Virgil is referring to the *πλαγίανλος* in the line ‘Aut, ubi curva choros indixit tibia Bacchi’ (*Aen. xi. 737*), whereas Virgil means the Phrygian flute, the instrument used in such orgies. Cf. *Aen. ix. 617-20*.

² For an account of the Phrygian flute see Lecture VI, p. 347.

³ Mr. R. S. Rockstro in his *Treatise on the Flute* (1890), devotes a whole chapter to the discussion. He begins thus: ‘How sad it is to be obliged to dispel a cherished illusion! Yet must the dictates of stern truth be obeyed, and the much vaunted antiquity of the instrument that we now call a flute must be pronounced, in all reasonable likelihood, a myth!’

For M. Gevaert’s opinion on the subject see note, p. 216.

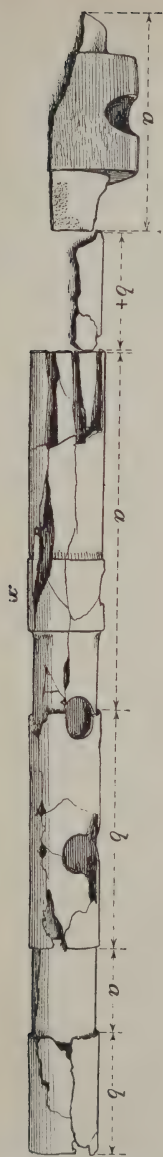


FIG. 81. FRAGMENTS
OF AN ANCIENT WIND
INSTRUMENT
a Ivory, b Bronze.

Some years ago, however, Sir Charles Newton took from a tomb at Halicarnassus¹ and placed in the British Museum some fragments of a wind instrument one of which it is difficult to believe can be anything but the upper part of a side-blown lip-flute, the hole in it not being suitable seemingly for the reception of a reed, but presenting a marked resemblance to the embouchure of a modern transverse flute. A projection in the ivory gives the necessary depth for the embouchure which is bevelled to a feather edge, and undercut, but only on one side (Fig. 82 A). The projection is not rounded as we should make it, but wedge-shaped, with the result that the mouth-hole is lower at the front and back than at the sides, thus resembling the openings of the pipes of the syrinx figured on p. 270. The tube is prolonged upwards in a way which seems to show that the maker was alive to the importance of a space between the embouchure and the stopper. Messrs. Rudall Carte & Co., to whom I am greatly indebted, have constructed an experimental head-joint copied from the drawing, with a wedge-shaped projection in the material of which it is made, and an embouchure shaped and undercut, as shown. When the head was applied to an ordinary cylinder flute, all the notes of its three octaves, from the lowest to the highest C, were elicited with perfect ease. The tone was softer and more cooing than that produced by the embouchure now in use, the peculiarity being more marked when the mouth-hole was undercut above only, as represented in the engraving. The instrument found at Hali-

¹ Newton's *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 15; see also the description given in Newton's *Discoveries at Halicarnassus*.

I grieve to say that it is necessary to add Sir Charles's name to the catalogue of distinguished men who require enlightenment on the subject of the flute. He terms the instrument which he discovered at Halicarnassus a *flageolet*!

carnassus (Fig. 81), like the flutes from Pompeii mentioned in note, p. 209, consisted of an ivory tube, over which, in the region of the finger-holes, were broad, movable bronze rings, or short tubes, for opening and closing such holes in the ivory tube as were, or were not, required for the particular mode in which the performer was about to play.

In Fig. 81 the fragments of ivory are marked *a*, those of bronze *b*. The bronze fragments *b* + seem to have been misplaced when the pieces were put together, as the bronze rings were, no doubt, all below the enlargement *x*; a dark stain on the ivory, caused, seemingly by the metal, ceases at this point.

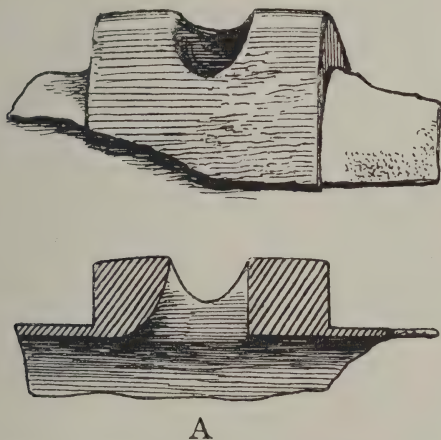


FIG. 82. IVORY FRAGMENT WITH SUPPOSED MOUTH-HOLE. A. SECTION

Fig. 82 shows the ivory fragment in which the embouchure is pierced; at A the embouchure is seen in section, so that the peculiar undercutting is shown. In connexion with the circumstance that the ivory is undercut, or scooped away, on the upper side, that is, the side towards the stopper, we ought not to overlook the possibility of the fragment in which the embouchure is pierced having been reversed when the broken parts were mounted.

WHIFFLER

A whiffle is a fife; a whiffler, one who plays on that instrument, the word being an imitation of the whiffing of the breath.

Amongst the ancients persons of consequence were often preceded by a wind instrument. Thus Caius Duillius, a Roman commander, who had been decreed a Triumph, wishing to keep alive the memory of the honour, never returned home from a dinner-party without having a flute-player to go before him. Even an important dish, when brought to table, was sometimes ushered by the flute. If the dish proved unsatisfactory, the flute-player, they say, was beaten, although it was the cook who was to blame.¹ In the Middle Ages we find flute-players playing in the procession before the Host.² We are told that at a grand tilting in 1554 the challengers entered the lists preceded by their whiffers, their footmen, and their armourers.³ Later still, fifers, or whiffers, continued, as we have seen, to walk before soldiers on the march, and also to lead processions of civilians. The military fifer retained his instrument, but after a while his civil representative exchanged his fife for a staff, or club,⁴ though he did not drop his title of whiffler; but the meaning of the name having seemingly been forgotten, it was proposed to derive it from the French word *huissier* signifying a tip-staff. Finally, whiffler degenerated into a term of con-

¹ Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists*, ix. 26. There is here an account of how a cook to save the flute-player from a beating, sent up a pig cooked whole, but with one half roasted, the other boiled. The receipt for this triumph of the culinary art is given in full.

² Du Cange, s.v. *Fistulare*.

³ Strype quoted by Warton.

⁴ 'Sometimes the whiffers carried white staves as in the annual feast of the printers, founders, and inkmakers, described in Randle Holme's *Academy of Armoury*, Book III, ch. iii, where one of them is stated to have carried in his right hand a great bowl of white wine and sugar.' Douce's *Illustrations of Shakespeare*, Vol. I, p. 506.

When Kemp danced from London to Norwich, whiffers were employed to clear a passage through the crowd which assembled to see him complete his task. I quote the whole of Kemp's description, it being of interest to musicians on account of a reference it contains to the waits, or town band, of Norwich: 'Passing the gate Whiffers (such Officers as were appointed by the Mayor) to make me way through the throng of people which prest so mightily vpon me, with great labour I got thorow that narrow preaze into the open market-place; where on the crosse ready prepared stood the Citty Waytes, which not a little refreshed my weariness with toying thorow so narrow a lane as the people left me: such Waytes (under Benedicite be it spoken) fewe Citties in our Realme haue the like, none better; who besides their excellenz in wind instruments, their rare cunning on the Vyoll and Violin, theyr voices be admirable, euerie one of thē able to serue in any Cathedrall Church in Christendome for Quiristers.'

tempt,¹ and then dropped altogether out of use ; but it is still known to us through its occurrence in the description given in the Play of *Henry V* (Prologue to Act V) of the landing of that monarch on his return from his campaign in France, where Shakespeare, with his amazing command of poetical imagery, turns old Neptune into a flute-player, and sends him to herald the victor of Agincourt with the sullen whiffs of his majestic fife :—

Behold, the English beach
Pales in the flood with men, with wives and boys,
Whose shouts and claps out-voice the deep-mouth'd sea,
Which like a mighty *whiffler* 'fore the king
Seems to prepare his way.

¹ ' In an old dramatic piece, intituled, *Wine, Beer, Ale, and Tobacco*, 2nd ed. 1630, Tobacco says to Beer :

“ . . . it will become your duty to obey me.”

To which Wine replies :

“ You our sovereign ! a mere *whiffler*.”

Again in *Ram Alley, or Merry Tricks*, 1611 :

“ . . . he was known

But only for a swaggering *Whiffler*.”

STEEVENS.

LECTURE V

MILTON ON FLUTES AND FLUTE-PLAYERS

Milton as a Musician, 252. Milton's 'Flutes and soft Recorders,' 256. Milton's Account of Jubal, 259. The Syrinx, 261. The Straw-flute, 272. Milton describes the Syrinx as an Oaten Instrument, 279. Milton and the Straw-flute, 283. Old Meliboeus not the soothest Shepherd that e'er piped on plains, 289. Virgil as Tityrus, 291. Meliboeus's description of the Playing of Tityrus, 298. Origin of the Sabrina of Comus, 299.

MILTON was a great lover of music. His ear, we are told, was excellent; his voice, delicate and tuneable.¹ He learnt to sing, and also to play the organ and the bass viol, instruments which were in the house in which he was brought up. In practice he advanced so far as to be able to take part in concerted music, both vocal and instrumental;² indeed, he is even said to have composed,³ but it is doubtful if he got beyond writing⁴ exercises. The attention he paid to music was not confined to playing and singing; we learn from his own words that he interested himself in the progress of the art. Referring to his long stay with his father after he left Cambridge—his father had retired from business and was spending his declining years at Horton, near Windsor—he tells us in the *Defensio Secunda* that, although he was absorbed in the perusal of Greek and Latin writers, he would sometimes exchange the country for the city (meaning that he would pay visits to London) in order to buy books, or to learn anything new in mathematics, or in music, with which, he adds, I was then delighted (*oblectabar*). If

¹ Aubrey's *Life of Milton*.

² Anthony Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses*, Oct. 30, 1635.

³ 'Musick he [Milton] Loved Extreemly and Understood Well. 'tis said he Compos'd, though nothing of That has been brought down to Us. he diverted Himself with Performing, which they say he did Well, on the Organ and Bass viol.' Richardson's *Life of Milton*, p. v.

⁴ 'By the help of his mathematics [he] could compose a song or lesson.' Anthony Wood.

music was his delight in youth and early manhood, it was his solace in the 'evil days' and 'ever during dark' of the evening of his life; in his last decade, a good part of each afternoon, if not spent in the garden, was devoted to playing the organ and singing, or hearing his wife sing.

Milton's teacher was his father, who was 'so eminently skilled in music as to be ranked amongst the first masters of the time'.¹ Many of his songs appeared in print, and a psalm tune of his composition, called York,² was in common use in our churches up to the time, about fifty years ago, when the metrical version of the Psalms of David was superseded by hymns. According to Edward Phillips, the poet's nephew, he wrote an *In Nomine* in no less than forty parts;³ indeed if we could take literally the tribute to his musical skill from the pen of his friend Lane in his work entitled *Triton's Trumpet for the Four Seasons*, we should credit him with a Hallelujah Chorus scored not only for voices and organ, but for the flute, the recorder, and all instruments that could be used in harmonious combination, fifteen being mentioned by

¹ Hawkins's *History of Music*, 2nd ed., p. 502.

Sir John reproduces one of his contributions to Leighton's *Tearles or Lamentations of a Sorrowful Soule*, 'O had I wings like a dove,' a song in five parts. Another is given by Burney. (See his *History of Music*, vol. IV, pp. 134 and 139.) Aubrey, in his *Life of Milton*, says of him, 'He was an ingeniose man, delighted in musique, composed many songs now in print, especially that of Oriana, and got a plentiful estate by it, and left it off many years before he dyed.' Oriana is Queen Elizabeth; the 'Triumphs of Oriana', alluded to by Aubrey, being a collection of madrigals composed in her honour. 'It seems by the work itself,' says Sir John Hawkins, 'as if all the musicians of Queen Elizabeth's time who were capable of composing, had endeavoured each to excel the other in setting a song, celebrating the beauty and virtues of their sovereign.' The songs were called Orianas; Milton's Oriana was a madrigal in six parts.

A further account of his musical compositions will be found in Masson's *Life of Milton*, ch. ii, and in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Art. John Milton the elder.

² Of late years doubts have been thrown on Milton's title to the composition of 'York', at least as far as the melody is concerned. See the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

³ Aubrey also says, 'I have been told that the father composed a song of fourscore parts for the Lantgrave of Hesse for w^{ch} his highnesse sent a meddall of gold, or a noble present.' Referring to the poet himself, Aubrey adds, 'N.B. He made his nephews' (the brothers Phillips, whose education he undertook) 'songsters, and sing from the time they were with him.'

name.¹ At one period of his life his musical knowledge stood him in good stead. He was turned adrift by his parent, an Oxfordshire yeoman, whereupon he went to London to seek his fortune, and is believed to have supported himself there for a time by musical teaching and practice. But when the future poet was born he was no longer dependent on music for a livelihood; he had abandoned it for the occupation of a scrivener, a business in which he was so successful as soon to be in a state of comparative affluence. He had been educated at Christ Church, Oxford, where it has been conjectured that he was a chorister. Being thus a scholar as well as a musician, he was able to discern his child's aptitude for literature, and knew what steps to take to insure him a mental training worthy of his exceptional endowments; at home, in the boy's tender years, he placed him under the care of a Presbyterian minister, an M.A. of St. Andrews, afterwards sent him to St. Paul's School, and thence to Christ's College, Cambridge.

In Milton, then, the flautist looks for such an acquaintance with flutes and flute-players as might be expected of one who was reared in a musical atmosphere and took an active interest in music and musical instruments, as well as for the accuracy which carefully

¹ The following is the passage in its entirety taken from the MS. in the British Museum.

At this fullpoint, the Ladie MUSICKES hand,
 opened the casements wheare her pupills stand,
 to whome liftinge that signe, w^{ch} kept the time,
 lowd organs, cornets, shaggbutts, viols chime,
 lutes, cithernes, virginals, and harpsicordes,
 flutes, violins, and softlie touchd recordes,
 bandoraes, orpharions, statelie grave,
 otherboes (theorboes ?), classhers, sweetest of the thrave,
 and everie instrument of melodie,
 w^{ch} mote or ought exhibite harmonie,
 did fore the muses all their coninges spend,
 so excellent ! as note by ynck bee pennd :
 for whie ! before the close concludes their noyses,
 in str(i ?)ke to all these sweetes, a chirme of voices,
 warblinge, dividinge, tewninge, relishinge,
 accentinge, airinge, curbinge, orderinge,
 those sweete-sweete partes MELTONUS did compose,
 as wanders (wonder's) selfe amazd was at the lose (close ?),
 w^{ch} in a counterpoint mayntaininge hielow,
 gann all sum vp thus ALLELUIA DEO.

Brit. Mus. Royal MS., 17. B. xv. f. 179^b.

directed mental discipline is calculated to insure. He looks, but looks in vain ; whereas, in the plays of Shakespeare, who was born and bred in the house of a dealer in corn, wool, malt, meat, skins and leather ; whose parents could not write their name ; whose education was brought to a close before he was fourteen years of age, when his father, getting into difficulties, took him from Stratford Grammar School to assist in his business, he can find nothing at which to cavil, even if he has the eyes of a lynx.

So exact is Shakespeare's treatment of the recorder that if we did not know him to have been gifted with the miraculous faculty of expressing feelings and passions he had never experienced and describing acts he had never done, we should claim him as a brother flute-player. Indeed he displays an acquaintance with the construction and manipulation of the recorder which makes it little less than certain that he had handled and examined the instrument. He was aware of the existence, and understood the use, of the thumb-hole. As this hole was placed at the back of the tube, it would have been likely to escape the notice of one whose knowledge of the structure of the recorder was derived from seeing it played. Moreover, he knew that the recorder was pierced with one thumb-hole only, not with two, one for each thumb, as was the flageolet. But whether Shakespeare could, or could not, govern the ventages, it is plain that playing the flute was one of Hamlet's accomplishments. Hamlet addresses Rosencrantz and Guildenstern with the authority of a master, as competent to give his fellow students a lesson on the flute, as to teach the players how to speak their parts. To him, flute-playing was as easy as was lying to the sycophantic courtiers. His description of the recorder and the art of playing it is faultless. He can discourse of its stops, its touches, its ventages, and its compass. He well knows how excellent is its voice, how eloquent its music.

Milton was conscious from an early period of his career that a spark of celestial fire was glowing within him ; when yet a young man but little known except at school and college, he confided to a friend that he was preparing for immortality.¹ He was engaged

¹ ' Audi, Theodote, verum in aurem, ut ne rubeam, et sinito apud te grandiora loquar ; quid cogitem quaeris ? ita me bonus Deus, immortalitatem. Quid agam vero ? *πτεροφνῶ*, et volare meditor : sed tenellis admodum adhuc pennis evehit se noster Pegasus, humili sapiamus.'

The above is from a letter to Diodati written at Horton in 1637, the year in which the anonymous edition of *Comus*, the first published of Milton's

at the time in steeping himself in poetic lore by devoting five or six years to the study of the great models of the old world in his father's quiet retreat at Horton. Unhappily, however, for the English language, he did not reserve his whole strength for his transcendent gifts, but devoted his chief energies to politics. To such an extent did he subordinate poetry to politics, even before he took an active part in them, that, when on a European tour, he returned home from Italy, leaving Greece with all its poetic associations unvisited, on hearing that the Puritan party were about to have recourse to force in resisting the encroachments of Charles I. Milton's father had been disinherited and cast off for seceding from the Roman Catholic to embrace the Protestant faith; the poet was intended for a clergyman, but instead of yielding to his father's wish that he would take orders in the Church of England, he became a Puritan; I will not say with Dr. Johnson a savage and malignant Puritan, but unquestionably a Puritan of an implacable and highly combative type. A Puritan poet is an anomaly, poetry being one of the arts the Puritans were bent on destroying. According to Gosson, it was very closely related to flute-playing: 'poetrie and piping', he declares, 'are cosen germanes;' in his opinion, as we have seen,¹ both poets and flute-players were caterpillars of a common-wealth; both were on the high road to the bottomless pit.

MILTON'S 'FLUTES AND SOFT RECORDERS'

Milton, as has been pointed out in Lecture II, alludes to the recorder as 'the solemn pipe', but he mentions the instrument by name once only, and that is in the description of the raising of Satan's standard. Satan, says Milton,

Then straight commands that, at the warlike sound
Of trumpets loud and clarions, be upreared
His mighty standard. That proud honour claimed
Azazel as his right, a Cherub tall:
Who forthwith from the glittering staff unfurled
The imperial ensign . . . all the while
Sonorous metal blowing martial sounds,
At which the universal host up-sent
A shout that tore Hell's concave, and beyond
Frighted the reign of Chaos and old Night.

works, was brought out. Milton was immersed at the time in classical studies (which he here terms growing pinions and practising flight), his object being to qualify himself for writing poetry.

¹ *Supra*, p. 59.

. Anon they move
 In perfect phalanx to the Dorian mood
 Of *flutes and soft recorders*—such as raised
 To highth of noblest temper heroes old
 Arming to battle, and, instead of rage,
 Deliberate valour breathed, firm, and unmoved
 With dread of death to flight or foul retreat ;
 Nor wanting power to mitigate and swage
 With solemn touches troubled thoughts, and chase
 Anguish, and doubt, and fear, and sorrow, and pain
 From mortal or immortal minds. Thus they,
 Breathing united force, with fixèd thought,
 Moved on in silence to soft pipes.

(*Paradise Lost*, i. 531–61).

What does Milton mean by flutes and recorders? The most natural and obvious answer would be that he uses the words in the same sense as Lord Bacon, quoted in Lecture I, meaning by recorders fipple-flutes which ‘give sound by a blast at the end’, and by flutes, instruments ‘blown at a small hole in the side’. As regards the recorders there can be no doubt, but I am disposed to take a different view of what Milton meant by flutes, believing that he intended to refer to the Greek *αἰλοί*, it being his practice to blend old things with new, thus interweaving two seemingly incompatible strands of thought. He seems to me to explain himself in what follows, for he alludes to the effect of recorders when he says:—

Nor wanting power to mitigate and swage
 With solemn touches troubled thoughts, and chase
 Anguish, and doubt, and fear, and sorrow, and pain
 From mortal or immortal minds ;

and to that of *αἰλοί* in the lines

Such as raised
 To highth of noblest temper heroes old
 Arming to battle, and, instead of rage,
 Deliberate valour breathed,

where it is clear that there is a reference to the practice of the Spartans of preparing themselves for battle by flute music. Indeed it has been suggested that when Milton conceived this noble passage he had in his mind Thucydides’s account of the battle of Mantinea (book v, chap. 70), in which the Lacedaemonians, previously ‘raised to highth of noblest temper’ by martial music, are described as advancing slowly under the control of many flute-players, by law established, whilst their adversaries came on impetuously and with rage (*ὀργῇ*). The music to which Satan’s army moves is in the

'Dorian mood', because the Dorian, which was grave and conducive to valour, was the chief war mode of the Greeks. It moves to the sound of flutes because αἰλοί were employed to regulate the movements of the phalanx, the formation adopted by Satan. The phalanx was a compact mass of infantry drawn up in the form of a parallelogram, or square, varying in depth from eight, or less, to twenty-five or thirty files (Satan's phalanx was 'of depth immeasurable') with the shields of each rank interlocked, or 'serried', as Milton terms it. For insuring the accuracy of movement essential to such a body, the music of the αἰλός was far better adapted than the loud but rough and less exact blasts of the trumpet. In Heaven, a standard was not raised, but the same military music was chosen, although the flutes and recorders are not mentioned by name. The angels fall in at the sound of the trumpet; their 'cubic phalanx', or 'mighty quadrate', is silent, like that of Satan, as it 'moves on' to the 'sound of instrumental harmony, that breathed heroic ardour':

The loud
 Etherial trumpet from on high 'gan blow.
 At which command the Powers Militant
 That stood for Heaven, in mighty quadrate joined
 Of union irresistible moved on
 In silence their bright legions to the sound
 Of instrumental harmony, that breathed
 Heroic ardour.

(*Paradise Lost*, vi. 60-66.)

In associating the raising of a standard with a phalanx, Milton shows his fondness for intermingling the ancient with the modern order of things, the raising of a standard being a signal for feudal vassals to do personal service. The beginning of the struggle in which Milton took so active a part with his pen had been marked by such an observance, Charles I having set up his standard in person at Nottingham, an event to which I cannot help thinking there may be a covert allusion in the passage before us. The ceremony bore a resemblance in its chief outlines to that described by Milton. At Nottingham, as in Hades, there was trumpet-blowing and shouting: 'those who stood around threw their hats into the air, shouting "God save King Charles and hang up the roundheads"' in a tempest of loyal emotion',¹ whilst Satan's followers 'upsent A shout which tore Hell's concave'. Charles's Azazel was Sir Edmund Verney, the Knight Marshal, who was Standard Bearer,

¹ Gardiner, *The Fall of the Monarchy of Charles I*, vol. ii, p. 485.

and 'claimed' the 'proud honour' of uprearing the banner 'as his right'. He might well have been 'tall', and he was certainly brave in retreating (which Azazel is said to mean), for when surrounded at Edgehill he refused to surrender, and slew sixteen men before he fell. Although his body could not be found, his hand, it is said, still grasped the standard.

A yet more remarkable mixing by Milton of ancient with modern methods of warfare is to be found in the account of a battle between Satan's forces and the army of Heaven. Satan having been worsted in the first day's encounter, during the night invents and manufactures cannon and gunpowder, and in the morning advances to the attack with his newly-made artillery concealed in the centre of his phalanx. Having thus got near to the foe, he suddenly unfolds his vanguard to the right and left, and opens fire with terrific effect on the closely packed phalanx of angels :

Down they fell
By thousands, Angel on Archangel rolled.

To represent recorders and αὐλοί playing together is not more strange than to connect cannon with a phalanx. In fact, Milton's poetry abounds with incongruities, which in a less gifted poet would excite ridicule, but in Milton compel admiration. Like certain great painters, Milton seems to delight in raising stupendous difficulties, only to show with what ease he can surmount them.

MILTON'S ACCOUNT OF JUBAL

In the Book of Genesis (iv. 21) the invention of the pipe is ascribed to the patriarch Jubal, a grandson of Methusaleh : Jubal, we are there told, was the father of all such as handle the *kinnor* and *ugab*. The *kinnor* was a harp of some sort, the *ugab* a wind instrument ; but whether it was a single tube pierced with finger-holes and played with a reed, or the instrument we term the syrinx, Pan-flute, or mouth-organ, authorities are not agreed. In the Vulgate *ugab* is rendered into Latin by the word *organum* ; the translators of the authorized English version of the Bible, following the Vulgate, called it *the organ*. The primary signification of *organum* (ὄργανον) is a tool. When used in connexion with music, it was applied at first to instruments, or musical tools, in general, afterwards restricted to wind instruments, and finally confined to the collection of mechanical flutes, blown by bellows and played with keys, so familiar to us as the organ.¹

¹ The *ugab*, or *uggab*, is mentioned four times in the Old Testament : in the passage we are considering, Gen. iv. 21 : 'he was the father of all such

Milton introduces us to Jubal ; in the *Paradise Lost* he appears by anticipation to Adam, who not only saw him, but heard him play. He was located on the occasion in a tent, where he was performing, not on a Pan-pipe or any other kind of flute, but on an organ in the modern sense of the word. His flying finger and the instinctive accuracy with which he took the various intervals proclaimed him a master of the keyboard. Nor was his music less remarkable than his execution ; although it was before the Flood that he flourished, when Adam was his audience, he was playing a fugue. The license accorded to poets may be regarded as a shield broad enough to cover such anachronisms. But there is more to come. There were giants, musical as well as corporeal, in those days. The Father of the Flute was distinguishing himself by a feat in comparison to which Bach's exploit of supplementing his fingers with a stick held between his teeth sinks into insignificance. He was making 'melodious chime' by moving the 'stops', or keys,¹ of the organ, and the 'chords', or strings of the harp ; in other words, the fugue was not for the organ alone, it was in the form of a duet for harp and organ ; Jubal was playing the harp and the organ at the same time. Adam, we are told,

... looked, and saw a spacious plain, whereon
Were tents of various hue . . .

... whence the sound
Of instruments that made melodious chime
Was heard, of harp and organ, and who moved
Their stops and chords was seen : his volant touch
Instinct through all proportions low and high
Fled and pursued transverse the resonant fugue.²

Let us turn from the musician's pride, the Titanic offspring of the flute, the organ, to the poet's delight, the humble pipes of herdsmen and rustic boys in the ideal region of Arcadia, the syrinx polycalamus, and the straw flute.

as handle the harp and *organ*' ; in Psalm cl. 4 : 'praise him with stringed instruments and *organs*' ; in Job xxi. 12 : 'They take the timbrel and harp, and rejoice at the sound of *the organ*' ; and in Job xxx. 31 : 'My harp also is turned to mourning, and my *organ* into the voice of them that weep.' It will be observed that in each of these passages the *ugab* is associated with an instrument of the harp kind. The *organum*, which, according to the supplement to Psalm cl., given in the Septuagint, David states that, when a shepherd, he made with his own hands, is also named in connexion with the harp :
αἱ χεῖρές μου ἐποίησαν ὄργανον, καὶ οἱ δάκτυλοί μου ἤρμωσαν ψαλτήριον.

¹ The various meanings of the word stop in its musical sense have been explained in Lecture III, p. 179.

² *Paradise Lost*, xi. 556-63.

THE SYRINX

Pastoral poetry clusters round the syrinx. Even when the *Iliad* was composed the syrinx was the herdsman's joy (*Il.* xviii. 526). To the shepherd portrayed in *Eclogues* the syrinx seems of far more consequence than the sheephook. He has it always at hand.¹ It is his musical badge, his typical instrument.² To make and play it is an essential part of his education. On the syrinx, he composes his lays, with the syrinx, he sings them. Expertness in its use is to him synonymous with poetical skill; in short, it is inseparably bound up with his trade, as Milton calls what appears to be his chief business,³ viz. making and singing songs. Its invention he

¹ In Longus a shepherd carries his syrinx in a wallet. See note 3.

² Although the syrinx is the instrument *par excellence* of the Bucolic herdsman, he does not confine himself exclusively to its use. In Theocritus (*Id.* vi), one herdsman gives another a syrinx, and receives from him in return a flute (αὐλόν). They play together, and calves dance on the grass. Again, in *Idyl* xx, a herdsman, who has been flouted by a lady of pleasure residing in a town, consoles himself by boasting of his personal attractions, and his accomplishments. The latter consist in the ability to play, not only on the syrinx, but on the flute (αὐλῶ), the reed (δόνακι), and the transverse flute (πλαγιάυλω). The flute (αὐλός) may be conjectured to be the reed-blown flute, commonly known as the αὐλός in Greek literature. By the reed (δόναξ) is probably meant the instrument called in Athenaeus (iv. 78) the reed (κάλαμος), the μόνανλος (*sc.* μόνανλος κάλαμος), and the τιτύρινος αὐλός, the last-named appellation connecting it seemingly with shepherds, Tityrus being a shepherd's name. The flute made of knotless reed (*arundinis enodis fistula sibilatrix*) and so, open at the lower end, which according to Martialis Capella (ix. 307) was proper for the rustic deity Sylvanus, may possibly be the δόναξ. It seems not unlikely that the δόναξ belonged to a class of instruments one of which is still known as the reed (nay). See above, note 1, p. 215. A flute of this kind will be found described and figured below, p. 271. The third instrument, the πλαγιάυλος, has been noticed in the last Lecture, p. 248. Theocritus is not the only writer who connects the transverse flute with a shepherd; the Daphnis of Longus has a πλαγιάυλος which he dedicates with his syrinx to Pan.

³ See the passage from Lycidas quoted in note 1, p. 281.

In Bucolics the shepherd is so constantly occupied in playing songs that the primary use of the syrinx, to assist the herdsman in the management of the animals under his care, is lost sight of. We are not, however, without an occasional glimpse of it, e. g. in the fourth eclogue of Calpurnius (see below, p. 298), where the syrinx of Tityrus composes the quarrels of bulls. The influence with which the instrument was credited by ancient writers over certain domesticated animals is extraordinary. Propertius (*Lib.* IV, *Eleg.* iv. 5) represents sheep going to drink at the bidding of the syrinx; Plutarch speaks of them being lulled to sleep by the strains of that instrument (below, note 1, p. 287). In Longus (iv. 15) a herdsman gives an exhibition of its

attributes to his god ¹ Pan ; although, as a matter of fact, there is reason for believing that it was in use long before the religious system of which Pan formed part came into being. So tenacious is it of existence that it still survives ; moreover, it bears to this day the name of its reputed inventor, being still known as the Pan-flute, or Pandean pipe. It was common in England in the early decades

power over a flock of goats. He takes the syrinx from his wallet (*πήρα*), and breathes into it slightly (*ὀλίγον ἐνέπνευσε*), the goats stand up and raise their heads ; he pipes the grazing tune (*τὸ νόμον*), they put their heads down and feed ; he plays bright, clear (*λιγυρόν*) music, they gather together and lie down ; he blows a shrill strain (*ὀξύ μέλος*), they scamper into the wood as if a wolf had been admitted ; after a little he sounds a summons to return (*ἀνακλητικόν*), they come out of the wood, and run together at his feet. No one ever saw human servants, remarks Longus, so obedient to the commands of their master.

¹ According to Achilles Tatius (viii. 6) there was kept in a grotto, situated in a grove behind the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, the very instrument which the god made from the reeds into which the nymph Syrinx was metamorphosed ; for all the world knows, as Tatius observes, that the syrinx was at first neither a flute nor a reed, but a beautiful maiden, who, flying from Pan, took refuge in a thick wood. The amorous Pan followed her footsteps, and thinking to catch her by the hair, grasped a tuft of reeds ; for she had sunk into the earth, so they say, which brought forth reeds in her stead. So then Pan in a rage cut the reeds, in the belief that they were concealing from him his ladylove. But when, after they were cut, he could not find her, supposing that the damsel had been dissolved into the reeds, he lamented the cutting as having been the death of his beloved. And collecting the reeds which had been cut, as if they were her limbs, he combined them into a body, and held the cut ends between his hands, caressing them with his lips as the damsel's wounds. And applying his mouth, he moaned amorously, and blew from above into the pipes, kissing them at the same time. But the breath running down through the narrow openings in the reeds, gave rise to flute-tones, and the syrinx spoke. Pan, they say, made a place for this syrinx in the grotto, suspending it near the entrance not far from the doors, and would often come to it, and play upon it. After a while he made Diana a present of the spot, covenanting with her that no woman who was not a virgin should enter the grotto.

The relic of the poor damsel thus martyred for her honour was gifted with the privilege of dispelling the clouds of calumny with which maidenhood is sometimes overshadowed. A maiden, says Tatius, on whose character aspersions have been cast, is escorted by the populace to the doors of the grotto, and the syrinx decides the case. The accused is robed in the customary vestment, and enters the grotto. The doors are shut. If she be chaste, the syrinx, blown by a musical breath peculiar to the grotto, or, possibly, by Pan himself, sends forth a clear and inspired strain, the doors fly open of themselves and disclose the maiden crowned with Pan's chaplet, a wreath of pine leaves. But if in asserting her innocence she has lied, the syrinx is silent, and, instead of music, a sort of wail is heard by those assembled at the doors, who immediately depart, leaving the accused in the grotto, and

of the last century ;¹ even your humble servant essayed it in his boyhood ; but it is now seldom heard in this country except in the streets, where, in conjunction with the drum, it furnishes the overture and incidental music of the tragic drama of Punch and Judy ; an office which, if it should be that the crime-stained career and awful doom of Punch represent the enormities and punishment of Pontius Pilate, it may have discharged from the Middle² Ages downwards.

The syrinx consists of a series of pipes unequal in length and size without finger-holes, open at the upper, but closed at the lower end³

when, on the third day there comes a virgin priestess in the service of the grotto, the syrinx is found lying on the ground, the woman nowhere.

In the case of a trial by the syrinx narrated by Achilles Tatius, the lover of the maiden who challenged the ordeal was greatly perturbed ; not that he doubted his ladylove's innocence, but he feared lest Pan, who was notoriously fond of maidens, should make another syrinx of her, especially as, when the doors of the grotto were closed, she would be shut up in Pan's citadel, whereas Syrinx, being in the open country, was able to run away.

Ovid's account of the fate of Syrinx will be found in the first book of the *Metamorphoses*, beginning at line 689.

¹ The Pan-pipe was for a time exceedingly popular. Bands consisting of four instruments of different sizes, after the manner of the old consorts of wind instruments, were introduced ; each syrinx was of the compass of an octave, so that the compass of the whole band was four octaves. It seems from the following, which I take from Farmer's *Memoirs of the Royal Artillery Band*, that the syrinx even found its way into military music : 'The Elthorne Middlesex Militia had a band of "Pandean Reeds", for which the band-master, H. Eberhardt, published a tutor. The preface states that : "The Pandean Reeds are instruments now used in regimental bands, and much approved in the Kings Guards." In another part he says : "The B fifes or flutes serve as an excellent support to the reeds."'

² Some say that the Punch and Judy show is the survival of a mediaeval miracle play entitled *Pontius et Judaei*, Pontius and the Jews. According to this explanation, the common people, unacquainted with Latin, transformed *Pontius* into Punch, and not knowing that *Judaei* meant the Jews, supposed the word to be the name of Pilate's wife, one of the characters in the piece, thus converting *Pontius et Judaei* into Punch and Judy.

³ It is possible to construct a syrinx with pipes open at both ends, but instruments so made are, I believe, unknown in Europe. Some Pan-pipes brought home by Dr. Codrington, on his return from the Pacific, and now to be seen in the New Museum at Oxford, show pipes stopped and unstopped combined in the same instrument. The pipes are arranged in pairs, each pair consisting of a stopped and an unstopped pipe. The two pipes are of the same length, but, as one is closed, and the other open, below ; the notes they yield differ from each other, of course, by the interval of an octave. Dr. Codrington tells me that, in playing the instrument, the natives contrive to sound both pipes of each pair at the same time. A similar instrument was in use

It is a true flute, and belongs to the lip-flute family, the sound being produced by projecting a jet of air from the lips against the edge of the open end of the pipe, just as a musical note is elicited from a key by blowing across the barrel.

Each pipe of the syrinx must be brought into the jet of air when its note is to sound. This may be effected in two ways: the syrinx may be held in the hand, and moved so as to bring the pipe whose note is required to the jet, or the instrument may be fixed, and, by the rotation of the head, the jet brought to the pipe. The latter plan is adopted by the musician of the Punch and Judy show.

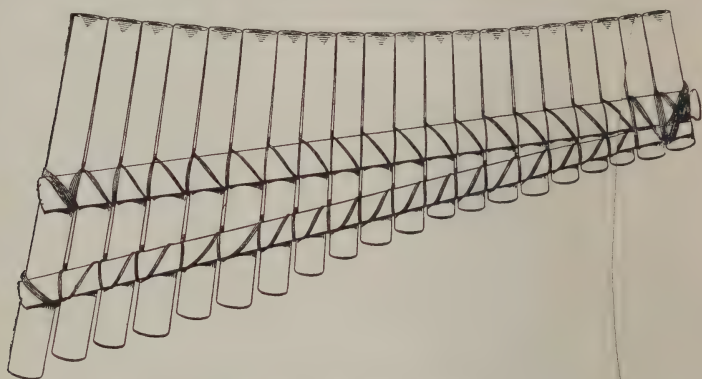


FIG. 83. MODERN SYRINX

He thrusts the lower end of the syrinx into the opening of his waist-coat, or into a sort of case or pocket made for the purpose in that garment, an expedient by which he sets free both of his hands and is able to use them for beating the drum he carries suspended from his neck. But whether the syrinx or the head of the player be moved, the instrument and the lower lip are continually rubbed against each other as the mouth travels from pipe to pipe. The rubbing enables us to identify the syrinx in poetical allusions. If mention is made by a poet of a rubbed lip, as, for instance, in Virgil's second Eclogue:—

Nec te paeniteat calamo *trivisse* labellum,

amongst the ancient Peruvians. A specimen in the British Museum with seven pairs of pipes is described and figured by Engel in his *Catalogue of Instruments in the South Kensington Museum*, p. 70, and in his *Handbook on Musical Instruments* (No. 5 of the South Kensington Museum Art Handbooks), p. 65. For further information on the syrinx see Good's *Lucretius*, note on iv, 592, and Grove's Dictionary, Art. Pandean Pipe.

or of rubbed reeds, as in the thirty-fourth Elegy of the second book of Propertius :—

Tu canis umbrosi subter pineta Galaesi
Thyrsin et attritis Daphnin arundinibus,

there can be no doubt that the syrinx is referred to, not the αἰλός, or *tibia*, in any of its various forms.¹

In Eclogues herdsmen are in the habit of challenging each other to play and sing, not for honour only, but for substantial stakes. The syrinx is the instrument used when they settle their musical differences. Syrinx (σῦριγξ) is its Greek name; the Latin poets call it *fistula*. A syrinx can be constructed with few or many pipes, but the typical number for the syrinx of the herdsmen of pastoral poetry is seven.² It is true that in the eighth Idyl of

¹ The circumstance that a rubbed lip, or a rubbed pipe, implies a syrinx is sometimes overlooked by scholars. An instance will be found in p. 113, *supra*, where Udall, in a work written for his pupils on his appointment as Head Master of Eton, supposes Virgil to be alluding in the line quoted above ('Nec te paeniteat calamo trivisse labellum') not to the syrinx, but to the 'pype or the recorder'. Even Bartholinus in his *De Tibiis Veterum*, which is specially devoted to the flutes of the Greeks and Romans, has missed the point (Lib. I, cap. vii). Strange to say, Bartholinus seems to have been quite unacquainted with the construction of the syrinx. He thought that the instrument was often made of straw, and believed that the ancients used the oat stalk (*stipes avenaceus*) for the purpose. It is evident that he did not even know that the pipes were closed at the lower end, for he speaks of the breath being blown in at the top of them and coming out at the bottom (Lib. III, cap. vi). Bartholinus got this erroneous notion from Scaliger, whose very words he copies (see a note on *Ec.* II. 36, in the Variorum Edition of Virgil). Scaliger may, possibly, have been misled by an expression used by Longus, who, when referring to a performer about to play on a syrinx, says that he tried the instrument, before beginning his solo, to ascertain if the wind would run through the pipes (*infra*, note 1, p. 273). A flute-player requires no proof that the pipes of the ancient syrinx were stopped below, but if he were asked for evidence on the point he would refer to Aristotle, who in Problem 23 of Section xix, alludes to the method of tuning the instrument by partly filling the tubes with wax, as described in note 1, p. 272. Another significant allusion will be found in Problem 50 of the same section. It is scarcely necessary to mention that a knot forms a natural stop in a reed.

² Although seven is the number of the pipes of the syrinx of the Bucolic herdsman, the Pan flute of the ancient world was not confined to seven; it varied like the modern mouth-organ. Forbiger, when commenting on Virg. *Ec.* ii. 36, states that not only seven and nine, but three, eleven, fifteen, and twenty-one are mentioned. Indeed, according to Ovid, the syrinx of Polyphemus, the Cyclops, consisted of no less than a hundred pipes. In Theocritus, Polyphemus boasts of his skill on the flute, declaring that he

Theocritus mention is made of two mouth-organs each with nine notes (*ἐννεάφωνος*) and by implication with nine pipes, but they were *instruments de luxe* staked as prizes in a music match.¹ The

can play the syrinx better than any other Cyclops. He was, in bulk, the greatest of flute-players; accordingly, he is equipped by Ovid with an instrument worthy of his bigness, but Ovid instead of increasing the size and length of the pipes, as he no doubt would have done had he been acquainted with the gigantic organ pipes of our time, multiplies their number. He tells how, when the giant went wooing the sea-nymph Galatea, he mounted a wedge-shaped hill jutting out into the sea, and seating himself on the crest, put down the fir-tree that served him for a walking-stick (it was fit for the mast of a ship) and took his many-piped mouth-organ. So great was the volume of his tone that the whole of the mountains felt his pastoral toots; the billows felt them:—

Cui postquam pinus, baculi quae prebuit usum,
Ante pedes posita est, antennis apta ferendis;
Sumptaque arundinibus compacta est fistula centum;
Senserunt toti pastoria sibila montes:
Senserunt undae.

Ovid, *M.* xiii. 782-6.

Handel, when setting the song 'O ruddier than the cherry', which the amorous monster sang on the occasion, suggested the notes of the syrinx by a flute *obbligato* (*Acis and Galatea*, No. 16). He did not, however, confine the instrument which represented the syrinx to a prelude or an interlude, but used it to accompany the voice; whereas Polyphemus could not have played whilst he was singing.

¹ Theocritus evidently wishes it to be understood that these instruments were quite out of the common. They were highly valued by the owners, and are described as beautiful. The wax used for joining the pipes was white. See page 268. Moreover, the wax was stated to be 'equal below, equal above' (*ἴσον κάτω, ἴσον ἄνωθεν*), an obscure expression, which Kynaston considers to mean that it was equally applied at the top and the bottom of each reed, so that the whole was firm and compact. But be the precise meaning of the words what it may, the phrase may be taken to indicate that the instruments were very carefully finished. We again read of a nine-pipe syrinx in the *Pastoralia* of Longus (I. 15), but that also was not an ordinary Pan-pipe. It was built with bronze instead of wax (*σύριγγα βουκολικὴν καλὰ μους ἐννέα χαλκῷ δεδομένους ἀντὶ κηροῦ*), and given to a young shepherd as a present. It is, of course, unnecessary to explain that molten bronze could not be used instead of wax for uniting the pipes of the syrinx. Longus probably means to say that the pipes were kept together by side-pieces, or splints, made of bronze. Another syrinx is mentioned by Longus in which not only bronze splints, but wax also, seems to have been employed (note 1, p. 273). In the modern syrinx, when splints are used, the pipes are sometimes agglutinated as well.

To show how desirable it is that scholars should pay more attention to the flute, I may mention that there are writers who believe the syrinx to be a tube pierced with finger-holes! Mr. Leake, for example, in his *Travels in*

pipes or flutes (*αὐλοί*), as they are sometimes called, were made when Theocritus wrote, of the same material as is now employed for the purpose, a kind of reed or tall grass, the *arundo donax*, whose hollow stems form ready-bored tubes.¹ It was termed in Greek *κάλαμος*, *δόναξ*; in Latin *calamus*, *arundo*, *canna*. When dry the reeds are hard and durable. They are also fissile, the splinters being sharp. During the fabrication of one of the nine-pipe mouth-organs just mentioned, a reed split and inflicted a painful cut on the finger of the neatherd who was making it.

Although the pipes of the syrinx were made of reed, poets sometimes name another material, hemlock (*cicuta*); but they are not to be taken seriously. Thus when Lucretius (v. 1382) writes:—

Et Zephyri cava per calamorum sibila primum
Agresteis docuere cavas inflare *cicutas*;

when Virgil speaks of the pipes as hemlocks (*cicutae*), and the syrinx itself as a frail hemlock (*fragilis cicuta*), or when Sidonius calls those who play the syrinx hemlock-players (*cicuticines*), we are not to suppose that either of these writers wished to convey the impression that the pipes of the instrument to which they were referring were usually made of hemlock. It would, no doubt, be possible to convert the hollow stalks of the hemlock plant into the pipes of a syrinx, although their softness and the feeble resistance they would offer to the destructive action of the moisture from the breath would form serious objections to their use. But *cicuta* (like another word, *avena*, of which I am going to speak) was not confined to its literal Northern Greece (Vol. I, p. 290) quotes the passage in which Theocritus describes the nine-pipe syrinx:

... σύριγγ' ἔχω ἐννεάφωνον,
λευκὸν κηρὸν ἔχουσιν, ἴσον κάτω, ἴσον ἄνωθεν,

and writes: 'The shepherds of these mountains,' the Pindus range, 'as well as those who feed their flocks around Io-ánnina, play on a pipe (in Greek *φλογέρα*, in Albanian *fuol*) which resembles that described by Theocritus, inasmuch as it has nine holes on the side, and is closed at either end with wax.'

Other cases of the same misconception as to the structure of the syrinx will be found below in note 3, p. 280, and note 2, p. 281.

¹ Reed, though usually used for the pipes of the syrinx, is not the only material available. In China bamboo is employed. In this country it was proposed, about a hundred years ago, to make use of glass tubes, it being claimed for them that the tone was more brilliant and sonorous. See Grove's Dictionary, Art. Pandean Pipe. In the Pitt-Rivers Collection at Oxford there is a Basque syrinx made by drilling holes side by side in a piece of wood: the ancient Peruvians excavated tubes in a plate of stone. In Mersenne's time metal seems to have been in favour, but Mersenne mentions several other materials.

signification. Servius explains that Virgil uses it for the interspace between the knots of the reed, that is, for a tube; whilst Lactantius speaks of looking through a *cicuta*, meaning simply through a pipe.¹

The pipes of the poetical syrinx are united to each other by means of wax, which is described as sweet-smelling, and was presumably beeswax.² Possibly, more than one material might have been employed, for Ovid speaks of shepherds using pitch³ for the purpose, a name suggestive of a dark-coloured resin. The wax is frequently mentioned by both Greek and Latin poets; indeed, an allusion to wax in connexion with a musical instrument makes it certain that the syrinx is intended. When Theocritus, for instance, speaks of 'wax-bound breath', scholars know that he means the breath of the syrinx, that is, its music;⁴ when Io, in the *Prometheus Vincitus*, tells how the wax-compacted reed (κηρόπλαστος δόναξ) seems to be droning in her ears, they feel sure that Aeschylus intends

¹ In English the stalks of hemlock and other umbelliferous plants are called, when dry, kecksies, a name said to have been given to them owing to the circumstance that they can be looked through. Kecks, kex, kecksies, kaxes, kixes, or cashes, says Dr. Prior, in his *Popular Names of British Plants*, are 'so called from an old English word *keek* or *kike*, retained in the northern counties (Brockett) in the sense of "peep" or "spy", Go. *kika*, Da. *kige*, Du. *kijken*, a name suggested by their most obvious peculiarity: viz. that one may look through them.'

Tibullus styles the syrinx an oat that can be seen through ('*perlucens cantus meditabar avena*,' *El.* iii. 4. 71). It is to be hoped that it is not necessary to add the name of Tibullus to the list of those who think that the pipes of the Arcadian syrinx were open at both ends.

²

μελίπνου

ἐκ κηρῶ σύριγγα καλάν.

Theocritus, *Id.* i. 128.

Iam puerum calamos et odorae vincula cerae
Iungere non cohibes.

Calp. *Ec.* iv. 19.

Beeswax is sticky and smells of honey. It was an article of commerce in the ancient world. Its usual colour was dark-yellow (*fulvus*), but it could be purified and so made white. The whitest known to the Romans was called Punic wax. It was prepared by treating the yellow wax with sea-water and nitre. Pliny xxi. 49.

³

Sub galea pastor iunctis pice cantat avenis.

Ovid, *Trist.* v. 10. 25.

All pitch is not black: there is a kind known as white pitch. It is pale yellow in colour, aromatic, and strongly adhesive. In modern commerce, it is sometimes called Burgundy pitch.

⁴ κηροδέτῳ πνεύματι μελπόμενος, Theocr. *Ep.* v. Remarks have already been made (*supra*, p. 177) on the breath of flutes.

us to understand that the instrument on which Hermes played, when he lulled to sleep the hundred-eyed detective by whom Io was watched, was the ordinary pastoral flute, the *syrinx polycalamus*, not his own invention the *syrinx monocalamus*, or any other kind of pipe.¹

In the modern syrinx as made in Western Europe the pipes are usually kept in line by means of lateral supports, two on each side, as shown in Fig. 83, the pipes being fastened to them with thread or twine. The side piece appears in representations of the ancient syrinx; it was called, as we learn from Hesychius, the *πλάστιξ*, a very appropriate name, for the word is used by Hippocrates to denote the splint employed in surgery to keep bones, which have been set, rigidly in their place. Two instruments made with splints are shown in Fig. 84. One of them (A) is constructed with one, the other (B) with two pairs. They are copied from drawings given by Bartholinus, both being taken from altars, A from an altar of Cybele in the Vatican,² B from a marble altar.³ I have seen the drawing of a picture at Herculaneum in which a syrinx is represented with three pairs of splints.

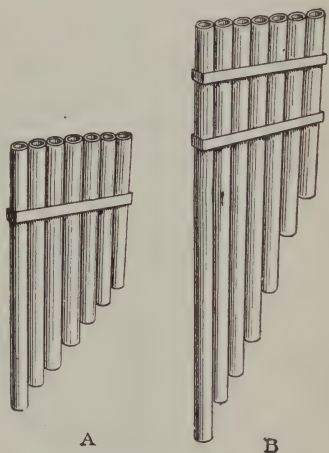


FIG. 84. SPLINTS ON THE ANCIENT SYRINX, AFTER BARTHOLINUS

There can thus be no doubt that side-pieces were known to the ancients, yet Julius Pollux, in his account of the syrinx, does not allude to them, although he speaks of both wax and thread, describing the instrument as a compaction of reeds bound together with wax and flax.⁴ If we turn to pastoral poets, we find frequent mention made of wax, but never, I believe, of either flax or splints. Were, then, the pipes of the syrinx which Theocritus represents shepherds making for their own use joined to each other by wax only? That the syrinx can be united by agglutination without the aid of thread

¹ For the Pipe of Hermes see Lecture IV, p. 214.

² Bartholinus, *De Tibiis Veterum*, Plate III, Fig. 3. For description see Lib. III, cap. vi, p. 215.

³ *Ibid.*, Plate I, Fig. 3, and Lib. I, cap. v, p. 27.

⁴ ἡ σῦριγξ καλᾶμων ἐστὶ συνθήκη, λίνῳ καὶ κηρῷ συνδεθείσα, Pollux iv. 69.

or splints is certain. A syrinx so united can be seen in the South Kensington Museum. It is represented in Fig. 85. It came from Roumania, a country in which the Pan-pipe has not lost its importance, but still finds a place in the national orchestra,¹ It was purchased with other modern Roumanian instruments at the Paris Exhibition of 1867. The pipes, which are no less than twenty-five in number, are made as usual of reed, and vary in length, roughly speaking, from three to ten or eleven inches.² They are not arranged in a straight line, but in a curve, so as to surround the

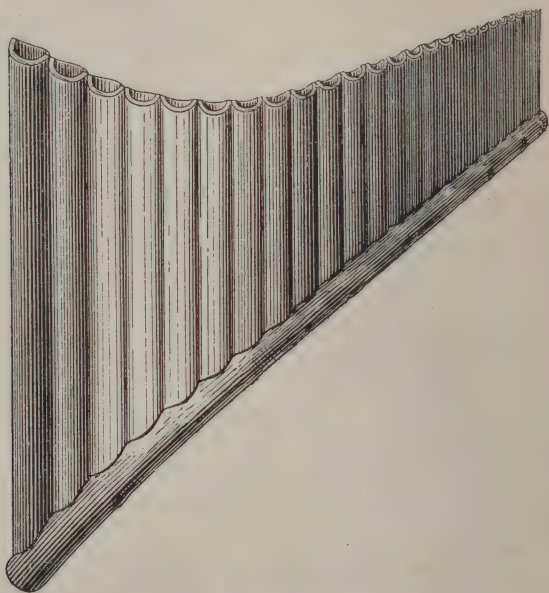


FIG. 85. ROUMANIAN SYRINX

mouth of the player, thus carrying us back to the days of Theocritus, who, in the first Idyl, describes the syrinx of Daphnis as *περὶ χεῖλος ἐλικτάν*, 'curled round the lip,' and so must have been made without splints. The pipes are firmly cemented at their

¹ 'The itinerant musical bands in Wallachia are called *lautari*, the word for 'musician' being *lautar*; the performers constituting a band are often gipsies. In Bucharest and its vicinity their little orchestra generally consists of a Pandean pipe, three or four violins, and the *kobsa*—a kind of lute.' *Musical Instruments in the South Kensington Museum*, Carl Engel, p. 217.

² The pipes, it will be noticed, are not flat at the upper end, but are scooped away back and front. In the Pitt-Rivers Collection at Oxford there is a syrinx from the Tonga Islands which shows the same peculiarity of construction.

lower ends to an osier or bent stick by means of a bed of an adhesive material. This material, though brittle, is very tenacious; a layer of it applied to the pipes when they come into contact with each other, holds them firmly together. The whole of the surface of the instrument is coated with a black pigment which is overlaid in a barbaric way with streaks of red, blue, and yellow paint.

The syrinx is not the only ancient wind instrument that survives in Roumania. On examining the Roumanian instruments purchased with the syrinx at the Paris Exhibition of 1867, I found amongst them a flute blown by directing the current of wind against the edge of the upper end of the tube after the manner of the Egyptian nay.¹ Of the different ways of making the flute speak, blowing at the end may be looked upon as the most primitive, it being the method of sounding the syrinx transferred to the flute: in fact, an end-blown flute may be regarded as the enlarged pipe of a syrinx, open below, and pierced with finger-holes.² The Roumanian

¹ End-blown flutes are known in Madagascar. Mr. Shaw, writing on Malagasy musical instruments in the *Antananarivo Annual* (No. 7, Christmas, 1883), after stating that there are two kinds of native flute, both made of bamboo, the interior made smooth with a hot iron, one about two feet nine inches long with three holes near the lower end, the other about one foot long with six holes, and sometimes a seventh on the opposite side for the thumb, proceeds to say 'both kinds have the two ends open, and are held sideways slanting downwards when used, the player blowing across the open end furthest removed from the finger-holes. The breath striking the inner edge of the tube at right-angles sets up the vibration by which the sound is produced.'

There are even nose-flutes blown at the end. See the author's *History of the Boehm Flute*, third edition, p. 262.

² The lapse of time through which flutes blown in this way can be traced is amazing. Two such instruments were taken from a tomb opened by Mr. Garstang at Beni Hasan in Middle Egypt. In so excellent a state of preservation were they that a nay-player of Beni Hasan had no difficulty in playing them when they were placed in his hands as they came from the



FIG. 86. ROUMANIAN
OPEN-END FLUTE

end-blown flute in the South Kensington Museum is not a mere reed pierced with finger-holes; it is made of wood and divided into three joints tipped with ivory. The wood is very light, extremely thin, pale yellow in colour, and stained black or dark chocolate on the outside. The bore is cylindrical and about $\frac{9}{16}$ in. in diameter. The holes are bevelled outwardly, and gaudily coloured with blue, red, and yellow paint. In Fig. 86 the flute is

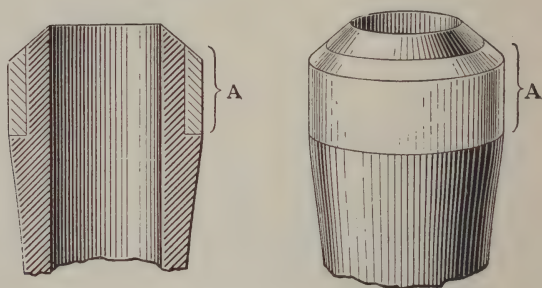


FIG. 87. EMOUCHURE OF ROUMANIAN FLUTE

depicted in its entirety; in Fig. 87 is seen the embouchure, bevelled to form a feather edge on which the breath is to impinge. A section shows how the tip, or ivory band, A, surrounds the wood.

THE STRAW-FLUTE

The syrinx, despite its humility, is a charming instrument. Its tone is sweet, full, and fluty; it can be tuned to satisfy the most fastidious ear:¹ even when only tolerably well played it produces

tomb. They consist of tubes of reed (I was courteously allowed to examine them at Burlington House where they were exhibited in 1903), carefully sharpened at the embouchure to cut the stream of breath; both are pierced with three finger-holes, but one of them is thirty-six, the other thirty-eight inches long. Although the date of the tomb from which they came is approximately 2200 B.C., they may be said to be comparatively modern. Amongst the Egyptian antiquities in the Taylor Building at Oxford is the figure of an animal playing a wind-instrument. Judging from the position in which it is held, I have little doubt that it is intended for a flute sounded in the same manner as the flutes at Beni Hasan. The date assigned to the figure by Mr. Flinders Petrie is 4800 B.C., nearly seven thousand years ago.

¹ The syrinx is tuned by shortening or lengthening the interior of the pipes. For this purpose a layer of beeswax or some similar soft material, is placed at the bottom of each pipe. To sharpen the note yielded by the pipe, more wax is added, to flatten it, some of the wax is removed. Another

very pleasing effects, whilst, in the hands of Roumanian players, it not only yields a flood of mellifluous sounds, but can be even passionate and pathetic.¹ Very different is the straw-flute. To

plan is to close the pipes at the lower end by means of little corks which can be moved up and down as required. M. Mahillon states that the Roumanian players raise the pitch of any pipe they please half a note by dropping into it two or three little balls of lead; they are thus able to change the key of the instrument at will; moreover, the intonation of the Roumanian syrinx is so completely under the control of the player that the pitch of a note can be lowered a half, or even a whole, tone by raising the instrument and partly covering the orifice of the pipe with the lower lip.

¹ There can be no doubt but that the ancients recognized the musical resources of the syrinx. That they knew of its executive capabilities is shown by the following description of a mouth-organ solo in the pastoral romance of Longus (II. 33). Philetas, a great but aged player, having been prevailed on to give a specimen of his skill, takes the syrinx of Daphnis, a young shepherd. He finds it, however, too small for his purpose; it was but a boy's Pan-pipe, whereas for great effects a great instrument was required. He therefore sends his son home to fetch his own syrinx, which was conjectured to be made by Pan himself. It was a large instrument with large flutes, i. e. pipes (*μέγα ὄργανον καὶ αὐλῶν μέγαλων*), and where it had been waxed, it was ornamented with bronze (*ἵνα κεκήρωτο, χαλκῷ πεποίκιλτο*, see note 1, p. 266). Having received the syrinx, Philetas seats himself upright (*ὄρθιος*) on a chair. First he tries the pipes to ascertain if they are free to the breath. Having satisfied himself that there is no impediment to the wind, he blows in a mighty and vehement way (*πολὺ καὶ νεανικόν*). Any one would have supposed that he was listening to a combination of flutes (*αὐλῶν συναυλούντων*), such sounds did the playing produce. By little and little Philetas reduces the force, and changes the music to a more agreeable style. And displaying the whole art of musical good government he piped such strains as are fitting for a herd of cattle, such as are suitable to a drove of goats, such as are loved by flocks of sheep. The sheep-music was pleasing, the ox-music loud, the goat-music shrill; in short, a single Pan-pipe represented by imitation all Pan-pipes.

The Roumanian performance on the syrinx at the Paris Exhibition of 1889 was a revelation to Western Europe, and excited astonishment and admiration. Not only did the instrument show surprising musical capabilities, but when the Roumanian musicians played in Paris it was remarked that the syrinx seemed to have the effect of appealing to the amatory instincts of the fair sex, a curious observation with which I had not been made acquainted when I endeavoured to show that the Pan-pipe was an important instrument in the ritual of Venus. Emotional effects were certainly attributed to the syrinx in the old world, it being credited with the power of expressing the passion of love, as is plain from the following, which is the sequel of the passage just cited from Longus. After Philetas had played his solo, the young shepherd Daphnis, and Chloe, a shepherdess with whom he was in love, represent in a dance the story of Syrinx and Pan (see note 1, p. 262). Chloe, as Syrinx, having concealed herself in a wood, Daphnis, as Pan, takes the syrinx—the

call its squeals music seems a misuse of language. Its tone is nasal, or, musically speaking, reedy ; indeed it is more than reedy, it is screaming like the voice of Punch, and, as Milton very properly says, it grates. It is, however, only right to mention that straw-flutes differ greatly, some of them producing tones the quality and volume of which are quite surprising. Straw-flute playing is the amusement of youth. Perhaps I ought to say *was*, for, like the May-horn and the willow-bark flute, the straw-flute is yielding by the law of the survival of the fittest to the penny trumpets, the harmonicons, the zazahs, the tin horns, and such other wind instruments as the modern manufacturer brings within the reach of the boy's purse. It used, however, to be well known to schoolboys who gave it a very appropriate name ; they called it a squeaker.

The sound of the straw-flute is not produced by the impact of a current of air on a cutting edge, but by the vibration of a part



FIG. 88. TYNDALL'S STRAW-FLUTE.

of the straw. Strictly speaking, therefore, it is a reed instrument, not a flute proper. The reed of the straw-flute may be either double, like that of the hautboy or bassoon, or single, like that of the clarionet. The fabrication of a squeaker with a double reed is thus described by Mr. William Chappell, who claimed to be an expert in the art of straw-flute making :—

'Take the pulpy end of a straw of green corn or one of the smallest of reeds without a knot, and split one end by squeezing it. Place the split end between the lips and blow through the straw. The split part will act like the double reed of the hautboy.'¹

To make a pipe with a single reed a ripe straw is taken. Dr. Tyndall, when lecturing at the Royal Institution, taught his hearers how to cut the slice of the straw which forms the tongue, or reed. His lectures were delivered *ex tempore*, but he published their substance in a volume entitled *Sound*. The directions there given are very precise : I will quote them for the benefit of any one who may be inclined to try his hand at straw-flute making :—

large one belonging to Philetas—and plays plaintively, as if longing, amorously as if pleading, appealingly, as if beseeching (ἐσύρισε γοερὸν, ὡς ἐρῶν, ἐρωτικόν, ὡς πείθων, ἀνακλητικόν, ὡς ἐπιζητῶν).

¹ Chappell's *History of Music*, p. 260.

'At about an inch from a knot at r' , I bring my penknife in this [common wheaten] straw, $x r'$ (Fig. 88), to a depth of about one-fourth of the straw's diameter, and, turning the blade flat, pass it upwards towards the knot, thus raising a strip of the straw nearly an inch in length. This strip, $r r'$, is to be our reed, and the straw itself is to be our pipe. It is now eight inches long. When blown into it emits this decidedly musical sound. When cut so as to make its length six inches, the pitch is higher; and with a length of two inches, the sound is very shrill indeed.'¹

Tyndall never attempted to make finger-holes in the straw, never, at least, when I was present, but straw-flutes with finger-holes were known as late as Mersenne's time. Two such are figured in the *Harmonie Universelle* (1636). In the first, Fig. 89, there are two finger-holes, A , I , one at each end of the tube, the tongue, B , being cut between them. Nothing more seems to have been expected from the instrument than a tremulous or vibrating sound, for, according to Mersenne, it was played by shaking on the finger-holes, the player moving the fingers placed upon them up and down



FIG. 89.
STRAW-FLUTE WITH
TWO FINGER-HOLES,
AFTER MERSENNE
 A , I , Finger-holes;
 B , Tongue or reed.



FIG. 90.
STRAW-FLUTE WITH
THREE FINGER-HOLES,
AFTER MERSENNE
 A , Tongue;
1, 2, 3, Finger-holes.

as quickly as possible. From a musical point of view the second pipe, Fig. 90, shows a marked advance on the first. The tongue, A , is cut, as in Dr. Tyndall's straw, Fig. 88, just below the knot which closes one end of the tube, whilst the finger-holes, which are three in number, lie between the tongue and the open end of the pipe, in the same relative position as those of an ordinary finger-holed reed-instrument. The pipe would naturally produce four funda-

¹ Tyndall, *On Sound*, 3rd edition, p. 192.

mental sounds, three from the finger-holes, and one from the open end of the tube; but it was not confined to these, for Mersenne states that ten or twelve notes could be elicited from it. The tongue, it will be observed, resembles the reed of the arghool rather than that of the clarionet. It is scarcely necessary to add that the instrument is blown like the arghool, the whole of the tongue together with that part of the straw from which it is cut being placed inside the mouth.

The syrinx has undergone comparatively little change since the days of Theocritus, but how far the straw-flute of modern times resembles that of the old world is a question to which it seems impossible to give a satisfactory answer, neither drawings nor descriptions of the ancient straw-flute having, as far as I am aware, come down to us. It is true that straws have been discovered in Egyptian tombs, but the Egyptians used straws for the reeds of their flutes. As the straws are found lying near flutes, it is believed that they were intended for the use of the departed in case he should want to make a new reed when playing the flute in a future state. Athenaeus alludes to the straw-flute, but only to mention a name by which those who flute on the straw, as he terms straw-flute players, were called.¹ From Julius Pollux we get information of more importance. He speaks of an Egyptian instrument made of barley straw, the invention being ascribed to Osiris. It was a many-toned flute (πολύφθογγος αἰλός), that is, a flute with several notes, a statement suggestive of finger-holes.²

The straw-flute is mentioned, as we shall see, by Theocritus and Virgil, but neither gives an account of its construction. Both refer to it in terms of contempt as a childish thing which manhood puts away. However, assuming that the latter poet can be trusted, it could be so handled as to play, or, to be more exact, to spoil (*disperdere*), a tune, and to draw an audience, a very common audience it may be, but yet an audience. In the middle ages it was still played by boys, as we learn from Chaucer:—

—pypés made of greené corn,
As have thise litel herdegromes
That kepen bestés in the bromes.

But Chaucer considers it of sufficient importance to be worthy

¹ "Ὡσπερ οὖν τοὺς τῷ καλᾷ αἰλοῦντας, καλαμαύλας λέγουσι νῦν· οὕτως καὶ ῥαπαύλας, ὥς φησιν Ἀμερίας ὁ Μακεδὼν ἐν ταῖς Γλώσσαις, τοὺς τῇ καλᾷ αἰλοῦντας. Deipnosophists, iv. 24.

² Julius Pollux's *Onomasticon*, Lib. IX, cap. ix.

of a place amongst the instruments played in the House of Fame;¹ we can therefore scarcely refuse to admit that shepherds arrived at

¹ Although Chaucer says that the straw-flute was a pipe used by little herd-boys, he represents it as played in concert with other instruments. G. de Machault, too, introduces it in two lists of instruments under the name of the *muse de blé* (*muse* meaning reed-blown instrument), and states in each case that all the instruments named were played together :

Viele, rubebe, guiterne,
 Leu, monarche, micarion,
 Citole, et le psaltérion,
 Harpe, tambour, trompes, naquaries,
 Orgues, cornets plus de x paires,
 Cornemuses, flaiots, chevrettes,
 Timbre, la flahute brehaingne,
 Et le grant cornet d'Alemaingne,
 Flaiot de saus, fistule, pipe,
 Muse d'ausay, trompe petite,
 Buisnies, éles, monocorde
 Ou il n'a q'une seule corde,
 Et *muse de blez* tout ensamble.

The lines are taken from *Le Remède de Fortune* as given in the reprint of de Machault (1849), p. 87. The following comes from *La Prise d'Alexandrie* (l. 1148 seqq.). For information on the instruments mentioned see Travers, *Les Instruments de Musique du XVI^e siècle*.

Orgues, vielles, micanions,
 Rubebes & psalterions,
 Leüs, moraches & guiternes
 Dont on joue par ces tavernes,
 Cymbales, citoles, naquires,
 Et de flaios plus de x paires,
 Cette a dire de xx manieres,
 Tant des fortes com des legieres
 Cors sarrasinois & doussainnes,
 Tabours, flaüstes traverseinnes,
 Demi doussainnes & flaüstes,
 Dont droit joues quant tu flaüstes,
 Trompes, buisines & trompettes,
 Gigues, rotes, harpes, chevrettes,
 Cornmuses & chalamelles,
 Muses d'Aussay, riches & belles,
 Et les fretiaus, & monocorde,
 Qui à tous les instrumens s'accorde,
Muse de blé, qu'on prent en terre,
 Trepilé, l'eschaquier d'Engleterre,
 Chifonie, flaios de saus.

According to Skeat (notes on lines 1218 and 1224 of Chaucer's *House of Fame*) the French *estive* is the straw-flute. If Skeat's opinion is well founded,

puberty would sometimes amuse themselves with it, and so cannot object to Shakespeare's description of spring as the time

When shepherds pipe on *oaten straws*,¹

or to the charge which the jealous Titania brings against her husband :—

the straw-flute was of more importance than we credit it, for in Botfield's *Manners and Household Expenses of England in the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (pp. 142–4), Hamond Lestivour and Geffrai le Estivour are mentioned amongst the minstrels who played before Edward I in 1306, when Prince Edward was knighted. Hamond received two marks; Geffrai was not so well paid. It is, however, very doubtful if the *estive* was the straw-flute. It has been conjectured to be a kind of bagpipe. Whatever it might have been, it was in use at least as early as the thirteenth century, for Littré quotes the following from a writer of that date: *Amis, riens ne m'i vaut, sons note ne estive*. We learn from Du Cange that the *estive* was called in mediaeval Latin *stiva*:

Timpana cum cytheris, *stivisque* lyrisque sonant hic.

Littré derives *estive* from *stiva*. Larousse states that *estive* is a name given by mediaeval poets to trumpets of every form. In Gaelic *stuic* or *stoc* signifies a trumpet. Du Cange, as an illustration of *stiva*, quotes:—

Plenté d'instruments y avoit
Harpes et rotes et canons,
Et *Estives de Cornouaille*.

Mr. Galpin in a Paper read before the Musical Association (Nov. 20, 1906) cites the following from a French Psalter of the twelfth century: *Chauntez a notre Seigneur en harpe et en voix de psalme: en estives mesnables et en voix de estives de corn.* The passage suggests the idea that *estive de Cornouaille* may possibly be a corruption of *estive de corn*, that is, literally, stock of horn (*cornu*). Be this as it may, the sort of *estive* called *l'estive de Cornouaille* was in all likelihood the hornpipe. Like the hornpipe it was associated with dancing. In the *Roman de la Rose*, by Jean de Meung, Pygmalion, in his efforts to bring his statue to life, after trying without success the effect of singing, and playing on thirteen different instruments,

Puis prent sa muse et se travaille
As *estives de Cornouaille*,

and leaps, springs, and taking the statue by the hand, dances. Chaucer translates *estives de Cornouaille*, hornpipes of Cornewayle. In Scotland the hornpipe is termed the stock and horn (by the peasantry stock in horn), an appellation sometimes abbreviated in books into stock-horn, but incorrectly, stock-horn being the name of an old Scottish instrument of the trumpet kind (see Jamieson's Dictionary), whereas the stock in horn is a finger-holed instrument blown with a reed, the stock being the part in which the finger-holes are pierced. I am going to attempt to show that the hornpipe is descended from a horn trumpet. See below, p. 349.

¹ *Love's Labour's Lost* v. ii. 913.

But I know
 When thou hast stolen away from fairy land,
 And in the shape of Corin sat all day,
 Playing on *pipes of corn* and versing love
 To amorous Phillida.¹

MILTON DESCRIBES THE SYRINX AS AN OATEN INSTRUMENT

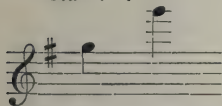
Pollux speaks of pipes made of the stalks of barley, Mersenne of wheat, and Shakespeare of oat. All of these materials will do for straw-flutes, but neither of them is suitable for the pipes of the syrinx, the tones they yield when blown across being so high as to be of little value unless associated with deeper sounds.² In Latin, however, *avena*, the name of the last of the three plants, the oat, acquired a secondary and more extensive meaning; it came to denote any stalk (Pliny uses it for the stem of flax), and so was applied by pastoral poets to the pipes³ of the syrinx, and even to the syrinx as a whole.⁴ Thus Virgil in the second line of the first

¹ *Midsummer Night's Dream* II. ii. 64.

It is curious that Shakespeare should have chosen Corin as Oberon's pseudonym, Corydon being the name of a straw-flute player in Theocritus (see p. 288). The coincidence is, of course, purely accidental. Corin is a common name for a shepherd; Shakespeare uses it again in *As You Like It*.

² There can be no doubt that a syrinx which will speak can be constructed of straws, for Mr. Zambra has very kindly made one of wheat-straws with eight pipes, as an experiment. The straws, which vary in length, roughly speaking, from one to two inches, are ingeniously mounted on a card. The compass is

8va . . .



It thus corresponds to the top octave of the piccolo,

or the highest sounds of a seven-octave pianoforte.

³ The two following are amongst the best known of the many passages in which *avena*, in the plural, stands for the pipes of the syrinx:—

Fistula disparibus paulatim surgit *avenis*.

Ovid, *Met.* viii. 192.

Et structis cantat *avenis*.

Ibid., i. 677.

For another example see note 3, p. 268.

⁴ The use of *avena* for the syrinx itself is extremely common. Two instances, in addition to that in the text, will be found in note 2, p. 298, and two others in note, p. 286; a fifth at the end of the next note; a sixth in note 1, p. 268.

Eclogue terms the syrinx a slender or delicate oat (*tenuis avena*),¹ just as in the tenth line he calls it a rustic reed (*calamus agrestis*). In English the word oat never gained this signification, so that Milton's line,

But now my oat proceeds,²

is unintelligible to an Englishman who knows no language but his own. Still, exception cannot be taken to the expression, for those conversant with Latin pastoral poetry do not require to be told that Milton, who is representing himself as a shepherd,³ means by

¹ Mr. John Conington, in commenting on the word *tenui* in this passage, writes, 'Compare "Agrestem tenui meditabor harundine Musam"', 6. 8, where it is evident from the context that "tenui" is meant to be in harmony with "agrestem", and to suggest the notion of simplicity and humility, at the same time that it is a natural epithet of the reed like "fragili cicuta", 5. 85. In editing Conington's Virgil, Nettleship pointed out that Servius gives "humili", and the Berne scholia "subtili", as the equivalent of "tenui". The latter adjective (*subtili*) seems to suggest, in addition to simplicity and humility, the idea of refinement. The syrinx is not only an unpretentious instrument, it is, except when badly played, the very reverse of harsh, rough, or coarse. In Calpurnius (viii. 3) the syrinx is termed *gracilis arundo*; in the first of the four lines believed by some scholars to have been written by Virgil as a title, or subscription, to the Aeneid, *gracilis avena*.

² *Lycidas*, 88.

³ Thus sang the *uncouth swain* to the oaks and rills,
While the still morn went out with sandals grey:
He touched the tender *stops* of various *quills*,
With eager thought warbling his *Doric* lay.

Lycidas, 186-9.

The *swain*, or herdsman, is Milton, who, when he wrote *Lycidas*, from which the lines are taken, was *uncouth*, that is, unknown, none of his poems, with the exception of *Comus*, which had been brought out anonymously the previous year, having yet been published. He is writing pastoral poetry, so his lay is *Doric*, because the pastoral poets, Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus, wrote in the Doric dialect. The *quills* (*calami*) are the reeds forming the pipes of his syrinx, the *stops*, which have been a sad stumbling-block to commentators, are the notes produced by the pipes. See above, p. 181.

In Todd's commentary on the passage we have an instance of the tendency of writers to draw upon the imagination for the details of an instrument with the construction of which they are not conversant. To explain what is meant by the *stops* here mentioned, Todd quotes a note by Warton, who declares them to be finger-holes! It will be seen by the extract from Warton's note given below, that neither Warton, nor Browne, the author of *Britannia's Pastorals*, nor indeed Todd himself (for he quotes the proposed explanation with approval) knew that the syrinx was an instrument without finger-holes,

his oat his syrinx. Unfortunately, however, Milton does not stop here. He calls the syrinx an *oaten* ¹ flute, and a pastoral reed with *oaten stops*,² thus showing that although he played the bass viol

‘Some readers,’ writes Warton, ‘are here puzzled with the idea of such *stops* as belong to the organ. By *stops* he’ [Milton] ‘here literally means what we now call the *holes* of a flute or any species of pipe. Thus in Browne, *Britan. Past.*, Book II, S. III, p. 85 *ut supr.*

“What music is there in a shepherd’s quill,
If but a *stop* or *two* therein we spie?”

It is only fair towards Browne to say that it is not absolutely certain that by *stop* he means finger-hole, as is assumed by Warton. In the passage referred to by Warton, Browne is pointing out that there could be but little variety in the music of a syrinx, however well played, in which there was but a *stop* or *two*. It is possible that he uses the word *stop* in the sense of *pipe*, as does Milton in *Comus*. See note 2. It must be admitted, however, that, like his predecessor Spenser, Browne speaks of the syrinx as an *oaten* pipe, an *oaten* quill, and an *oaten* reed.

¹ Meanwhile the *rural ditties* were not mute,
 Tempered to the *oaten flute*;
 Rough Satyrs danced, and Fauns with cloven heel
 From the glad sound would not be absent long;
 And old Damoetas loved to hear our song.

Lycidas, 32-6.

The *flute*, miscalled *oaten*, is the syrinx of *Lycidas* (Milton’s friend King), and that of the uncouth swain (Milton himself), who, being fellow students at Christ’s College, Cambridge,

Fed the same flock,
tending

 . . . the homely, slighted shepherd’s trade,
that is, writing pastoral poetry. We know that King wrote verses, for Milton says of him:

he knew
Himself to sing, and build the lofty rhyme.

The *rural ditties*, *tempered*, or tuned, to the syrinx, are the pastoral poems which King and Milton wrote. By Satyrs and Fauns Cambridge undergraduates are thought to be meant, by old Damoetas, one of the Dons.

² . . . might we but hear
The folded flocks, penned in their wattled cotes,
Or sound of *pastoral reed with oaten stops*.

Comus, 344-6.

The *pastoral reed* is the syrinx of a shepherd, who, having folded his flock for the night by penning it in a *wattled cote*, or sheep-fold made of hurdles, may be supposed to be lulling the sheep to sleep by playing to them (see the quotation from Plutarch in note 1, p. 287). The *stops* incorrectly described as *oaten*, are the pipes of the syrinx, as has been already pointed out in

and the organ, he had omitted to acquire a knowledge of an instrument of far more importance to him, as a pastoral poet, than either of them, the Pan-pipe; although he took such delight in music as to interrupt his classical studies and go to town in order to make himself acquainted with whatever novelties the art might have to offer, he had not taken sufficient interest in the syrinx to inform himself that its pipes were not made of oat stalks.¹

Lecture III (p. 181). So little regard has been paid to accuracy in such matters that there are commentators who have explained the *oaten stops* to be finger-holes in the *pastoral reed*, like the stops in Hamlet's recorder (see, for instance, the note on the passage in the Clarendon Press edition of Milton's poems). It is, of course, needless to repeat that there are no finger-holes in the tubes of the syrinx. Moreover, a *reed* pierced with *oaten* holes is an object which even the imagination of a Milton would be unable to conceive.

¹ Although the syrinx was termed in Latin *avena*, an oat, it cannot be described without inaccuracy in that language as a *fistula avenacea*, or oaten flute, its tubes not being composed of oat stalks. Milton followed his favourite English poet, Spenser, in the use of the word *oaten* as an epithet of the syrinx. Spenser again and again calls the syrinx an *oaten* pipe: one or two examples will suffice:—

I saw Calliope with Muses moe,
Soone as thy *oaten pype* began to sound,
Theyr yvory Luyts and Tamburines foregoe,
And from the fountaine where they sat around
Renne after hastily thy silver sound.

The Shepheard's Calendar, June, 57-62.

Relieve thy *Oaten pypes*,
And give hem curds and clouted Creame.

Ibid., November.

that by *oaten pype* Spenser means the Pan-flute is evident from the following:—

Wherefore, *my pype*, albee rude *Pan* thou please,
So broke *his oaten pype* and down dyd lye.

Ibid., January, 67-72.

In *Colin Clout's come home again* (lines 194 and 441) he refers to the syrinx as an *oaten quill*:—

Nought tooke I with me but my *oaten quill*
Again:—
He whilest he lived was the noblest swain
That ever piped on an *oaten quill*.

In the following and elsewhere, as in *Colin Clout's come home again* (15), he terms the instrument an *oaten reed*:—

The Bucolic herdsman, as has been pointed out, was specially instructed in the art of fabricating the mouth-organ, and for ever had the instrument in his hands. The pastoral poet, therefore, should make himself as familiar with it as he is with the pen he uses to write his verse. The allusions of Theocritus to the syrinx appear to be not less correct than those of Shakespeare to the recorder.

MILTON AND THE STRAW-FLUTE

Old commentators, and even distinguished modern scholars have gone astray in their attempts to explain passages in which the straw-flute is named; it is, therefore, all the more pleasant to be able to say that Milton speaks of the instrument with propriety. It may be true that he did not realize that to call a person a straw-flute player is only to cast a slur on his education and his manhood, the straw-flute being associated in pastoral poetry with untaught boys; but it would be hypercritical to notice the point. He introduces the straw-flute in an attack on the church clergy of his time, who, according to him, were not only actuated by unworthy

Indeede the Romish Tityrus, I heare,
Through his Maecenas left his *oaten reede*,
Whereon he earst had taught his flocks to feede,
And laboured lands to yield the timely eare,
And oft did sing of warres and deadly drede,
So as the Heavens did quake his verse to here.

The Shepheard's Calendar, October, 54-9.

The expression *oaten reed* occurs again in the same work, *The Shepheard's Calendar* (December 14), in a passage which reminds us of the lines from *Lycidas* quoted in note 1, p. 281; indeed the resemblance is so striking as to suggest the idea that Milton consciously, or unconsciously, imitated Spenser.

MILTON.

. . . rural *ditties* . . .

Tempered to the *oaten* flute.

SPENSER,

Rude *ditties* *tund* to shepheard's *oaten* reede.

It is only right to add that a lack of knowledge of the Pan-pipe is not confined to poets. In the British Museum there is a statue of a Satyr from the Maccarani Palace, Rome. A syrinx, which the figure holds in the right hand, is turned upside down! The lower arms, however, are stated to have been restored, so that the blame, it seems, must rest, not on the maker, but the restorer, of the statue.

motives, but preached bad sermons. He describes the sermons thus :—

. . . their lean and flashy songs
Grate on their scrannel¹ pipes of wretched straw.²

Milton here imitates Virgil ; poets, like musicians, being versed in the art of appropriating without stealing. In Virgil's third Eclogue, Menalcas, a shepherd, accuses another shepherd, Damoetas by name, of stealing a goat belonging to one Damon. Damoetas replies that he had won the animal from Damon by vanquishing him on the syrinx. The scoffing Menalcas proceeds to insinuate that so far from defeating Damon on the syrinx, Damoetas had never owned such an instrument as a Pan-pipe, nor even been tutored in music ; that he had not got beyond the straw-flute, on which he played a vile³ tune to an audience composed of

¹ *Scrannel* is a Lancashire word, signifying lank or lean. Richardson quotes the following from Langhorne's *Fables of Flora* :—

Unlike to living sounds it came,
Unmix'd unmelodis'd with breath ;
But grinding through some *scrannel* frame,
Creak'd from the bony lungs of death.

A straw-flute is lank and lean when compared to a pipe of the syrinx ; possibly, however, Milton used the word to describe, not the shape, but the tone, of the straw-flute, for it is stated in *The Dialect Dictionary* that in Nottinghamshire *scrannel* is applied to the voice, and means weak, piping, thin. Again, Wachter, according to Todd, explains the word by referring it to the German *schreien*, clamare, vociferari. Richardson considers *scrannel* to be connected with, if not the same as, *cranny*, a small chink or fissure, and suggests that Milton applied it to the pipes to indicate that they were not sound or airtight. It seems likely, however, that *scrannel* is related to *scranny* or *scrawny*, meaning emaciated, rather than to *cranny* :—White livered, hatchet-faced, thin-blooded, *scrawny* reformers. J. G. Holland, *Timothy Titcomb* ; quoted in the *Century Dictionary*. In Scottish a *scrannie* is an old, ill-natured, wrinkled beldame, and is, perhaps, a diminutive from *skrae*, a thin, meagre person, English *scrag*. See Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary*.

² *Lycidas*, 123-4.

³ A question on which scholars are not agreed is whether the tune attributed to Damoetas was inherently bad, or whether it was a good tune ruined by the bad instrument, or the bad playing. From a flute-player's point of view a skilful performer could give pleasure on a bad instrument, but, as Damoetas, being *indoctus*, had not received instruction either in playing or composition, his tune was both badly played and bad in itself. That Damoetas was playing a tune not of his own composition seems inadmissible ; Forbiger, however, does not entirely reject the supposition ; it is, he says, the opinion of Spohr, but is disapproved of by Wagner.

the lowest of the low. 'What,'¹ he exclaims, 'thou beat him in a music match? Or, hadst thou ever a flute joined with wax?'² Was it not thy wont, thou unlessoned player,³ to murder a wretched song at the cross-roads⁴ on a screeching⁵

Cantando tu illum? aut unquam tibi fistula cera
Iuncta fuit? non tu in triviis, indocte, solebas
Stridenti miserum stipula disperdere carmen?

Virg. *Ec.* iii. 25.

² A flute joined with wax was, as has just been explained, a syrinx.

³ Damoetas is indirectly charged with being nothing more than a straw-flute player, who has not yet been taught to construct, to play, or to compose music for, the syrinx; but his natural ability is not called in question Ogilby's rendering of *indocte*, 'thou lewd' (that is, unlearned) 'Piper,' is therefore preferable to Brinsley's, 'thou unskilfull fellow;' to Dryden's 'thou Booby'; to Martyn's 'you blockhead,' and even to Conington's you 'uneducated dolt'.

⁴ To perform at the cross-roads was to play vulgar music to a vulgar audience. The word *trivia*, literally the places where three roads meet, gave rise to an adjective *trivialis*, signifying low, unrefined, in bad taste. Thus in Juvenal (*Sat.* vii. 55) we are told of a cross-road song (*carmen triviale*), in Calpurnius (*Ec.* xi. 3) of cross-road singing (*triviale sonans*), and (*Ec.* i. 28), of a cross-road musical style (*non haec triviali more viator, Sed deus ipse canit*). *Trivialis* has found its way into our language. With us, however, *trivial* is seldom used in its old sense of coarse, vile, or despicable, but usually in that of trifling, unimportant, e. g. :—

The *trivial* round, the common task
Would furnish all we ought to ask.

Keble's *Christian Year*, Morning.

In old English writers the word retains its original meaning, e. g. :

'As for the pretended *trivialness* of the fifth and sixth day's work; I think it is apparent from what we have noted on the fifth day, that Moses his ranging of fish and fowl together is a consideration not vulgar and *trivial*, but philosophical.' MORE.

⁵ It seems impossible to say with certainty what quality of sound Virgil intended to indicate by the word *stridenti*. Brinsley's equivalent is *creaking*. He translates our passage thus: 'Oh thou unskilfull fellow, wast thou not wont to lauish out [thy] pitifull musicke upon a *creaking* stubble pipe in the common crossewayes?' In a note, however, he proposes another rendering for *stridenti stipula*: 'with a *whizzing* or *hissing* stubble.' If Virgil intended *stridens* to represent the ποππύσδεν of Theocritus (see n. 1, p. 288), *whizzing* or *hissing* would, in all probability, more nearly realize his idea than any other expression that has been proposed. *Hissing* is adopted by Ogilby, whose translation is as follows :—

. . . didst thou not sit
In high-ways, thou lewd Piper, and there use
On *hissing* quilts to spoil a wretched Muse?

straw¹?’ Stung by his taunts Damoetas instantly challenges him to a trial of musical skill; a wager is laid, a judge chosen, they sit down on the grass and the contest begins.

Martyn takes *screaking*, and Conington follows him, whilst Milton, as we see, prefers *grating*. But *strideo*, *stridor*, and *stridulus* are not used only in describing noises of which the hissing of a snake, the creaking of a cart-wheel, and the grating of a saw may be taken as types, they are applicable to such widely differing sounds as the *chirping* of crickets, the *whistling* of the wind, the *squeaking* of ghosts, the cry of the *screech-owl* (*strix*), the *howling* of monkeys, the *grunting* of pigs, the *trumpeting* of elephants, the *roaring* of the sea, the *buzzing* of bees. Nor have Latin poets, when referring to music, confined the use of *strideo* and its cognates to the straw-flute, they have applied them to the tone of other instruments which are wanting in purity or mellowness, e. g. to the *braying* of the trumpet:—

—Batavique truces; quos aere recurvo
Stridentēs acuere tubae.

Lucan, *Phar.* i. 430.

to the *bellowing* of the Phrygian flute:—

Barbaraque horribili *stridebat* tibia cantu.

Catullus, *Car.* lxiv. 266.

and even to the sound of the syrinx itself when badly played. There are two cases in Calpurnius. In the third Eclogue (60), a jealous lover indignantly asks the object of his affections, if she, who used to be so charmed with his playing as to interrupt his strains in order to imprint kisses on his lips as they strayed from pipe to pipe, could derive pleasure from the *stridor* of his rival’s sour syrinx (*acerbae stridor avenae*). Again, in the tenth Eclogue, some boys have the audacity to attempt to play on the pipe of Pan, made by the God himself, which they find hanging from the branch of an elm, where Pan had placed it whilst he took a nap. So discordant were their toots that Pan was startled from his slumber by the *stridor* of his own instrument (*sonitu stridentis avenae*).

¹ The instrument here named has proved a puzzle to expositors, but to a flute-player it seems self-evident that by *stipula* the *straw-flute* is meant. If in doubt, he has only to turn to the passage in Theocritus (quoted in n. 1, p. 288), which Virgil is imitating, where he finds it called in Greek, καλάμας αἰλόν, a *flute of a straw*. In Brinsley’s *Eclogues of Virgil*, a book with which Milton might have been acquainted, for it was published in 1620, five years before he went to Cambridge, *stipula* is rendered quite correctly by its English derivative, a *stubble*, and the instrument made of it styled a *stubble-pipe*. See the last note. But in Ogilby’s *Virgil*, which came out thirty years after Brinsley’s work, error makes its appearance, *stipula* being no longer called a *stubble*, or *straw*, but a *quill*, that is, a *reed*. The explanation offered by Roëus, the Jesuit editor of the *Delphin Virgil* (1675), shows that the holy Father’s ideas on the subject of the *stridens stipula* were in a hazy state. ‘Negat eum,’ he says, ‘habere fistulam illam nobilem, septiforem: non negat habere ignobilem,

Virgil is said to have finished his Eclogues more than thirty years before the birth of Christ, so that his allusion to the straw-flute is not far short of two thousand years old; indeed it is older still, for we can trace it between two and three hundred years farther back. Just as Milton took it from Virgil, so Virgil had previously taken it from Theocritus. In Theocritus, Lacon, a shepherd, charges Comatas, a goatherd, with stealing his syrinx. 'A syrinx indeed,' retorts Comatas, 'what sort of syrinx? For when, thou slave of Sibyrtas, didst thou get hold of a syrinx? What next? Is it no longer enough for thee to have a flute of straw and poppýss¹

simplicem, atque unius calami, e cicuta, e stipula, de quo genere.' Forbiger writes (1839), 'stipula cum contemptu vocatur simplex fistula, comparata cum syringe, quae ex pluribus calamis est composita.' What does he mean by *simplex fistula*? No doubt some kind of tubular instrument which he omits to name or describe. Coming to our own time, we find Conington wandering still farther, and explaining *stipula* to be a single reed, although both Virgil and Theocritus state expressly that it was a *straw*. Like Forbiger, Conington fails to tell us of what instrument he is thinking. He was surely too good a scholar to be under the belief that the *syrinx monocalamus*, or *fistula unius calami*, was nothing more than a single pipe of the syrinx polycalamus. Moreover, he must have known that it would be as impossible to play a tune on a pipe of the syrinx as on the pipe of a key. Later still, Dr. Kynaston gets astray. In commenting on Theocritus, *Id.* v. 7 (Kynaston's *Theocritus*, Clarendon Press Series, third edition, 1892), where the straw-flute is mentioned, he expresses the opinion that the *stipula* of Virgil 'denotes the straw which formed the vibrating tongue inside the mouthpiece of the *tibia*, as *καλάμη* here' (in Theocritus) 'denotes the same part of the *αἰλός*,' whereas the tongue of the Greek *αἰλός* was made of reed, not of straw.

Of the six scholars here named, it would seem as if one only, Brinsley, the first mentioned, had any knowledge of the straw-flute.

¹ The *poppýsm*, to which the effect of the straw-flute is here compared, was an inarticulate utterance in common use amongst the Greek and Romans. Its precise nature is uncertain, but its name, *poppýsma* or *poppýsmus*, being imitative, there can be little doubt about the first syllable, 'pop.' After the 'pop' the lips were unclosed, and another sound emitted, the character of which is obscure. The syllable 'pysm', by which it is represented, is suggestive of a soft sibilation, as in 'hush', 'pist', and 'piff', or in the 'whish', or 'swish' of a groom when at work. The *poppýsm* could be uttered with considerable loudness, for we are told that a person seeing an acquaintance at a distance *poppýssed* to him; that *poppýsms* were used in applauding; that Aesculapius *poppýssed* to call serpents from the cella of the temple into the patients' dormitory. Whatever the sound might have been, it was certainly not a musical note, or Plutarch would not have called *poppýsms* unmelodious, classed them with hisses, and contrasted them with the sound of musical instruments (*Sympos.* 7, Prov. 8). He says that shepherds wake their flocks, and lull them to sleep with hissings, and *unmelodious poppýsms*,

with Corydon¹ ?' The sting of Comatas's sarcasm lies in the *innuendo* that Lacon, so far from being a flute-player, was not yet even a man ; he still playing on a child's instrument, the straw-

or by Pan-pipes and shell trumpets (σιγμοῖς δὲ καὶ ποππυσμοῖς ἀμελέειν, ἢ σύριγγι καὶ στρόμβοις). But, though not musical, the *poppýsm* was pleasant to the ear. It was employed in soothing or coaxing a horse, and the verb ποππυλιάζειν (Doric ποππυλιάσδειν) is used by Theocritus (*Id.* v. 89) in describing the voice of a woman murmuring something sweet to her lover ; indeed it would seem from Hesychius that *poppýsms* became synonymous with soft words or flatteries.

The circumstance that *poppýsms* were addressed to horses suggests the idea that the seemingly meaningless hissing made by grooms to quiet a horse irritated by the brush or the curry-comb may possibly be a survival of this singular sound. Of its great antiquity I have little doubt. I venture to think that it may be older than speech. It had, like whistling, a religious character (see below, note 2, p. 377), it having been used in adoration of lightning, and thus seems to have been a vestige of a rite, or practice, appertaining to a primitive religion in which lightning was considered not merely the work of a spirit, as was afterwards taught under the Hebrew and the Mythological systems, but was believed to be a theophany, an actual manifestation, apparition, or visible appearance of the spirit itself, and so was an object of worship. Not only did the Greeks and Romans *poppýss* on seeing lightning, but, according to Pliny, the practice was common to other nations of the ancient world. Hissing, be it remembered, is expressive of widely differing feelings. 'In West Africa the natives hiss when they are astonished ; in the New Hebrides when they see anything beautiful. The Basutos applaud a popular orator in the assemblies by hissing at him. The Japanese, again, show their reverence by a hiss, which has probably somewhat the force of the "hush" with which we command silence.'

¹ τὰν ποίαν σύριγγα ; τὸ γὰρ πόκα, δῶλε Σιβύρτα,
ἐκτάσα σύριγγα ; τί δ' ; οὐκέτι σὺν Κορύδωνι
ἀρκεῖ τοι καλάμας αὐλὸν ποππύσδεν ἔχοντι ;

Id. v. 5-8.

There is a scholium on the passage. The scholiast shows a certain acquaintance with the straw-flute. He knows that the stalk of both wheat and barley is available for making a pipe, and sees clearly that a pipe made of a cornstalk is intended by Theocritus ; but he believes it to be a pipe of young corn, seemingly not knowing of the very superior instrument into which the ripe straw can be converted, thus reminding us of Chaucer, who, when introducing the straw-flute, mentions only 'pipés made of greené corne' :—

ὁ δὲ νοῦς· οὐκ ἀρκεῖ σοί, φησί, σὺν Κορύδωνι ἐν τῷ καλάμῳ φυσᾶν καὶ συναυλεῖν αὐτῷ. τοῖτο δὲ χλευαστικόν, ὅτι οὐδὲ αὐλεῖν οἶδεν, εἰ μὴ ποππύσδεν, καὶ μόνον. ΚΑΛΑΜΗ δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ καταλειπόμενον ἐκ τοῦ θεριζομένου σίτου καλαμῶδες καὶ τῆς κριθῆς. ταύτην δὲ νεαρὰν οὖσαν ὑποτεμνόμενοι φυσῶσιν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ αὐλίζουσι. ΠΟΠΠΥΖΕΙΝ δὲ τὸ λεπτοτάτως φωνεῖν τινὰ φυσῶντα τὸν ἐκ τῆς καλάμης αὐλόν. Ἄλλως. τί δέ ; οὐδαμῶς ἀρκεῖ σοί, ἥγουν ἰκανόν ἐστὶ σοι, αὐλὸν ἔχοντι ἀπὸ καλάμης, ἥτοι ἀπὸ καλαμαίας, ἐμπνέειν αὐτῷ ; τοῖτο γὰρ τὸ ποππύζειν. ΣΥΝ ΚΟΡΥΔΩΝΙ τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ὁμοίως τῷ Κορύδωνι.

flute, with his playmate Corydon, whom we may suppose to be some 'littel herdegrome'. As in Virgil, the offensive imputation is followed by a challenge and a musical duel.

OLD MELIBOEUS NOT THE SOOTHEST SHEPHERD THAT E'ER
PIPED ON PLAINS

The difference between a reed and a corn stalk—between *κάλamos* and *καλάμη*—may, possibly, be thought so insignificant as to be beneath the notice of such a genius as Milton; but it is from the mediocre poet that little is required; for the attention of one who is preparing for immortality, no distinction can be too minute, no detail too trifling; he should weigh every word he uses, the greater the poet, or the scholar, the fiercer being the light that beats upon his work. However, let us grant that Milton could not be expected to trouble himself about the material of which the pipes of the syrinx are made; let us take him on a point which does not need an acquaintance with the construction of the Pan-pipe, but nothing more than care in the treatment of performers on that instrument. I will cite a passage in which he is not only unjust to a pastoral flute-player of the very highest distinction, but indirectly puts a slight on a brother poet. He calls old Meliboeus the soothest, that is, the sweetest,¹ shepherd that e'er piped on plains; whereas

¹ *Sooth*, *soote*, and *sote* are Early English forms of *sweet*. *Sote*, which was pronounced *sóote* and rhymed, as will be seen in a passage I am about to quote, with *root*, occurs often in Chaucer. The prologue of the *Canterbury Tales* opens with the line:—

Whan that Aprille with his shoures *sote*.

In *The Miller's Tale* *sote* is associated with its other form *sweet*:—

A chambre hadde he in that hostelrye
Allone, with-outen any companye,
Ful fetishly ydight with herbes *sote*,
And he himself was *sweete* as is the *rote*
Of licoris or any sete wale.

Surrey and Spenser write *soote*. In the latter, as in Milton, the word has reference to music:—

Lo! how finely the graces can it foote
to the instrument:
They dauncen deffly and singen *soote*
in their merriment.

The Shepherd's Calendar, April, 109-13.

In the *Promptorium Parvulorum* we meet with the spelling *sothe*; sweet meat appearing there as *SOTHE* mete. Keats uses the comparative, *soother*:—

it was Tityrus, not old Meliboeus, who towered so high above other Latin Bucolic syrinx-players. Old Meliboeus, it is true, played so well that sometimes the Muse would present him with the ivy clusters of Bacchus, sometimes Apollo would crown him with laurel;¹

. a heap
Of candied apple, quince, and plum, and gourd;
With jellies *soother* than the creamy curd.

Eve of St. Agnes, xxx.

Dr. Johnson was of opinion that *soud* in the following passage, in *The Taming of the Shrew* (iv. i. 145), is a form of *soot*:—

Petruchio. Sit down, Kate, and welcome.—
Soud, soud, soud, soud!

In commenting on the lines, he says of *soud, soud, &c.*: ‘That is, *sweet, sweet. Soot* and sometimes *sooth*, is *sweet*. So in Milton, *to sing soothly*, is *to sing sweetly*.’ Again, in a note on *Richard II*, III. iii. 441, he writes, ‘*sooth* is *sweet* as well as *true*.’ In his dictionary Johnson introduced the word *sooth*, giving as its meaning, ‘pleasing, delightful,’ and quoting, as an illustration, the passage we are considering, viz. ‘The *soothest* shepherd that e’er piped on plains.’ When Todd, in 1818, edited *Johnson’s Dictionary*, he struck out ‘*SOOTH*, pleasing; delightful,’ and transferred the quotation to *SOOTH*, meaning ‘true; faithful; that may be relied on.’ There it is still to be found, even in the latest edition of the *Dictionary*, that by Latham, published in 1884. Thus it has come down to us with all the seeming weight of Johnson’s authority, that Milton described old Meliboeus as the truest, or most reliable of musical shepherds. I should mention that Todd put Johnson aside in order to follow Dr. Newton, who, in a note, had explained the meaning of *soothest* in the passage in *Comus* to be ‘the truest, faithfullest. *Sooth*’, he continued, ‘is truth. *In sooth* is indeed. *Sooth sayer*, one that foretells the truth, divinus, veredicus. And therefore what this *soothest* Shepherd teaches may be relied on.’

It can occasion no surprise that writers have been sorely puzzled to explain why old Meliboeus was more truthful than any other shepherd who played the flute. To such straits have they been driven that Tickell is said to have proposed to change the reading from *soothest* to ‘smoothest’, thinking, no doubt, that the letter *m* had been accidentally omitted. The latest way of meeting the difficulty is that proposed by Dr. Masson in his edition of *Milton’s Poetical Works*. He fancies that by old Meliboeus Geoffrey of Monmouth may possibly be meant, and, as Geoffrey of Monmouth expects his readers to accept the most absurd and incredible fabrications as historical truths, suggests that Milton applied to him the epithet ‘soothest’, or truest, ironically.

¹

—modo te Baccheis Musa corymbis
Munerat, et lauro modo pulcher obumbrat Apollo.

Calpurnius, *Ec.* iv. 56.

The passage is taken to indicate that Meliboeus represents one who wrote both tragic and lyric verse.

but the distance between his playing and that of Tityrus was immeasurable, for scholars are agreed that the fictitious Tityrus is no other than Virgil. I will explain.

VIRGIL AS TITYRUS

Rome laid the foundation of her greatness under the guidance of an aristocracy; it is not pleasant, however, to have betters, nor are the rich in the enjoyment of their wealth an agreeable sight to the poor; accordingly, the Romans listened to agitators, and transferred the control of the helm of state from the classes to the masses. And now remedies were applied to an incurable complaint, poverty. A law was passed by which land was taken from the possessors and distributed amongst the people, the Constitution being violated to carry the enactment:—food in the form of corn was purchased by the government and sold at a nominal price, afterwards given for nothing:—huge granaries for storing it were built, and other public works, such as making roads, were undertaken by which employment was provided:—attempts were made to abolish rents, mortgages and other debts; but life became insecure, for faction and turbulence raised their heads, and the champions of the Have-nots and the Haves, getting into power by turns, singled out whom they pleased for murder and sold their property. After a while it was seen that there was lying in the gutter a sceptre. Torrents of blood flowed in struggles for its possession; at length, Octavianus Caesar, a Radical leader, having disposed of the last of his rivals, grasped the prize, and not only enforced submission, as Emperor, Supreme Pontiff, and Perpetual Tribune, but even accepted the honours paid to a deity.

Some time before Octavianus was elevated to supremacy (it was in the year 41 B. C., soon after the battle of Philippi) the veteran soldiers who fought for his party began to clamour for their reward, they having been promised grants of land should victory crown their arms. To appease them, the property of political opponents and supporters without distinction was confiscated, the occupiers dislodged, and the soldiery installed in their place. One of the seventeen or more districts in which the evictions were carried out was that of Mantua, a district in a village of which Virgil, whose father owned land, lived on the family farm.¹ On being despoiled

¹ Virgil was of humble parentage, but his father was sufficiently well off to be able to give him a good education. According to Donatus, the poet was the son of a potter who made money by keeping bees and buying woods

of his patrimony which, according to one account, was assigned to a Centurion of the name of Arrius, Virgil betook himself to Rome, where he was so fortunate as to obtain, through the good offices of Maecenas or some other influential personage, an order from Octavianus for the restitution of his inheritance. But his troubles were not ended. On his return home, he presented himself at his house, armed with Octavianus's order. The summary notice to quit produced an effect for which he was not prepared; it stimulated the combative instincts of Arrius, who had recourse to his sword. Virgil, who was tall, well-built, and robust, was equal to the occasion; he made a rapid strategic movement towards the river Mincius which flowed hard by. He was followed by the Centurion with his sword, but arriving first at the stream, he plunged in and swam across, whilst Arrius gave up the pursuit, leaving the poet to make his way back to Rome, and appeal again to Octavianus.

Whether this story, of which there is more than one version, be, or be not, well founded,¹ Virgil sooner or later regained possession of his farm. In the first of his Eclogues he gives us a rural picture which is believed to be intended to illustrate the delights to which he was restored. The scene breathes with peace and happiness: springs bubble; rivers flow; mountains cast their shadows, lengthening as the sun declines; cattle stray over leas; doves and wood-pigeons coo in lofty elms; cool shade suggests rest; the soft hum of bees gathering pollen from blooming willows invites sleep;

(*silvis coemendis*); no doubt felling the trees and selling the timber. The woods, we may assume, were remains of the forests of oak with which the valley of the Po was encumbered when it was wrested by the Romans from the Gauls in the previous century. It has been suggested that he might have bought his farm on advantageous terms, owing to the depreciation in the price of land brought about by the confiscatory landlaws. Perhaps it consisted of the land he had cleared.

¹ After a careful investigation, Nettleship, in his *Essay on the Poetry of Vergil*, writes as follows:—

‘I doubt whether the evidence afforded by the Eclogues themselves and the biography of Suetonius (and the other evidence we have seems to be confused and inconsistent) warrants our assuming more than this; that Vergil was ejected with violence and at the peril of his life from his farm, after having been under the impression that he was to keep it; that in his trouble he was assisted by Maecenas; that he addressed Alfenus Varus on the subject in the ninth Eclogue, and probably also in plain prose; that he went to Rome, where, backed by the influence of Pollio, Varus, and Gallus he obtained from Octavianus the restoration of his estate.’

from afar is wafted the voice of the vine-dresser singing whilst he works at the foot of a high rock.¹ In the foreground is Tityrus. He is playing on his syrinx a sylvan song which he is composing,² as, sheltered from the sun, he reclines at ease under cover of a spreading beech. He sings, and the woods ring with Amaryllis, his beloved.

A wayfarer draws near. He has been expelled from his home, but alas! has no friend at Court whose aid he can invoke. Faint and heartsick, he is driving onwards his goats, but now a happy flock; a poor she-goat, too weak to walk without assistance, he can scarcely lead. In passing, he stops and talks to Tityrus, who tells him of his visit to Rome, says that the blessings he is enjoying are the gift of a God (for he will ever regard him as a God and sacrifice to him the tenderest of his lambs), repeats the gracious words spoken by the divinity, and declares the countenance revealed to him to be such, that, ere the mien of the youth faded from his memory, stags would soar aloft and browse in air, the sea retire and leave its fish bare³ on the beach. The wanderer, on his part,

¹ Some critics are of opinion that Virgil took a part of the imagery of the Eclogue—the rocks, the mountains, and even the beech-tree—from Sicily, the home of the pastoral poet Theocritus. Nettleship favours another suggestion, that some of the Eclogues were written at Tarentum, where Virgil is known to have stayed, and that the scenery described is that of Tarentum. It seems certain that there are no rocks or cliffs in the neighbourhood of Mantua. According to a note on the scenery about that town, appended to the tenth Eclogue in Conington's *Virgil*, Mr. Keightley arriving there and ascending a tower with two French gentlemen whose sight was better than his own, swept the whole country round with an opera-glass, and could find no rocks. Next day he asked a sportsman who was in the habit of traversing the country in all directions, and was answered that there was no stone at all in the plain—nothing but *gesso*, sulphate of lime. However, it is satisfactory for the sake of our old beliefs to be able to add that, according to Eustace, the 'spreading' beech still delights in the soil and adorns the banks of the Mincius in all its windings.

² 'Silvestrem tenui Musam *meditaris avena*.'

Meditar is here used in the sense of composing, not practising as the word is often rendered in translating the line. By *avena* it is sometimes imagined that Virgil intends the straw-flute, but, as already pointed out (p. 279), he is alluding to the syrinx.

³ Virgil is here flattering Augustus, as Octavianus was called when he became Emperor, who, we are told, 'was ambitious of being thought handsome; as he was publicly reported to be the son of Apollo, according to his mother's declaration, he wished his flatterers to represent him with the figure and attributes of that god; like Apollo, his eyes were clear, and he affected to have it thought that they possessed divine irradiation; was well pleased,

bewails his sad fate. His music is hushed, he will sing no more ; he is leaving his sweet fields and his native land for the frozen wilds of Scythia, or the burning sands of Africa, perchance even to be driven amongst the Britons, a people utterly cut off from the whole world. Will a barbarian have his cornfields, a cursed soldier the land he has reclaimed and so carefully tilled ?¹ Shall he ever, after many long years have rolled by, again behold his humble dwelling and his little domain ? His lament ended, Tityrus invites his homeless friend for that night to stay with him and rest on green leaves, adding we have mellow apples, soft chestnuts, and plenty of pressed milk.²

if, when he fixed his looks on any, they held down their eyes, as if overcome by the glaring brightness of the sun.'

Virgil calls him a youth (*iuvenem*), he being only twenty-one, or twenty-two, when the poet went to Rome to ask him for his farm.

¹ Octavianus's uncle, Julius Caesar, had admitted foreigners, here called barbarians, such as Gauls, Germans, and Spaniards, into the Roman armies. And before his time the legions were thrown open by Marius to the dregs of Rome, he having abolished the old regulation by which only landowners were allowed to join the levies. Corn had been imported from abroad, agriculture was depressed, and the bulk of the yeomanry from which recruits were drawn had flocked to Rome, whilst the attempts made to replace them by planting out the indigent town population on small holdings had failed, for no sooner was the law by which the new settlers were forbidden to sell their holdings repealed than they left the country-side.

² Hic tamen hanc mecum poteras requiescere noctem
Fronde super viridi : sunt nobis mitia poma,
Castaneae molles, et pressi copia lactis.

It is not necessary to believe that Tityrus intended his guest to sleep on the bare leaves ; we may suppose a sheep, calf, or goat-skin to be thrown over them, this being the shepherd's custom (see Theocritus, *Id.* v. 9, and ix. 10). Dryden thinks that Meliboeus was to pass the night in the open air ; he makes Tityrus say to him :—

The Carpet-ground shall be with Leaves o'erspread ;
And Boughs shall weave a Cov'ring for your Head.

In my account given above of the scene depicted in Virgil's first Eclogue, there is an incongruity : the willows are in bloom whilst the apples are ripe, so that spring and autumn clash. The incongruity is not to be found in Virgil. The consummate master of his art skilfully avoids the blemish by putting the allusion to spring into the mouth of Meliboeus, and causing him to use the future tense, thus : ' You, Tityrus, will be in the enjoyment of such and such pleasures, whilst I shall be a homeless wanderer.' By this device he is able to combine the charms of spring with those of autumn.

It will be observed that in the Bucolic repast bread is conspicuous by its absence. There are, however, parts of Europe where, even in modern times,

The name of the poor outcast, as every schoolboy knows, was Meliboeus. But he is not Milton's Meliboeus. Milton did not take

shepherds are without bread. Mr. Leake found breadless shepherds in Greece; when going to take a meal with a shepherd he brought bread with him. The viands mentioned by Virgil have greatly exercised the ingenuity of critics. The mellow apples speak for themselves, but why were the chestnuts soft (*molles*)? Because they were ripe (*maturas*) says one; because they were young, or more fresh (*novas, vel recentiores*) says another. Both explanations are bad, cries a third; their softness is to be referred either *ad coactionem* to heaping them together (?), by which they are rendered edible, or to the circumstance that they were chestnuts of the kind known as *castaneae hirsutae*, or hairy chestnuts (Virgil, *Ec.* vii. 53) which are here said to be soft on account of the peculiarity of the husk. *Molles* does not mean soft in this passage maintains a fourth, but sweet; *mollis* is applied to the flavour, not to the substance of the chestnuts, just as it was used to denote the sweetness of wines and strawberries. Another, Servius, the most ancient of all, declares that *castaneae* was an old name for apples (*mala*), thus implying, seemingly, that in his opinion the *mitia poma* were not apples, but some other kind of fruit. It may be worth mentioning that according to a quotation in Murray's Dictionary (s.v. Chestnut) a kind of apple called Winter-chestnut is named by Evelyn. I should also add that an English botanist has made a suggestion which finds favour with many modern scholars; Martyn in his edition of the *Bucolics of Virgil*, writes, 'Perhaps we are to understand by *castaneae molles* roasted chestnuts, for the ancients were acquainted with the mode of preparing them, as we find in Pliny, *Torrere has in cibus gratius*;' but he did not adopt the explanation he had proposed, preferring to translate *castaneae molles* 'dainty chestnuts'.

The pressed milk is not without its difficulties. Some have thought that new milk just pressed from the udder is meant, others, pure, unmixed milk, the *ἄκρητον γάλα* of Homer's *Odyssey*. There is, however, an overwhelming weight of authority in favour of the pressed milk being cheese. Of the various kinds of cheese, the prevailing opinion seems to be that it was the soft variety, which, though not made from cream, now bears the name of cream cheese, that Tityrus was going to set before his guest. In the ancient world, the pressing of the milk, after coagulation, in order to expel the whey and force the curd into a solid mass, was not done by means of weights, but with the hand. Cheese is still sometimes pressed by hand. Mr. Leake, who in the Peloponnesus came upon shepherds making cheese from goat's-milk in a way so primitive that it might well have been in use in Sicily when Theocritus wrote, thus describes the last stage of the process: the cheese 'is then put into a form of cloth, or wood, or rushes, and squeezed dry by the hand' (Leake's *Travels in the Morea*, vol. i, p. 17). The ancients sometimes pressed their cheese in a form of wood, but usually a frail seems to have been used for the purpose.

That Tityrus made cheese is evident from line thirty-five of our Eclogue, where he speaks of pressing cheese (*caseus*) for a town, presumably Mantua. He boasts that the cheese is rich, but calls the town ungrateful, thereby

his Meliboeus from Virgil, but from a later Latin poet, Calpurnius. Like Virgil, Calpurnius introduces himself and his friends in his

arousing the suspicion that the farmers' habit of grumbling at the price his produce fetches is not of modern origin. The epithet Tityrus uses in describing the quality of the cheese is *pinguis*, literally, *fat*. The expression is still in use. A farmer in the Cheddar cheese district would say in praise of his cheese that it was *fat*, or that it contained all the *fat*, meaning that the milk from which it was made had not been robbed of any of its cream. In the third Georgic (402) Virgil again speaks of pressing cheese, or milk, as it is there called, and taking it to town. The milk yielded in evening is chosen; it is pressed, and at daybreak taken by shepherds (it being made of ewes' milk), unsalted, to towns. It is carried to the towns in frails (*calathis*), no doubt the frails in which it was pressed. Cheese appears to have been not only carried but sold in frails, for the voracious Hercules, when at an inn, is said to have devoured some cheese, frails and all (Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 560). Weaving the frails was a daily task. We learn more about them incidentally from three cases in which herdsmen neglect the duty of making them through disappointment in love (Virgil, *Ec.* ii. 72; Calpurnius, *Ec.* iii. 68, and x. 33. See also Tibullus, ii. 3. 18, and Columella, vii. 8). They were called *calathi* and *fiscellae*, and were woven of rushes (*iuncus*) and of willows (*salix*). Virgil represents himself in the character of a goatherd weaving a *fiscella* of *hibiscus* (*Ec.* x. 71). What is meant by *hibiscus* in the passage this is neither the time nor place to discuss; suffice it to say that Martyn renders the word by 'twigs', Conington, by 'willow'. Cream cheese is still pressed in rush frails. According to an account given in Walsh's *Domestic Economy* (2nd ed., 1879, Receipt No. 1118, *To make rush cream cheese*) the frail, which is in the shape of a brick, is made by sewing together rushes, or wheat-straws. A weight is placed on the cover to press the coagulated milk, so that the cheese is fluted with indentations made in the soft curd by the rushes of which the cover is composed. If the cheese is not brought to table in the frails in which it was pressed, we often see it served on a mat of rushes with the imprint of the cover visible on its upper surface. Cream cheese, being white, is sometimes confused with coagulated milk (πηκτή, Dor. πακτά), to which Polyphemus likens the hue of Galatea, the white-gleaming (λευκά) sea-nymph with whom he was in love (Theocritus, *Id.* xi). This coagulated or congealed milk is the first state of cheese, when milk, under the action of an enzyme, or unorganized ferment (rennet), begins to separate into a clot (curd) and a watery fluid (whey). The coagulated milk is bright and lucent, whilst cream cheese, though white, is dull and lustreless. Coagulated milk, or incipient cheese, is now sometimes called junket, but the term thus applied is a misnomer, junket or juncate, as the word should be written, being, properly speaking, cream cheese eaten as a sweetmeat. It takes its name from the rush frail; a junk (Latin *iuncus*) is a rush; a junket, a rush basket. Wycliff calls the ark of bulrushes in which Moses was exposed a 'ionket of resshen'. A 'juncade' is described by a fifteenth-century writer as 'a crudde' (curd) y-made yn ryshes' (Murray's Dictionary, s.v. Curd). The so-called junket is no longer pressed in a frail; for in the modern delicacy which bears the name

Eclogues as herdsmen. Meliboeus is his patron. Who the patron was is not known with certainty, but Seneca, the tutor of the Emperor Nero, a man of literary distinction, great taste, and immense wealth, has been named as probable. Whoever he might have been, he was certainly a writer of poetry, or Meliboeus would not have been described as a syrinx-player worthy to have his praises celebrated by Apollo with song, by Pan with pipes, and by Linus or Orpheus with strings (*fidibus*). ¹*Senior*, a term of respect, is thrice¹ applied to him; Milton, translating the word, twice calls him old.²

the coagulated milk is not even separated from the whey. It is prepared by mixing together sugar, powdered cinnamon, and brandy; pouring milk warm from the cow over the mixture; adding rennet; covering it, when coagulated, with clotted cream, and strewing sugar on the top (Cassell's *Dictionary of Cookery*, s.v. Devonshire Junket). The dish called Curds and Cream, alluded to in note 1, p. 289, is closely allied to junket, it being coagulated milk, from which the whey has been drained, covered with cream either plain or sweetened (Walsh, Receipt No. 2393, *Curds and Cream*). Dryden was of opinion that the pressed milk of Tityrus was curds and cream, for he translates the invitation to Meliboeus thus:—

This Night, at least, with me forget your Care,
Chesnuts and Curds and Cream shall be your fare.

In a passage from Spenser quoted in note 1, p. 282, clotted cream is used in the preparation of curds and cream, as in the receipt for Devonshire Junket in Cassell's *Dictionary of Cookery*.

We ought not to overlook the possibility that the comestibles named by Virgil—the apples, the chestnuts, and the pressed milk—might have formed the dessert after a substantial meal. In France, cheese forms part of the dessert to this day; amongst the Romans, apples were served at the close of the dinner. Although the weather was so warm that Tityrus was glad to avail himself of the shade of the beech, yet he was reminded that it was time to go indoors by seeing smoke rising from the farm-houses, a circumstance suggestive of a hot supper.

¹ Calpurnius, *Ec.* viii (Nem. i), 17, 24 and 63. See also the lines quoted in note 1, p. 290. Other passages could be cited.

The last four of the eleven Eclogues which bear Calpurnius's name are often attributed to another writer, Nemesianus. Mr. Keene points out in his scholarly edition of Calpurnius (pp. 40, 156) that the evident identity of the Meliboeus of the Eighth Eclogue (the first of those attributed to Nemesianus) with the Meliboeus of the first seven furnishes an argument for all the Eclogues being by the same author.

Senior and *senex* are used indiscriminately of old persons, but *senior* is more appropriate to one whom it is desired to honour. Strictly speaking, it seems, a *senior* was a man from forty-five to sixty, after sixty he became a *senex*.

² *Comus*, lines 822 and 852. The passage is quoted below. pp. 302–3.

MELIBOEUS'S DESCRIPTION OF THE PLAYING OF TITYRUS

In the Fourth Eclogue of Calpurnius, Corydon, a young shepherd; brings to Meliboeus a syrinx which had been given to him the day before by the learned Iollas. It had once belonged to Tityrus, who is now no more. The magic of the great master's music still lingers in the instrument, for Iollas had said that it made savage bulls friendly, and charmed a Faun by the sweetness of its tone. Should Meliboeus approve of so bold a step, Corydon, though trembling with nervousness, will, peradventure, try the flute of the renowned artist. Meliboeus warns him of the comparison he will challenge by the daring attempt. He is indeed ambitious if he is striving to be a Tityrus, for Tityrus was an inspired bard (*vates sacer*), who with the syrinx could outplay the lyre. For him, so soothingly (*blande*) would he make soft sounds, wild beasts oftentimes gambolled; for him, an oak would draw near and stand still; for him, when he poured forth the full torrent of his minstrelsy, a Naid had been known to appear,¹ bestrew him with ruddy acanthus and comb his dishevelled locks.²

¹ Tityrus was playing *dolce* (*blande canenti*) when wild beasts gambolled; *forte* (*cantantem*) when the Naid came to him. It will be understood, of course, that he did not confine himself to playing the syrinx; he sang also.

² Corydon is Calpurnius, who here consults his patron, Meliboeus, as to whether he shall act on the advice he has received from Iollas, and write in the style of Tityrus, or Virgil. The following is the text of the passage:—

CORYDON.

Quod si tu faveas trepido mihi, forsitan illos
Experiar calamos, here quos mihi doctus Iollas
Donavit, dixitque: Truces haec fistula tauros
Conciliat, nostroque sonat dulcissima Fauno.
Tityrus hanc habuit, cecinit qui primus in istis
Montibus Hyblaea modulamine carmen avena.

MELIBOEUS.

Magna petis, Corydon, si Tityrus esse laboras:
Ille fuit vates sacer, et qui posset avena
Praesonuisse chelyn, blande cui saepe canenti
Allusere ferae, cui substitit advena quercus,
Quem modo cantantem rutilo spargebat acantho
Nais, et implicitos combat pectine crines.

Calpurnius, *Eclogue* iv. 58–69.

The bestrewing of Tityrus with acanthus by the Naid may possibly have suggested to Spenser the idea of water-nymphs coming out of their 'christal

ORIGIN OF THE SABRINA OF COMUS

Not only did Milton take Meliboeus from Calpurnius, but he imitated the passage in which wild beasts are represented as gambolling when pleased, giving the names of the beasts that gambolled, and in a daring poetical flight from which a lesser genius would have shrunk, developing the idea of animals showing pleasure by frolics, until the sublime draws perilously near to the wells', and bringing flowers to a performer on the syrinx :—

And *many a Nymph*, both of the wood and brooke,
 Soon as his oaten pipe began to shrill,
 Both *christal wells* and shade groves *forsooke*,
 To heare the charmes of his enchanting skill;
 And brought him presents, *flowers* if it were prime,
 And mellow fruit if it were harvest time.

Astrophel, 43-48.

The difficulty of accounting for Milton's assertion that old Meliboeus was the soothest shepherd that e'er piped on plains is greatly increased by the circumstance that in Calpurnius Meliboeus himself bears testimony to the surpassing musical skill of Tityrus. That Milton's statement was an oversight may be taken for granted, it being inconceivable that the great poet cared nothing for his reputation as a scholar. The mistake cannot be attributed to blindness or to the decaying memory of advancing age, for Milton was only twenty-five, or twenty-six, when *Comus* was written. He had not yet been drawn into the vortex of politics, but, having left Cambridge, was devoting himself in the retirement of his father's house at Horton to the study of Greek and Latin literature, with a view of preparing for the immortal flight he was then meditating. But we ought to bear in mind that he was not, in his own opinion, able at the time to do himself justice; or, as he expressed it, the wings of his Pegasus were not as yet strong enough to bear him up to heaven (see note 1, p. 255). Even after three more years of study he did not consider himself ready, for in the opening lines of *Lycidas* he complains of being obliged to again write poetry before he was ripe for the task: to use the poetical figure he employed, he was forced to pluck the leaves and berries for the chaplets with which he was to be crowned before they were in season :—

Yet *once more*, O ye laurels, and once more,
 Ye myrtles brown, with ivy never sere,
 I come to pluck your berries harsh and crude,
 And with forced fingers rude
 Shatter your leaves before the mellowing year.

A more plausible explanation of the inadvertence may perhaps be found in the conjecture that Milton was hurried in his work towards the end of *Comus*. The Mask was to be presented on a fixed day; the presenters might have wanted the manuscript for rehearsals, and Lawes might have pressed for the words of the songs in order to set them to music. The surmise is strengthened by the circumstance that there seem to be other indications

ridiculous.¹ Moreover, it can scarcely be open to doubt that the Naid just mentioned is the prototype, or original, of the Sabrina of *Comus*. Here, in Calpurnius, Meliboeus tells the shepherd Corydon of the Naid, or water-nymph, who was drawn to Tityrus (presumably from the river Mincius on whose bank the bard sang) by the enchantment of his music ; in Milton, the seeming shepherd, Thyrsis, says that he has learnt from Meliboeus that a water-nymph (Sabrina) could be evoked from the river Severn, near which the scene is laid, and summoned to his presence by the power of song. Sabrina, according to Geoffrey of Monmouth, was a beautiful virgin who was drowned in the river Severn by Gwendolen, the widow of King Locrine, as an act of vengeance on her dead husband, to whose misconduct the innocent maiden owed her

of haste in the concluding part of the poem. The departure of Sabrina, for instance, without a farewell word, is so abrupt as to jar :—

Now the spell has lost its hold ;
And I must haste ere morning hour
To wait in Amphitrite's bower.

Again, the beauty of the Invocation of Sabrina is, *pace* Dr. Johnson, of a very high order, but the two last lines—

And bridle in thy headlong wave
Till *thou* our summons answered *have*—

are not equal to the earlier part, without reference to the substitution of *thou have* for *thou hast*, in order to get a rhyme. Moreover, there is an obvious slip in the Invocation. In the opening of the song, Sabrina is represented in a sitting posture :—

Sabrina
Listen where thou art sitting.

At its close, she is asked to raise her head from a bed :

. . . heave thy . . . head
From thy bed.

Even an immortal could not sit and lie at the same time.

¹ In the *Paradise Lost*, wild beasts give a performance of antics without music for the entertainment of our first parents. When Adam and Eve were seated on a bank in the garden of Eden, supping on fruit, Milton says that

About them frisking played
All beasts of the earth

.
Sporting the lion ramped, and in his paw
Dandled the kid ; *bears, tigers, ounces, pards,*
Gambolled before them ; the unwieldy elephant,
To make them mirth, used all his might, and wreathed
His lithe proboscis.

Paradise Lost, iv. 340.

existence. Milton took Sabrina from the bottom of the Severn, where Geoffrey of Monmouth left her, metamorphosed ¹ her into

¹ Milton was not the first to revivify Sabrina; she appears in Drayton's *Poly-olbion* as a queen seated on a throne. A comparison of the extract from *Comus*, given above, with the following quotation from the Fifth Song of the *Poly-olbion* will show that Milton was not indebted to Drayton, he having already associated her not only with *pearls* and *coral*, but with *Nereus*, *Neptune*, *Thetis*, and *Amphitrite*:

Now Sabrine, as a queen, miraculously fair,
Is absolutely placed in her Imperial chair
Of chrystal richly wrought, that gloriously did shine,
Her grace becoming well, a creature so divine:
And as her godlike self, so glorious was her throne,
In which himself to sit great *Neptune* had been known.

She in a watchet weed, with many a curious wave,
Which as a princely gift great *Amphitrite* gave;
Whose skirts were to the knee, with *coral* fring'd below
To grace her goodly steps. And where she meant to go,
The path was strew'd with *pearl*: which though they orient were
Yet scarce known from her feet, they were so wondrous clear.

Who was by *Nereus* taught, the most profoundly wise,
That learned her the skill of hidden prophecies,
By *Thetis*' special care.

In the Sixth Song of the *Poly-olbion* Sabrina is said to have been dissolved, or transmuted, into the water of the Severn, which still shows her tresses in the ripples on its surface, and her arms in the windings of its course. As, in the legend, the Severn takes its name from Sabrine, or Sabre, the river is represented by Drayton as being christened at her drowning. According to Drayton, both Sabrina and her mother, Elstred, were sacrificed by the implacable Gwendolen:

Before the cruel queen, the lady and the girl
Upon their tender knees begg'd mercy. Woe for thee,
Fair Elstred, that thou should'st thy fairer Sabrine see,
As she should thee behold the prey to her stern rage,
Whom kingly Locrine's death suffic'd not to assuage:
Who from the bord'ring cleaves thee to thy mother cast
Into thy christen'd flood, the whilst the rocks aghast
Resounded with your shrieks, till in a deadly dream
Your corses were dissolv'd into that crystal stream,
Your curls to curl'd waves, which plainly still appear
The same in water now, that once in locks they were:
And as you wont to clip each others neck before,
Ye now with liquid arms embrace the wand'ring shore.

a water-nymph, and incorporated her, seemingly, with the Naid who came to Tityrus by placing her under the spell of music. In *Comus*, it will be remembered, THE LADY is seated in an enchanted chair,

In stony fetters fixed and motionless.

Her brothers have driven away the enchanter, but have neglected to snatch from him the magic wand which is required to set her free ; whereupon Thyrasis says to them :

Yet stay : be not disturbed ; now I bethink me
Some other means I have which may be used,
Which once of *Meliboeus* old I learnt,
The soothest shepherd that e'er piped on plains.

There is a gentle Nymph not far from hence
That with moist curb sways the smooth Severn stream :
Sabrina is her name : a virgin pure ;
Whilom she was the daughter of Locrine,
That had the sceptre from his father Brute.
She, guiltless damsel, flying the mad pursuit
Of her enragèd stepdame, Gwendolen,
Commended her fair innocence to the flood
That stayed her flight with his crossflowing course.
The water-nymphs, that in the bottom played,
Held up their pearlèd wrists, and took her in
Bearing her straight to aged Nereus' hall ;
Who, piteous of her woes, reared her lank head,
And gave her to his daughters to imbathe
In nectared lavers strewed with asphodil,
And through the porch and inlet of each sense
Dropt in ambrosial oils, till she revived,
And underwent a quick immortal change,
Made Goddess of the river.

And, as the *old* swain said, she can unlock
The clasping charm, and thaw the numbing spell
If she be right invoked in warbled song ;

. This will I try,
And add the power of some adjuring verse.

SONG

Sabrina fair.

Listen where thou art sitting
Under the glassy, cool, translucent wave,
In twisted braids of lillies knitting
The loose train of thy amber-dropping hair ;

Listen and appear to us.

By the earth-shaking Neptune's mace,

By hoary Nereus' wrinkled look,

By Thetis' tinsel-slippered feet,

Rise, rise, and heave thy rosy head
From thy coral-paven bed,
And bridle in thy headlong wave,
Till thou our summons answered have.

Sabrina rises, attended by water-nymphs, sings a song, disenchants
THE LADY, and saying,

I must haste ere morning hour
To wait in Amphitrite's bower,

descends.

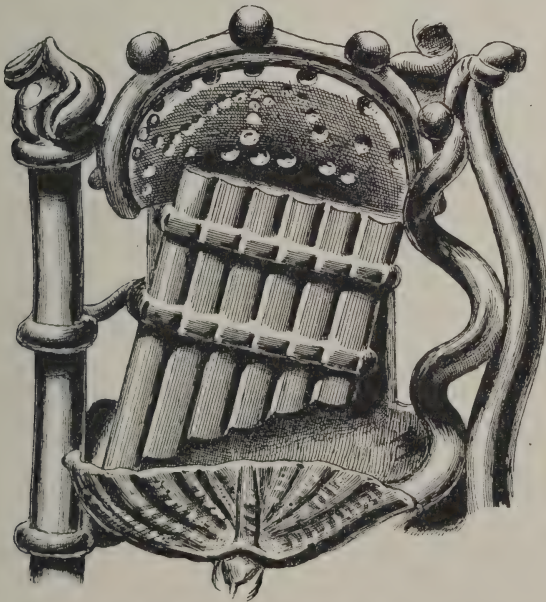


FIG. 91. SYRINX FROM A BRONZE REPRESENTING APHRODITE ADJUSTING
HER SANDAL. *Brit. Mus.*, No. 829

LECTURE VI

THE TEMPLE-FLUTE-PLAYER AND THE TOMB-PIPER

Origin of Temples, 304. *The Temple*, 305. *The Sacrifice*, 307. *The Sacrificial Flute-player*, 309. *The Influence of Flute-music on Spirits*, 322. *Fall of the Temple-flute-player*, 327. *The Tomb-pipers and their Instrument*, 343. *The Rite of Wailing—can it be explained?* 361. *The action of Bells on Spirits*, 382. *Funeral-music*, 387. *Jewish Wailing*, 395. *The Apostles and the Flute*, 400.

THE most primitive notion known to us of what becomes of the spirit after death is that it makes the grave, in which the body is laid, its home ; a belief which, judging from the indelible impression it has left on the psychical organization of man, must have prevailed for an inconceivable period of time.¹ It became customary

¹ The spirit was believed to be able to quit its abode and wander about at night. It was also sometimes credited with the power of entering the dead body, causing it to come forth from the grave, and bringing it back again to resume the attributes of a corpse, a notion which still survives in the belief entertained in the existence of vampires, or animated corpses, who attack, and prey upon, the living (see note 4, p. 386), but whose ravages can be stopped by exhuming and burning the body, an idea of which traces can be found amongst ourselves in the old custom of driving a stake through the body of a suicide with a view of confining it to the grave. We thus have two classes of apparitions, one, in which the spirit appears alone, the other, when it brings the body with it. I shall have occasion to point out that both classes are mentioned by Shakespeare. He expresses the belief in the power of the spirit to bring about a temporary resurrection of the body by causing Hamlet to describe his father's remains bursting the 'cerements', or bandages, with which they were enveloped at the embalming, whilst the tomb opens its mouth and casts up the revived corpse (*Ham.* i. iv. 48); the figure he employs enabling him to inspire a feeling of horror, and at the same time to make plain that what is thrown up is a material substance, not a mere spirit, or breath, which, according to him, the grave emits by a different vital act, that of gaping (*Mid. N. Dr.* v. i. 387). Afterwards, however, it transpires that the spectre seen by Hamlet belongs to the first class, the soul having come without the body. See below, note 3, p. 393. Dr. Johnson thinks that the description of the ghost as the actual body of Hamlet's father owes its origin to the fright of Hamlet, who is so terrified that he confuses the soul with the body. It is evident, however, that Shakespeare did not intend Hamlet to be influenced in what he said by fright. He puts into the mouth

to raise a tomb over the grave, as an habitation for the spirit, and to bring to the tomb food, as well as things useful and pleasant, such as arms, household goods, and flowers ; usages, at least as far as the flowers are concerned, not yet extinct amongst ourselves. Old writers have attributed the origin of temples to the custom of erecting tombs,¹ the humble tumulus being supposed to have developed into the stately fane ; whilst modern thought inclines to the belief that from the ancestral spirit located in the tomb was evolved the God fed and worshipped in the temple ; and that the idol, or sacred object, into which the divine essence was believed to be in the habit of infusing itself, represented, or corresponded to, the relics of mortality for which the grave was the depository.² Be this as it may, temples, whatever might have been their origin, were not merely edifices to which man resorted for the purpose of worship ; they were regarded as the actual dwelling-place of the several deities to whom they were dedicated : a distinction between the temple and the modern Protestant church which it is important to bear in mind.

THE TEMPLE

A visitor making his way towards a Greek or Roman temple would be on holy ground from the time he entered the court, or enclosure, by which the building was surrounded. Crossing the

of Horatio, 'a scholar' with a University education at Wittenberg, explanatory remarks on the subject of supernatural appearances. When referring to the class of spectres to which he believes the apparition of Hamlet's father to belong, Horatio states them to be the actual bodies of the dead, the graves being empty in their absence :—

A little ere the mightiest Julius fell,
The graves stood tenantless and the sheeted dead
Did squeak and gibber in the Roman streets.

Hamlet, I. i. 114.

Compare St. Matthew, xxvii. 52-3.

¹ 'Many are of opinion, that temples owe their origin to the superstitious reverence and devotion paid by the ancients to the memory of their deceased friends, relations, and benefactors (Eusebius, Lactant., Clemens Alexandr., *Protrept.*). . . . Those words, which in their proper acceptation signify no more than a tomb, or sepulchre, are by ancient writers applied to the temples of the gods. Thus Lycophron, a noted affecter of obsolete words has used *τύμβος*. . . . Nor is it any wonder that monuments should at length be converted into temples, when at every common sepulchre it was usual to offer prayers, sacrifices, and libations.' Potter, *Archaeologia Graeca*, Book II, chap. ii.

² Herbert Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*, chaps. xxi, xxii.

enclosure, he would approach the altar on which burnt sacrifices were offered, for it stood in front of the entrance. Passing the altar and ascending a flight of steps, he would come to the *pronaos* or vestibule, on entering which he would not fail to pause, and take from the *perirranterion*, or holy-water stoup, which he would find usually on his right hand, the bunch of green twigs that lay in it, in order to sprinkle himself with the liquid the vessel contained; a liquid prepared by dissolving salt in spring water, and consecrating the mixture by quenching in it a brand snatched flaming from the altar.

After carefully complying with this important formality, if the visitor were to walk straight forward through the *pronaos*, he would approach the door of the *naos*, or *cella*, the habitation of the deity, a place of such sanctity that it was consecrated afresh every year, the sacred formula being recited to the sound of the flute, whilst the congregation was hushed in deep and reverential silence. Should the door be open, as it would be on the occasion of a sacrifice, he would be able to look into this holy place. The dim light of the sacred lamp, which was kept burning day and night, and the brighter rays of the shining tapers which were lighted during service time, would enable him to perceive on the opposite side of the sanctum, resting on the lofty *hedos* or sacred seat, and housed in a costly *aedicula*, or shrine, the consecrated stock, stone, or graven image, which constituted the idol.¹ In front of this, there would be an

¹ The black stones worshipped in some temples under the name of *διοπετῆ*, that is, objects fallen from Zeus, or the sky, are believed to have been, as their name implies, aerolites, or masses of meteoric matter. We have a familiar example in 'the image which fell down from Jupiter', mentioned in Acts xix. 35. It is not certain, however, that this was a meteorite, as idols were sometimes claimed as *διοπετῆ* which were not entitled to the name. Of genuine *διοπετῆ*, there are examples in the black stone still preserved in the Kaaba at Mecca, and the conical black mass once worshipped as the sun in the Temple of Heliogabalus. Such bodies were popularly believed to be the stones by means of which the lives of Jupiter and his brothers, Neptune and Pluto, were saved. Their father Saturn was in the habit of devouring his male children as soon as they were born, but at the birth of each of these three gods, his wife Rhea gave him, instead of the baby, a large stone, which he swallowed in such haste as not to discover that he had been imposed upon. The gastric juice, however, of even a god was not strong enough to dissolve a stone; but it is easy to imagine that the ancients might have accounted for the dark colour, the rounded contour, and the glassy crust of the meteorites by attributing them to the intense digestive action to which the supposed celestial coprolites had been subjected during their passage through the

object on which his eyes would rest of greater importance than even the idol ; for, though there were temples without idols, as, for instance, that of Pitho at Sicyon, this was never absent. It was the holy banquet table ; the visible sign of divine worship. It would be decked with garlands for the sacrificial service, and on it would be laid gifts of fruit and other kinds of food not offered on the fire altar. In those temples where the so-called perpetual sacrifice was kept up, i.e. where the godhead was supposed to be always present, it was never allowed to be empty. Between it and the *hedos* was the *pulvinar*, or sacred couch, on which the god reclined to partake of the delicacies set before him. The space allotted to the *hedos*, the *pulvinar*, and the table, was separated from the rest of the *cella* by a low railing furnished with gates, thus forming an inner sanctum, or holy of holies.

THE SACRIFICE

In its simple form, a sacrifice is a feast which a deity is invited to share, but the observance became so obscured by dogmata and so overlaid with ceremonies that it is not always easy to trace its essential character. During the sacrifice of which we are treating, the door of the *cella*, a door usually of large size, was, as I have already mentioned, kept open, and the hangings, or *parapetasmata*, which veiled the *aedicula*, were drawn aside. The door was opened and the curtains undrawn to enable the god, who was supposed to have embodied himself in the idol, to look down on what was going on ; the altar, which was in the open air just outside the entrance to the vestibule, being on a lower level than the idol. Of all the religious rites of the Greeks and Romans, the sacrifice was the most solemn. A sacrifice was offered sometimes to expiate guilt, or to procure pardon for sins ; sometimes, it was a thank-offering for some signal mark of divine favour vouchsafed to the sacrificer ; sometimes, it was nothing more than a pious act which

divine alimentary canal. Meteorites were not the only mineral bodies which did duty as idols ; other stones were worshipped. In shape they were usually oblong, but square stones are mentioned. The wooden idols were at first merely logs shaven, or roughly trimmed. The Greeks attributed to Daedalus the invention of walking images, or idols with separate feet. As the knowledge of carving and graving advanced, idols became costly works of art, more or less human in shape. Such statues were placed in all new temples, and usually, but not in all cases, the rude stocks and stones were removed from old religious edifices to make way for them.

was regarded as the embodiment of a feeling of gratitude for past benefits and the expression of a hope of future blessings. So sacred was the ceremony, that not only was no servant or stranger allowed to approach it, but, before the service commenced, all who were considered unholy or profane, such, for instance, as notorious evil livers who had not been purified, and such persons as had not prepared themselves by previously abstaining from carnal pleasures, were called upon to withdraw; it being believed that a divine judgement in the shape of disease, or death, awaited him who was so presumptuous as to disregard the injunction and remain. When the profane had departed, the priest and such persons in the congregation as would have occasion during the ceremony to touch the altar or the victim, washed their hands in lustral water prepared in the way just mentioned, by plunging into it a piece of flaming wood from the altar, whilst the rest of the congregation underwent the process of being sprinkled with the sacred fluid. Vast importance was attached to the ceremony of washing hands, which having grown, it would seem, out of an old notion that spirits held spring or running water in such aversion that they would not attack a person to whom it had been applied, became in time symbolical of moral purification. But whether it originated in this way or not, we know that the formality was never omitted except by such impious wretches as were not afraid of being struck dead by a thunderbolt as a penalty for their neglect.

This important rite having been duly performed, a minister, addressing the congregation, demanded in a loud voice: 'Whom have we here?' The congregation having responded: 'We are many and good,' the service commenced by the priest repeating the opening formula: 'Let us pray.' To describe the sacrificial service in detail would require a separate Lecture; to treat it exhaustively, a course of Lectures. Suffice it to say that, after an opening prayer, there followed a careful examination of the victim which, decked with ribbons and garlands and sometimes with its horns gilded, had been previously brought to the altar amidst cries of the name of the god to whom it was to be offered, and often to the sound of the flute (Fig. 92). The object of the examination was not only to make sure that the animal was without spot or blemish, but also to ascertain if it was willing to be offered to the deity; this information being elicited from the brute beast by pouring water or corn into one of its ears, whereupon it shook its head, thus giving an affirmative nod. The examination ended, prayer was again offered.

Next came the ceremony of pouring a cup of wine on the head of the victim; the wine having been previously tasted, first by the priest, afterwards by the congregation. Then the priest took incense and scattered it on the altar. After this, salted barley meal was strewed upon the victim's back, as well as on the altar. Then followed another prayer which brought the first or preparatory part of the service to a close. The sacrifice proper then began. The wood was skilfully laid, the victim was slaughtered and dismembered, the parts to be offered were placed on the blazing altar, wine and incense were added to the fire, and the priest and the giver of the sacrifice, touching the altar with their hands, made special supplication to the deity. Then were performed hymns of praise, or paeans, musical works of a joyous character, usually in three



FIG. 92. FLUTE-PLAYER ESCORTING A VICTIM

movements. As they chanted the praises of their divinities, the congregation worshipped by means of gestures of the feet and hands, retiring from the altar whilst executing the steps of the strophe, as the first division of the solemn dance was called, advancing towards it for the second division, or antistrophe, but pausing in front of it to sing the third part, or epode.¹

THE SACRIFICIAL FLUTE-PLAYER

The most prominent figure in this imposing ceremony was the priest, a man whose qualifications for consecration to his sacred office were an unblemished body, and a blameless life. The sacerdotal apparel with which he was arrayed was of spotless purity, and sometimes of such magnificence that it could scarcely be distinguished from the dress worn by kings on state occasions.

¹ Thanks to the generosity of a Spanish gentleman, a relic of sacred dancing is still to be seen. See note 6, p. 336.

Second in importance to the priest, crowned like him with a chaplet of leaves, and robed in a flowing vestment, was the flute-player, who with his instrument (often a double flute of exceptional length, sometimes made of ivory) took his station near the altar. Sacrificial



FIG. 93. ROMAN SACRIFICE

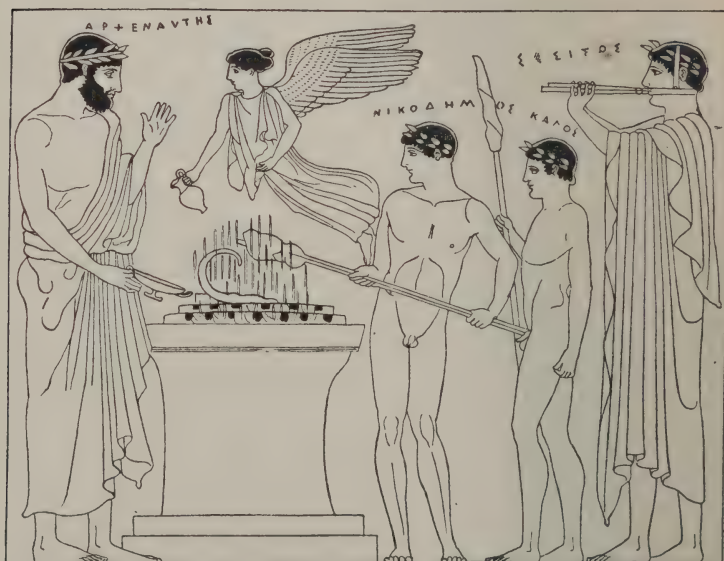
FIG. 94. SACRIFICIAL FLUTE-PLAYER
WITH AN ACCOMPANYIST

FIG. 95. GREEK SACRIFICE

scenes frequently form the subjects of ancient works of art ; I have chosen three as illustrations. The sketch, Fig. 93, is taken from a medal, and represents the Roman Emperor, Antoninus Pius, sacrificing in the capacity of Chief Pontiff (*Pontifex Maximus*).

On one side of the altar stands the Emperor. He is engaged in the most solemn act of the service, that of offering the deity wine, which was done by pouring it on the flame from a *patera*, a vessel in shape resembling a modern saucer, or shallow basin. On the opposite side, is the flute-player discharging the duties of his office. In the foreground, a bullock awaits the stroke of the uplifted pole-axe, whilst a camillus, a sort of acolyte, or attendant on the priest, usually a youth of noble birth, is ready with a vessel in his hand to receive the blood of the victim and convey it to the Emperor to be poured on the altar.¹ Fig. 94, from Bartholinus, is a sacrificial scene as shown on a coin of Domitian. Here the flute is accompanied by the lyre.

Fig. 95 takes us from Rome to Greece. It is a sacrifice according to the Greek ritual, as depicted on a vase in the British Museum.²

¹ In Grueber's *Roman Medallions in the British Museum*, the figures are thus described: 'Emperor l. wearing pontifical robes, holding *patera* and scroll, and sacrificing at a lighted tripod; before him a camillus with *patera* in left hand; a tibicen r. playing a double flute, a victimarius, and a popa with axe raised felling an ox; the Emperor is accompanied by an attendant standing r. behind the tripod, his right hand placed in the bosom of his toga.'

² Greek and Roman Department, Vase-room 3, Wallcase 3, E 455. The following technical description is from the official catalogue of the Museum:— 'Argonautic sacrifice; on the left side of a blazing altar stands Hêraclês pouring a libation on the flames from a *phialê* which has been filled from the *oinochôê* of a Nikê hovering in the air; opposite stands a youthful male figure, probably Jason, holding in the flames a piece of meat on two spits; behind is a youthful figure holding up another piece of meat on a spit, and *aulêtês* playing on the double flutes; Hêraclês is laurelled and bearded, and wears a *peplos* which covers the body nearly to the feet, leaving the right arm and shoulder bare; he raises his left hand as if addressing the Nikê; above his head ΑΡΧΕΝΑΥΤΗΣ, 'naval commander,' an epithet referring to the Argonautic expedition, of which according to one set of traditions he was the chief; the Nikê has her hair gathered up in a knot behind with a diadem wound several times round it, and wears a talaric *chitôn* over which is an upper fold or garment reaching to the waist; her right hand and the *oinochôê* it holds as well as most part of the upraised arm of Hêraclês seem restored but correctly; Jason and the figure behind him holding the spit are both wreathed with laurel and beardless; above them ΝΙΚΟΔΗΜΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ, 'Nicodemus is noble'; the *aulêtês* is beardless and wreathed with laurel, and wears a mantle reaching half-way down the leg; the *phorbeia* is attached to his face by two straps, one of which passes over the crown, the other over the back of the head; his hands, part of the flutes and the back of his head are restored; above the flutes the name of the *aulêtês* ΣΙΣΙΦΟΣ, 'Sisiphos'; the altar tapers to its base like a mortar, and is placed on two steps; two rows of burning logs are placed upon it, in the fire is the rump of the victim.'

The sacrificer and the flute-player, each crowned with a chaplet of leaves, face each other as in the preceding illustrations, with the altar between them. Here, too, the sacrificer is represented pouring a libation on the flames from a *phiale*, as the Greeks termed the *patera*. He appears to have received the wine for the purpose from a flagon which Nike, the goddess of Victory, who floats in the air, holds in her right hand. Soothed by the strains of the flute, she regards the sacrificer with a benignant air, and seems to listen to the words which he, with hand upraised, appears to be addressing to her. In front of the flute-player, attendant youths are seen with portions of the victim on spits, and on the altar may be discerned a token that the sacrifice has been accepted, the tail of the victim standing erect in the fire.¹

Covering the lower part of the face of the flute-player is the *phorbeia*, or mouth-band, a strap of leather drawn over the lips and cheeks, and passing round the back of the head. It was usually furnished with a second strap passing over the top of the head, as shown in the figure, and serving, no doubt, to obviate any tendency it might have to slip down. Opposite the mouth, it was perforated with a hole² through which the mouthpiece passed into the mouth of the player.

Happening to look into the catalogue after these pages were prepared for the press, I discovered that the description quoted above had been withdrawn from the edition now in use, and another substituted in which the sacrifice was stated to be for a naval victory unconnected with the Argonautic expedition.

¹ The behaviour of the tail was anxiously watched; 'when it was curled by the flame, it portended misfortunes; when it was extended out in length, it was an omen of some overthrow to be suffered; but when erected it signified victory. (Eurip. Scholiast. Phoenissis).' Potter, *Archaeologia Graeca*, chap. xiv.

In the *Peace* of Aristophanes, whilst a sacrifice is being offered, one of the characters in the drama exclaims, 'the tail is doing beautifully.'

² In connexion with the hole, I was hoping to be able to say what sort of leather was usually employed in the construction of the *phorbeia*, and at the same time to throw light on the lines in Aristophanes:—

ἑμὲς δ', ὅσοι Θεΐβαθεν αὐληταὶ πάρα,
τοῖς ὁστίνοισι φουσῆτε τὸν προκτὸν κυνός.

Acharnians, 862-3.

Τὸν προκτὸν κυνός has been explained to be the tune which the flute-players were told to play. It is, however, scarcely conceivable that such a name—the dog's aboral orifice—could have been given to a tune. Could not Aristophanes be alluding to the hole in the *phorbeia* through which the wind was carried? Thus the order, 'Blow the dog's aboral orifice with your

The object of the *phorbeia*, we are told, was twofold. It was intended to prevent the unsightly distension of the cheeks in loud passages, and also, by enabling the performer to emit the breath in due proportion, to sweeten the tone which without its use had a tendency to become wild¹ (*ἄγριος*). The allusions made by ancient writers to the state of the eyes of flute-players, bloodshot and protruding from their sockets, are sufficient proof that the flute was blown at times with great force. Still, there were players, according to Julius Pollux, who were able to blow with their full strength without distorting the countenance; moreover, although there can be no doubt that power of tone was highly valued and weakness despised, yet there is reason for believing that loud blowing, unless artistically contrasted with soft playing, was highly offensive to the refined musician, just as the peals of thunder which Rubenstein used to roll from his instrument would have been intolerable to the cultivated ear, had it not been for the angels' whispers with which they were so skilfully associated. That the ancients were as fully alive as we are to the importance of contrast in tone for musical effect may be inferred from an anecdote related of Kaphesias, who is said to have been so incensed at hearing a pupil striving to blow with great force and practising loud playing, that he struck him as he impressed upon him in an aphorism, that good playing did not lie in great blowing, but great blowing in good playing.² Again, Julius Pollux, in mentioning the expressions which could be used with propriety by one desirous of praising a flute-player, says that reference might be made to his excellent way of taking breath, to his ability to fill his instrument, to his great blowing and powerful wind, to his large, sustained, strong, clear, dashing, and forcible tone; but he does not forget to add that he could also be complimented on his sweet-breathing strains. Conversely, in describing a bad player, a critic might not only allude to his weakness and want of breath, but might speak of the

bone flutes,' might be a humorous but indelicate way of telling the flute-players to strike up. Had this supposition been well founded it would have followed that the *phorbeia* was made of dogskin. Unfortunately, however, a distinguished Greek scholar to whom I submitted the idea was of opinion that the Greek words would not bear the meaning put upon them.

¹ See Mr. Rogers's note on line 582 of the *Wasps* of Aristophanes; also Bartholinus, *De Tib. Vet. Lib.* III, cap. iii.

² Οὐ κακῶς δὲ καὶ Καφησίας ὁ αὐλητῆς, ἐπιβαλλομένου τινὸς τῶν μαθητῶν αὐλεῖν μέγα, καὶ τοῦτο μελετῶντος, πατάξας εἶπεν, Οὐκ ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ τὸ εὖ κείμενον εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῷ εὖ τὸ μέγα. Athenaeus, xiv. 26.

absence of sweetness in his tone. Loud, ill-regulated blasts, like the rant and fustian which the modern actor addresses to the gallery, were meant for the less educated element of the audience; an element held in great contempt by the artists of the ancient world, as the story of Harmonides, who made so violent an effort with a view of eliciting a round of applause that he lost his life, is quite sufficient to prove.¹ Harmonides had not a particle of the true artist in his nature. His only motive in becoming a flute-player was, as he unblushingly avowed to his master, Timotheus, to gratify his vanity, and pander to his desire for the celebrity which attached to the flute-players of the Old World.² The advice which

¹ We have also direct evidence on this point; the following is from *Athenaeus*, xiv. 31 (Yonge's translation): 'And formerly, to be popular with the vulgar was reckoned a certain sign of a want of real skill: on which account Asopodorus, the Phliasian, when some flute-player was once being much applauded while he himself was remaining in hyposcenium, said—"What is all this? the man has evidently committed some great blunder":—as else he could not possibly have been so much approved of by the mob. . . . But in our days artists make the objects of their art to be the gaining the applause of the spectators in the theatre; on which account Aristoxenus, in his book entitled *Promiscuous Banquets*, says— . . . "And so we also, since the theatres have become completely barbarized, and since music has become entirely ruined and vulgar, we, being but a few, will recall to our minds, sitting by ourselves, what music once was."'

² According to Lucian, Harmonides addressed his master in this style: 'Tell me, Timotheus, how to become famous for my art, and what to do to be known throughout Greece. As regards other things, you have already been so good as to teach me to tune the flute to a nicety; to blow into the mouthpiece (*ἐς τὴν γλωσσίδα*) with refinement and modulation; to make my fingers fall with delicacy in their quick-recurring movements up and down; to move (*βαίνειν*) in rhythm; to play the melodies in harmony with the chorus; to preserve the distinctive character of each mode, the inspired style of the Phrygian, the Bacchic spirit of the Lydian, the solemnity of the Dorian, and the grace of the Ionic. All this have I learnt of you; but the most important points of all, the very objects for which I was desirous of playing the flute, I do not see how I shall attain from the art: to be thought highly of by the people; to be a notable man at public meetings; to be pointed out with the finger; that wherever I show myself, forthwith all present should turn towards me and, pronouncing my name, should say "THAT IS HE, Harmonides, the best of flute-players"; just as when you, Timotheus, first came from your home in Boeotia, and took the flute in the *Pandionis*, and were victorious in the *Ajax Furiosus*, composed by your namesake, there was not a person who was unacquainted with your name, Timotheus of Thebes. And even now, when you appear, all run flocking to you, as the birds flock to the owl. These are the distinctions for which I wished to become a flute-player, and it is for their sake that I underwent the drudgery of the toilsome study. As for

Timotheus gave him may be said to be addressed to flute-players for all time ; he told him that the most certain way to acquire fame was to pay little heed to the many who know how to clap and how to hiss, but to endeavour to gain the approval of the few who know how to judge. His words fell on deaf ears. Harmonides, in his very first public competition, a competition destined to be also his last, forgetful of the judges who were to award the crown of victory, and blowing too eagerly in his yearning for popularity, blew his spirit ¹ into the flute and died on the platform.

If such evidence that sweetness was esteemed is not considered conclusive, we can appeal to the Plays of Aristophanes. In *The Birds*, a flute-solo in imitation of the warbling of the nightingale was played behind the scenes, the bird being supposed to be hidden in a copse. The deep impression which Aristophanes knew the solo would make on those assembled in the theatre is attributed to its sweetness, which is likened to that of honey. At its close, one of the characters in the Play interrupts the performance to compliment the flute-player by exclaiming,

O Zeus and King, the little birdie's voice !
O how its sweetness honied all the copse !²

It may be objected that such language is not a proof that the sounds referred to would be considered sweet if judged by our standard ; sweetness is comparative only, what was sweet to the Greeks might be harsh to us. But if the Greeks had never heard modern music, they were familiar with an instrument which can have undergone but little change since their time—the human voice ; and they discussed the question, which was sweeter, it, or the flute.

the mere ability to play the flute without becoming famous for it, I would not accept it as a gift accruing to me unknown, not even if I might become a Marsyas or an Olympus, on condition that I should be unheard of. For music kept secret and hidden is, they say, good for nothing. But pray teach me this, how I am to use myself as well as my art, and I shall be doubly indebted to you ; indebted to you for the flute-playing, and, most of all, for the glory I shall acquire for it.'

¹ The expression used by Lucian in his essay on Harmonides is ἐναπέπνευσε τῷ αὐλῷ. It is difficult to give the exact meaning of the words, for we have ceased to connect the breath with the spirit, though we still speak of the breath of life.

² *The Birds*, 223-4. The translation, as well as that of the other extracts which follow, is from Mr. B. Bickley Rogers's edition of *The Plays* of Aristophanes. In the Introduction to *The Birds* (p. lxxxv) there are remarks on the solo, and speculations as to the kind of flute on which it was played.

They admitted that the voice was sweeter than the flute ; yet they were of opinion that if the singer sang notes only without words, it was not sweeter. They thought the flute sweeter than the lyre and a more delightful accompaniment to the voice. ‘Why,’ says Aristotle, ‘do we listen to a vocal solo with greater pleasure when it is sung to the flute than when it is sung to the lyre ? Is it because anything which is sweet, when it is mingled with that which is more sweet becomes sweeter ? Now the sound of the flute is sweeter than that of the lyre.’¹ The flute solo in *The Birds* formed the introduction to a song with flute *obbligato* (it was sung by the hoopoe and accompanied by the nightingale), which must have added greatly to the attractions of the Play.

If sweetness was admired, harshness was disliked, as is abundantly evident from the works of the same writer, Aristophanes. The most witty of dramatists selects as a butt a flute-player of the name of Chaeris, who is believed to have been a real personage, not a mere stage creation. He was, it is said, a Theban flute-player without talent for music, but the chief charge brought against him by Aristophanes is that his tone was impure. He used to play at sacrifices, and would present himself when he was not welcome. In *The Peace*, where there is a sacrificial scene, the congregation are anxious to hasten the service lest he should discover what is going on, inflict upon them his unacceptable performance, and then claim a share of the feast as a reward for his toils :—

Make haste, make haste : if Chaeris see,
He’ll come here uninvited,
And pipe and blow to that degree,
His windy labours needs must be
By some small gift requited.²

The quality of his tone forms the subject of an attack on him in *The Birds*, where he is indirectly charged with *croaking*, the part of the raven being assigned to him. Here he has got wind of an intended sacrifice, and is on the spot with his *phorbeia* fastened on, ready to play at a moment’s notice. The chorus propose that the service should begin with a paean, and suggest that he should take the flute part :—

Up high, up high, let the Pythian cry,
The Pythian cry to the God be sent ;
Let Chaeris play the accompaniment.³

¹ Aristot. *Prob.*, Sect. xix, Probs. 10 and 43.

² *The Peace*, 950–5.

³ *The Birds*, 857–8.

Without waiting for further leave, he comes forward. Black wings hang down his back ; his head and face are covered with a mask to represent a raven ; he is muzzled with the *phorbeia*, and holds in his beak the mouthpiece of the flute, on which he is blowing with all his might. His 'windy labours', however, are cut short by the sacrificer :—

O stop that puffing ! Heracles, what's this ?
Faith, I've seen many a sight, but never yet
A mouth-band-wearing raven ! Now then, priest,
To the new Gods commence the sacrifice.

Chaeris's tone is again assailed in *The Acharnians*, the music of flute-players of the Chaeris tribe, as Theban performers are there called, being compared to the droning of hornets and bumble-bees. In the Play, a band of Theban flute-players strike up in front of the house of an Athenian. (I ought to have premised that the Thebans were most celebrated flute-players of ancient Greece, and that the vain Athenians were jealous of them.) The master of the house shouts from within to the hornets, as he thinks proper to call the musicians, who are buzzing about the door, to be off. He further tells them to go to the devil (ἐς κόρακας), and in a clever but untranslatable pun bestows upon them the appellation of Chaeridian bumble-fluters (Χαιριδῆς βομβαῦλοι).¹

¹ *Acharnians*, 866. The performance of Chaeris appears to have been as offensive to the eye as it was to the ear. In *The Peace* he is represented as puffing and labouring (φυσῶντι καὶ πονοιμένοι). His struggles in forcing out the upper register of his instrument seem to have been painful to witness. When playing the Orthian nome, he is said to have stooped sideways (παρέκνυψε) in so distressing a fashion that one who was looking on declared that it was the death of him, and that he writhed in agony at the sight (*Acharnians*, 15). To give due effect to the Orthian nome, it was necessary to elicit the high notes with great force ; in fact, the strain, when sung, could only be attempted by those gifted with voices of exceptional power and compass. 'Few,' says Aristotle (*Prob.* xix. 37), 'are able to sing the songs called Orthian, because they ought to be sung with a very acute, intense, and high voice.' Aristophanes implies that the crow of the cock is the bird's Orthian nome. If the contortions of Chaeris were comparable to those of the cock in his vocal efforts, it is easy to understand the excruciating effect they produced on a bystander. Unseemly motions of the body appear to have been not uncommon amongst ancient flute-players. Saint Epiphanius, in an attack on the flute, says that the movements of the player, as 'he bends to the right and bends to the left', resemble the gestures of the Devil when engaged in blaspheming. See below, p. 334. Even now many musicians find it difficult to resist a seemingly natural tendency to sway the body, a circum-

To return. If the duties of the flute-player at a sacrifice were less important than those of the priest, they were certainly not less onerous, so that it can occasion no surprise that Ovid should speak of his labour and the reward by which it was sweetened.¹

stance not easy to account for. The movements are not always rhythmical. Possibly they may be a survival handed down by unconscious memory of gestures in use with emotional melody before the introduction of speech, and thus may be vestiges of a gesture language. Irish wailers and Scottish worshippers sway their bodies. See below, note 1, p. 408.

¹ The reward mentioned by Ovid was the *ius vescendi*, or right of taking food—the repasts being provided, no doubt, free of charge—which was enjoyed from time immemorial by the flute-players who were on duty in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at Rome. The privilege was believed to have been granted by Numa Pompilius, who founded the College of Flute-players, and conferred on them many honours on account of the sacred nature of their duties. The college had an annual gaudy, or festival, on which occasion the members assembled in the Temple of Minerva and marched through the streets enveloped in long variegated garments, resembling the stole worn by women, with their heads and faces covered with veils or masks; they were even allowed to attract general attention in the Forum by playing concerted music and singing facetious words to old tunes, although serious business was being transacted at the time. The gaudy was a very old institution, coeval perhaps with the foundation of the college, the strange costume having probably originated in some ancient vestment or garb, the history of which it is impossible to trace. It may have been even older than the gaudy, old forms of dress being very tenacious of existence in relation with religion. The circumstance that the flute-players sang amusing songs in the Forum suggests the idea that their habit was a primitive histrionic, or mumming vesture; indeed, we cannot say that the veiled head and the long gown might not have descended from the magic drapery of a medicine-man, in which case they would have been relics of a religious system of greater antiquity than the Graeco-Roman creed. To account for their origin, as well as for that of the gaudy, writers of the Augustan age, who were not archaeologists but aimed at making attractive books, dished up the following story.

About three hundred years before their time—the precise date is 309 or 310 B. C.—Appius Claudius, a religious reformer who was afterwards struck blind for his presumption, thought proper, in his capacity of Censor, to deprive the college of the *ius vescendi*. Thereupon the members retired in a body to Tibur, now Tivoli, a town which, though within twenty miles of Rome, was at that time independent. As there was no one left to play at the sacrifices, the senate became alarmed; should the wrath of the gods be aroused, a disaster might befall the Roman arms—two important wars were being waged at the time—or pestilence might break out. They therefore sent ambassadors to beg the Tiburtines to assist them in bringing about a return of the flute-players. The Tiburtines replied in a friendly way, and calling the flute-players into the senate-house tried to prevail on them to go back, but not succeeding, they determined to have recourse to a stratagem. They

He began to play before the sacrifice commenced ; nor was it until the worshippers had dispersed that his duties came to an end, for we hear of exit nomes (ἐξόδοι νόμοι), or tunes for use when those assembled are leaving a theatre, a funeral, or a sacrifice, so that the temple-flute-player, it seems, like his successor the church

conceived the idea of making them drink till they lost their senses, and then conveying them to Rome before they came to themselves. Accordingly, they intercalate a pretended feast-day, inviting the college to the celebration, and having rendered them senseless with wine, huddle them into wagons (*in plaustra coniiciunt*). During the night the wagons were driven to Rome and drawn up in the Forum, so that when the musicians were brought to consciousness by the daylight, they found themselves surrounded by a crowd of their fellow-citizens, who entreated them to stay. On their yielding, not only was the *ius vescendi* restored to them, but the annual gaudy was instituted, and in order to keep up the memory of the event, incidents connected with it were embodied in the fête. Thus, according to Valerius Maximus, the flute-players wore masks in their course through the city because their predecessors were so ashamed of being circumvented by alcohol, that they covered their faces on their return to Rome. Ovid accounts for the masks by supposing that the flute-players had come back contrary to orders, and that they were told to veil their faces and put on women's dresses for concealment, so that the senate should not know that they had returned. We find another reason for the costume in Plutarch, where the flute-players are represented as invited by a freed man to a religious feast given at his country house some distance from Tibur. The banquet was followed by a wine-party at which, as will be seen (I am going to quote Plutarch), there was dancing and other amusements, the flute-players wearing long, flowered garments on account of the evening-party. In such a hotchpotch of incongruities it is impossible to sift fact from fiction, occurrences being obviously imagined to account for the doings to be explained ; but it is certain that the affair ended in a triumph for the flute-players, for all the writers are agreed that they regained the highly prized *ius vescendi*. It is needless to say that it would have been impossible without the risk of fatal results to make a body of men take so much alcohol that they could be jolted for hours in wagons with creaking wheels, and not discover what was going on unless they were consenting parties to the deception. On the other hand, it would probably not have been difficult to cause the flute-players to show their piety by drinking deep during a religious banquet. At a feast, an *arbiter bibendi*, wine-lord, ruler of the feast, or chairman as we call him, was chosen, who not only ordered how much water should be mixed with the wine, but how many ladlefuls of the mixture each guest was to take. The guest had no choice ; he was obliged to drink his allotted portion, there being sometimes inspectors, called Eyes, appointed to see that the cups were duly filled and emptied. The usual proportion in which the wine was diluted was two parts of water to one of wine, or three of water to two of wine. Whether on this occasion the wine was taken neat, or untempered, as it seems to have been in drinking to the gods, we are not told, but Ovid says that it was strong. Some of the ancient

organist, played the congregation out.¹ During the service itself he appears to have been incessantly engaged. With certain unimportant exceptions, the work of the church organist is confined to accompanying the singing; it was very different with the temple-

wines seem to have been extraordinarily intoxicating; according to Aristotle (Athenaeus, x. 34), a pint and a half of Samagorian mingled with water had been known to make more than forty men drunk.

The episode in the history of the College of Flute-players is narrated by Livy (ix. 30), Valerius Maximus (ii. 5), Ovid (*Fasti*, v. 652-92), and Plutarch (*Quaestiones Romanae*, lv). See also above, Lecture I, note 1, p. 104.

I subjoin a translation of one of the versions, that of Plutarch:—

‘Why were the flute-players granted the privilege of perambulating the City on the Ides of January, wearing women’s garments? Was it for the reason usually assigned? For they enjoyed, it seems, great honours, conferred on them by King Numa on account of their holy function in relation to the Deity. But having been deprived of these, in later times, by the proconsular decemviri, they departed out of the City. Now their presence was earnestly desired, and a vague dread of the Gods was kindled, as the priests were sacrificing without flute-music. But when they could not be prevailed upon by those who were sent after them, but tarried at Tibur, a freed-man secretly made an offer to the authorities to bring them back. And having prepared a bounteous repast, as if he were about to make an offering to the Gods, he bade the flute-players. And there were young ladies present when they took their wine, and a night-festival was kept up, they playing games and dancing. Then, of a sudden, the freed-man, calling out that his patron was coming to him, and becoming agitated, prevailed upon the flute-players to get into wagons encircled with a covering of hides, to be conveyed to Tibur. But this was a snare. For, bringing the wagons round, they not perceiving it, owing to the wine and the darkness, he took them all back unawares to Rome at early dawn. But, on account of the night-festival and the wine-party, most of them happened to be in garments of divers colours, and such as are worn by women. As, then, they were won over by the authorities, and a reconciliation was brought about, it was established, that, on that day, thus apparelled, they should make their stately progress through the City.’

¹ A sort of introit seems to have been played on the flute at the beginning of the sacrificial service:—

‘Non solum in ipsis sacrificiis, opere suo fungente sacerdote cum aliis sacrificii ministris, Tibiae praecinuere, sed eadem ad sacra convocarunt Ethnicos, et a Tibicinibus sacrificium auspicatum, quod apud *Strabonem* observo lib. 17. Et clara eiusdem ritus vestigia deprehendo apud *Heliodorum* Aethiop. lib. 3, quem interpres reddidit: *Subsequebatur hos aliarum victimarum diversa multitudo. Cuiuslibet autem animantis genus, seorsim et ordine ducebatur, cum Tibia et fistula initiatoriam quandam et denuntiaticem sacrificii partem inciperet.* Sic *Statius Thebaid.* lib. v, vers. 94:

—Cum sacra vocant, Idaeaque suadet

Buxus . . . ,

Bartholinus, *de Tibiis Veterum*, lib. ii, cap. 7.

flute-player. To lead the hymns, paeans, and dances, including, perhaps, the exertion of giving the time with clogs, or clackers (*κρούπειλαι*, *scabella*) on his feet, was but a part of his exhausting task.¹ He was in full blast during the slaughter of the victim,² and was kept going, as we have just seen him represented, whilst the libations were poured. I shall show that he might even be called upon to execute solos, or voluntaries, which there is reason to think were sometimes continued for a considerable time. Nor was this all. He was required to play whilst the priest was offering prayer. He turned his instrument towards the priest, and was said to play into his ear, with a view, so Pliny explains the custom, of preventing him from hearing any unholy sound which might have the effect of distracting his attention from the sacred function in which he was engaged; a practice which is said to have left its mark on the ritual of both the Eastern and the Western Church.³

¹ It is certain that flute-players sometimes wore scabella in theatrical performances, but I know of no direct evidence to show that they used them at sacrifices. There seems, however, reason for thinking that they employed them in religious ceremonies of some kind. Bartholinus (lib. iii, cap. 4) mentions a writer who speaks of their use *in sacris*, and elsewhere (lib. ii, cap. 6) quotes Arnobius, a Christian author, who asks what effect their clacking has in causing deities to forget their wrath.

² ‘Non solum Thus apud Romanos, sed etiam hostiae ad praeconem et tibicinem immolari solitae. De his elegans occurrit Ciceronis locus in Orat. contra Rullum:

Erant hostiae maiores in foro constitutae quae illis praetoribus de tribunali, sicut a nobis Consulibus, de consilii sententia probatae ad praeconem et Tibicinem immolabantur. Nec aliter intelligendus est Catullus, lib. iv, el. 1:

*Parva saginati lustrabant compita porci,
Pastor et ad calamos exta litabat ovis.’*

Bartholinus, *De Tibiis Veterum*, lib. ii, cap. 7.

The second quotation is from Propertius, not Catullus as Bartholinus has inadvertently written.

³ ‘. . . tibicinem canere, ne quid aliud exaudiatur,’ Pliny, xxviii. 3.

Referring to the practice, Burney writes (*History of Music*, vol. i, p. 424, note): ‘A similar custom is still preserved in the Greek Church. For, while the priest stands with his face towards the east, and repeats the prayers, the choir is almost constantly singing hymns, and he reads in so low a voice,



FIG. 96. SUPPOSED SCABELLUM FROM A MARBLE ALTAR, AFTER BARTHOLINUS

THE INFLUENCE OF FLUTE-MUSIC ON SPIRITS

The use of the flute in drowning unholy sounds was, however, quite of secondary importance; the instrument owed its employment in the service chiefly to the direct influence it was thought to exert over the deity to whom the sacrifice was offered. To make this more clear, let us consider for a moment the explanation given by the ancients of the extraordinary power which music possesses of moving the passions and emotions. They believed this power to be due to a direct action of musical sounds on the spirit of man. The sound of the flute, entering the body through the ears, was supposed to find its way to the spirit, and to soothe or excite it according to the skill of the performer and the musical mode in which the instrument was played.¹ Thus we are told that a solo on the flute played in the Phrygian, the most furious of the modes, put Alexander the Great in so violent a passion, that he fired the city of Persepolis, and, on another occasion, when he was at table, seized his arms and was with difficulty restrained from attacking the guests assembled at the royal dinner-party. It was with the same mode that the flute-girl exasperated the young man of Tauromenium, who, in the oft-told story, was about to set fire to the house in which the young lady of light character for whom he had a fancy was shut up with a gentleman. But ancient music had its calming as well as its agitating measures. Pythagoras, who was deeply versed in the mysteries of the art, happening fortunately to be out star-gazing at the time (this, at least, is the explanation given of his presence in such a neighbourhood at so late an hour) told the flute-girl to play a spondee, a strain which quickly brought the young fellow to his senses.²

for the most part, that the congregation is not supposed to pray themselves, or to hear the prayers he offers on their behalf. *Rites and Cerem. of the Greek Church*, by Dr. King, p. 46. Perhaps, too, the musical performances in the churches of Italy, during the *Mussitandi*, or *Messa-bassa*, had the same origin.'

¹ 'Vidimus enim Tibiam, quae ex testimonio *Plutarchi*, Sym. 7, cap. 8, in aures se insinuat infundens vocem iucundam usque ad animam, modo mores asperos lenire, animosque demulcere, modo eosdem lymphatico cantu incitare atque furorem allicere,' Bartholinus, *de Tibiis Veterum*, Lib. II, cap. i.

² Such stories should, no doubt, be relegated to the region of romance, and classed with the miracles of magicians. If we have to take them seriously as unexaggerated statements, we are bound to admit that the action of music

The ancient belief that music acts on the spirit enables us to understand a doctrine that at first sight seems exceedingly difficult to comprehend, namely, the notion once entertained that its strains could appeal not only to the passions and emotions, but also to man's moral nature; an idea which induced governments to impose heavy penalties on those who proposed to make any innovation in the construction of musical instruments, lest some mischievous sound should be engendered, which might have the effect of corrupting the rising generation by disposing the youthful spirit to rudeness, profligacy, or cowardice; we see, too, how flute-music could have been deemed suitable for emancipating drunkards, and other depraved persons, from their vicious habits, and how it could be said, as it was, that in effecting the moral reformation of a people, flute-players were more efficacious than philosophers.¹

has become appreciably weaker during so comparatively short a period as two or three thousand years. However, there seems reason for thinking that civilization lessens the influence of the musician. The effect of the bagpipe on the Scotch Highlander is still so great as to be almost incredible to us. Burney, in the first volume of his *History of Music*, publishes a letter written to him by Bruce, the traveller. Referring to a trumpet used by the Abyssinians, which sounds only one note, Bruce says, 'it is played slow when on a march, or before the enemy appear in sight; but afterwards it is repeated very quick, and with great violence, and has the effect upon the Abyssinian soldiers of transporting them absolutely to fury and madness, and of making them so regardless of life as to throw themselves in the middle of the enemy, which they do with great gallantry. I have often in time of peace tried what effect this charge would have upon them, and found that none who heard it could remain seated, but that all rose up and continued the whole time in motion.'

Should the view of the origin of music put forward in note 1, p. 373, be right, the power the art wields over man may be expected to slowly decline, and in the course of ages die out. Already there are individuals—amongst them men of the highest intellectual gifts—who are quite insensible to its charms.

¹ 'Apud *Strobaeum* de Repub. Serm. 41, illis qui ebrietate et crapula inducti aliquid mali perpetrabant, Tibias et accentum accommodarunt, ut ingenia his modis irrigata honestiores maturescendo mores acquirerent.

'De Platone testatur *Cicero*, lib. 3 de Leg. quod musicorum cantibus mutatis, mutari mores civitatis dixerit. Nec sane immerito, cum Pythagoram confesum esse, plus posse Tibicines ad corrigendos mores, quam Philosophos, constet ex *Sexto Empirico*, adv. Mathem. lib. 6. Nimirum Pythagorei ferociam animi Tibiis ac fidibus mollientes, docuerunt cum corporibus adhaerere nexum foedus animarum, quod de illis testimonium perhibet *Martian. Capella*, lib. 9,' Bartholinus, *De Tibiis Veterum*, Lib. II, Cap. i.

The magic power attributed to music of soothing a spirit ruffled with the gusts of passion was not confined to the spirit of man ; it was believed to extend to other spirits, not excepting the deities of the Greek and Roman mythology. Now the gods were thought to be kept in a perpetual state of anger by the wickedness of mankind, so that it was necessary, when sacrificing, to appease their wrath in order to prevail on them to accept the proffered offering, and it was to its power of pacifying the angry spirit that so much importance was attached to the flute in the sacrificial¹ service. When the god accepted the sacrifice, he vouchsafed to make his pleasure known by certain signs, which could be recognized by those who made such matters a special study. If the signs could not be discerned, the flute-player was expected to continue his

¹ Mendelssohn has made an attempt to illustrate the old practice of using flute-music with a view of inducing a God to accept a sacrifice in his oratorio of St. Paul. It is introduced in his treatment of an incident which took place whilst Paul and Barnabas were at Lystra (Acts xiv). When Paul was making a speech, there was seated amongst those whom he was addressing a man who had no power in his feet. The Apostle fixed his eyes upon him, and commanded him, in a loud voice, to stand upright ; whereupon he sprang up, and began to walk. As it was believed that Jupiter and Mercury had once visited the neighbouring country of Phrygia in the guise of mortals, those who witnessed the miracle came to the conclusion that these Gods had again appeared on earth as men, and they took Barnabas to be Jupiter, and Paul, Mercury. When they were in Phrygia, Jupiter and Mercury were said to have worked a miracle which had been productive of great benefit to an old couple of the name of Philemon and Baucis, by whom they had been hospitably entertained, but they were believed to have brought destruction upon many persons who had refused to take them in ; so the people of Lystra resolve to propitiate their supposed celestial visitors with a sacrifice. Accordingly, the priest of Jupiter appears at the gates (of the city, or the temple, or) of the courtyard of the house where Paul and Barnabas were staying, bringing bulls, as victims, and garlands for decking them and the altar. He is accompanied by a large number of the inhabitants of the town, who proceed to open the service by singing the chorus, No. 35, ‘O be gracious, ye Immortals ! Heed our sacrifice with favour !’ Throughout the greater part of this chorus prominence is given to a coaxing passage of tripping semiquavers in arpeggiated chords, interspersed with wheedling shakes. It is assigned to the flute, and Mendelssohn directs the two flute-players to play it in unison, and to take it *mezzo forte*. Unfortunately, however, conductors, not knowing with what object Mendelssohn composed the chorus, sometimes fail to insist on due attention being paid by the singers to the *pianos*, so as to allow the flutes to stand out, and often take the music so fast that the tranquillizing effect of the flute-passage is lost. The flute-players, too, frequently omit to double the part.

performance until they appeared. Of the duty which thus devolved on him, we have an illustration in a well-known anecdote related by Plutarch.¹ The story has often been told, but it is so instructive from the light it throws on the subject we are discussing that I think it desirable to relate it once more.

An ill-bred but wealthy person, whose name has not come down to us, determined to offer a sacrifice. That he was ill bred, his conduct, which I am about to describe, sufficiently shows; that he was wealthy, may be inferred from the circumstance that he engaged the celebrated Ismenias to take the flute in the service. We may rest assured that the terms of so distinguished a performer would be so high as to be prohibitive to any but those of large fortune, for the leading flute-players of the Old World seem to have been little less exacting in their demands than are the *divas* of the present day. Like that of the modern *divas*, their expenditure was commensurate with their great gains; indeed, so intimately was distinction in the flute-player's art associated with pomp and prodigality, that Socrates, when speaking of what an indifferent player should do if he wished to pass himself off as a great artist, says that he should imitate his more famous brethren in the magnificence of their apparel, that he should appear in public attended, like them, by a large retinue of retainers, and as they were complimented by so many enthusiastic admirers, he, too, should take care to secure the praises of a crowd of devoted followers;² this last observation begetting the suspicion that a paid *claque* might not have been unknown in ancient Greece. Of all his contemporaries Ismenias was the most renowned for his splendour; in particular his collection of gems was so magnificent as to be the admiration of ancient writers, their number and brilliancy being only equalled by the exquisite taste shown in their selection; a point in which they presented a striking contrast to those of his contemporary, and would-be rival, Nicomachus, whose precious stones, though equally if not more numerous, were chosen with so little skill that his jewellery, like his flute-playing, was only third rate. In Ismenias's ring, the badge of his profession worn on the left (?) hand, there gleamed a superb emerald.³ On it was engraven the lovely Amynone, who with her own fair hands drew Poseidon's trident,

¹ *Sym.* ii. 1. 5.

² Xenophon, *Mem.* Lib. I, cap. vii.

³ I have taken the liberty of putting the gem into the ring; I have no authority for the statement that Ismenias wore it there.

hurled at the wanton Satyr who pursued her, from the rock it struck, when out there gushed the triple spring that cooled the throats of thirsty Argos. But in the eyes of its fastidious owner, the lustre of the stone was sadly dimmed. He had ordered a hundred golden denarii, the sum at which it had been valued by the King of Cyprus, to be paid for it, and when two were brought back as a reduction in the price, 'By Hercules,' exclaimed the chagrined Ismenias, 'the business has been badly managed, for the dignity of the gem is seriously impaired.'¹ But I have drifted into a digression.

I was about to give an account of an incident which occurred at a sacrifice. I had a double motive in referring to the anecdote; in the first place, I wished to show that the flute was thought capable of so influencing the gods as to cause them to accept the offerings of men, and, secondly, to make it plain that the flute-player was expected to continue his performance until the signs by which the acceptance of the offering were announced made their appearance. These signs, it is needless to say, were awaited with great anxiety by the sacrificer, for they constituted the consummation of his hopes and the realization of his wishes, as they were visible proof that his prayers had been heard. On the occasion to which I am referring the tokens were withheld: all the skill of Ismenias, who was officiating on the flute, was unavailing; the deity seemed inexorable. The person who was offering the sacrifice, like many Greeks, had some knowledge of flute-playing, but he was

¹ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvii. 3. His ring once gave Ismenias an opportunity of showing that his talents were not confined to music, but that he was possessed in a high degree of that subtlety of disposition on which the Greeks so much prided themselves, but which we look upon as low cunning, and dishonourable duplicity. The anecdote is related by Ælian, who compliments him on the signal proof he gave of his truly Greek astuteness. He had been appointed envoy extraordinary to the Court of Persia. The servile and humiliating formalities required when Asiatic potentates are approached which have given rise to so many diplomatic difficulties in our own time, were not unknown in olden days; Ismenias could not obtain the promise of an audience unless he undertook to prostrate himself in such a way as to go through the ceremony of worshipping the Persian monarch. The wily flute-player made the promise required and was ushered into the royal presence. As he was approaching the throne he contrived to drop his ring, and in making a quick movement of his body in order to recover it, he went through the form of adoration prescribed by the court etiquette, whilst on his return home he assured his fellow countrymen that he had done nothing of which a Greek need be ashamed, for he had only stooped to pick up his ring.

the reverse of a proficient in the art, though, with the conceit which is so often associated with ignorance, he entertained an exalted idea of his musical ability. Ismenias, as every flute-player knows, was the owner of a flute for which he had paid a fabulous sum of money. He bought it at Corinth, emporium of all that was finest and most costly in ancient art, and gave for it no less than seven talents, or more than £1,700 of our money, in comparison to which, two hundred guineas, the price of the solid gold flutes of Messrs. Rudall and Carte, the most expensive wind-instruments of modern times, sink into insignificance. Whether or not Ismenias was performing on this precious instrument does not appear, but after a time the dissatisfied giver of the sacrifice allowed his impatience to so entirely overcome his sense of propriety that he snatched the flute from the hands of the great artist and began to play on it himself. To say that he played indifferently would be to pay him a compliment; his performance was so bad as to be positively ludicrous; nevertheless, he had piped but a very short time when the much desired omens were perceived. As we might naturally expect, those standing near, scandalized at his outrageous conduct during the service, could not refrain from upbraiding him for his unseemly behaviour. He was far from being abashed by their censure. The success which had attended his musical efforts he took to be a signal proof that he was a heaven-born genius, and, elated with pride, he exclaimed, 'To play with acceptance is a divine gift.' Ismenias, however, who was a man of wit as well as a great flute-player, was ready with a rejoinder; 'Nay, nay,' he replied with a smile, 'whilst I was playing the gods in their delight delayed, but to get rid of you, they made haste to accept the sacrifice.'¹

FALL OF THE TEMPLE-FLUTE-PLAYER

Religions, although they display amazing vitality, seldom keep pace with the advance of civilization; the Graeco-Roman system was not an exception to the rule. It left untouched the greatest of all the problems of civilized life, how to deal with the sufferings of the poor. Some of its rites, especially certain survivals of nature-worship, as well as the grossly immoral conduct with which the gods and goddesses were credited, could not have failed to excite repugnance in men arrived at the state of culture to which the more advanced nations of the old world had attained. The slaughtering, skinning,

¹ Plutarch, *Sym.* ii. 1. 5.

and disembowelling of victims, with the burning and eating of their flesh amidst dancing and singing, was more fit for the savages of Dahomeh than men of refinement. At the feast which followed the sacrifice, drunkenness was only too common, for so much wine was consumed in toasting, or drinking with, the deity,¹ that inebria-

¹ 'For the most part, especially if they had received any particular mark of divine favour, the sacrifice being ended, they made a feast; for which purpose there were tables provided in all the temples. Athenaeus tells us, that amongst the ancients, they never indulged themselves with any dainties, nor drank any quantity of wine, but at such times; and thence an entertainment is called *Θοῖνῃ*, because they thought they were obliged *διὰ τοὺς Θεοὺς οἰνοῦσθαι*, to be drunk in honour of the gods; and to be drunk was termed *μεθύειν*, because they did it *μετὰ τὸ θύειν*, after sacrificing.' Potter, *Archæologia Graeca*, Book II, ch. iv. We are not to suppose that such usages were confined to the Greeks and Romans. The old Chinese, for example, before the introduction of Buddhism, used wine in excessive quantities at sacrifices, the religious festivals being accompanied by feasts. In India the ancient Brahmans, when sacrificing to Indra, poured so much soma on the flame that Indra became intoxicated, both the priests and the sacrificer drinking copiously. The gods were invited to the banquets, and believed to be present and share the feast. (Samuelson's *History of Drink*.) It will be understood that the deity was supposed to imbibe by a spiritual process the drink offered, whether the libation was poured on the altar or on the ground, just as he consumed the burnt flesh, though it passed off in smoke, a sacrifice being a meal offered to a spirit. In the case of the Jews, we know how much wine was set apart for each burnt offering, the drink-offering with a bullock being one half of a hin, with a ram one-third, and with a lamb one-fourth of that measure (Numbers xxviii. 14; xv. 5, 7, 10), which held about two gallons and two pints.

In toasting we express a wish for a person's good health, and attempt to secure for him the benefit by drinking a fluid containing alcohol. That quaffing strong drink can bring good health to a friend is incomprehensible until we consider how the practice arose. The wish expressed is a prayer, and the strong drink an offering to a spirit to induce him to send the blessing prayed for. The spirit, in accepting the offering, is thought not to require the whole of it to be poured in a libation for his own consumption, but to make over a part to his votary to drink with him, a doctrine which the Greeks carried so far as only to pour a very little for form's sake before drinking, but others went a step farther, giving none to the spirit, but swallowing every drop. The only instance I can call to mind of any portion of the liquor being devoted to a libation in modern times, is in a custom kept up in the West of England to within the nineteenth century of drinking to the spirits of apple-trees to ensure a good crop of apples for making cider, on which occasion a part of the contents of the wassail-bowl was thrown against the trunk of the apple-tree. An account of the ceremony is given in Brand's *Antiquities*, s.v. Twelfth-day. As attention does not seem to have been

tion became a pious act. Natural science was making tentative efforts to assert herself, and to compel the spirits who carried on the operations of nature—Aeolus who kept the winds in a cave, Poseidon, or Neptune, who ruled the sea and raised and laid tempests with his trident, Zeus, or Jupiter, whose business it was to hurl thunderbolts at the wicked and make rain by scattering his renal secretion with a sieve, together with the swarm of nymphs, fauns, and other more humble divinities, with their divers duties—to give place to an unknown fountain of force.¹ Amongst the

directed to the subject, perhaps I ought to mention that the notion that vigour can be infused into plants by addressing their spirits is not confined to apple-trees; appeals are made to the spirits of other vegetables, for instance: ‘The Karens say that plants as well as men and animals have their “la” (“kelah”), and the spirit of sickly rice is here called back like a human spirit considered to have left the body. Their formulas for the purpose have even been written down, and this is part of one: “O come, rice Kelah, come. Come to the field. Come to the rice. . . . Come from the West. Come from the East. Come from the throat of the bird, from the maw of the ape, from the throat of the elephant. . . . From all granaries come. O rice Kelah, come to the rice.”’ Tylor’s *Primitive Culture*.

A few more remarks on drinking to spirits will be found below in note 3, p. 434.

¹ I take the following indication of the trend of Greek thought on the subject of the forces of nature from *The Clouds* of Aristophanes, a comic drama represented at Athens more than four hundred years before the birth of Christ. I am quoting the inimitable translation of Mr. B. Bickley Rogers.

Socrates, the famous philosopher, is giving Strepsiades, an old farmer, a lesson on the functions of the Clouds, and has told him that the deities of Olympus were mere tomfooleries:—

Streps. Let Zeus be left out: He’s a God beyond doubt: come, that you can scarcely deny.

Socr. Zeus, indeed! there’s no Zeus: don’t you be so obtuse. *Streps.* No Zeus up aloft in the sky!

Then, you first must explain, who it is sends the rain; or I really must think you are wrong.

Socr. Well then, be it known, these send it alone: I can prove it by arguments strong.

Was there ever a shower seen to fall in an hour when the sky was all cloudless and blue?

Yet on a fine day, when the Clouds are away, he might send one, according to you.

Streps. Well, it must be confessed, that chimes in with the rest: your words I am forced to believe.

Yet before I had dreamed that the rainwater streamed from Zeus and his chamber-vase sieve.

Romans, scepticism had become so bold that Cicero, though he held the high religious office of Member of the College of Augurs, did not hesitate to assert that the rewards and punishments in a future life, as carried out in the Mythological Hades, were only fit to impress boys and silly women at a theatre,¹ whilst the gods were so little dreaded that the Emperor Augustus, when a young man, is said by Suetonius to have caused punishment to be inflicted on Neptune, depriving him, through his idol, of the privilege of partaking of the viands set before deities at a *lectisternium*, or public banquet offered to them, because the sea was rough when he wished it to be smooth. In a word, the Mythological cult, effete and tottering to its fall, was ready to crumble to dust at the touch of a higher and purer faith. Christianity, which made its appearance as a little cloud no bigger than a man's hand, was quickly diffused, and gathering strength by degrees, in the course of a few centuries overspread the Roman empire.

But whence then, my friend, does the thunder descend ? that does make me quake with affright !

Socr. Why 'tis they I declare, as they roll through the air. *Streps.* What, the Clouds ? did I hear you aright ?

Socr. Aye: for when to the brim filled with water they swim, by Necessity carried along,

They are hung up on high in the vault of the sky, and so by Necessity strong, In the midst of their course, they clash with great force, and thunder away without end.

Streps. But is it not He who compels this to be ? does not Zeus this Necessity send ?

Socr. No Zeus have we there, but a Vortex of air. *Streps.* What ! Vortex ? that's something I own.

I knew not before that Zeus was no more, but Vortex was placed on his throne !

Well, but tell me from Whom comes the bolt through the gloom, with its awful and terrible flashes ;

And wherever it turns, some it singes and burns, and some it reduces to ashes ! For this, 'tis quite plain, let who will send the rain, that Zeus against perjurers dashes.

Socr. And how, you old fool, of a dark ages school, and an antediluvian wit, If the perjured they strike, and not all men alike, have they never Cleonymus hit ?

Then of Simon again, and Theorus explain : known perjurers, yet they escape. But he smites his own shrine with these arrows divine, and 'Sunium Attica's cape',

And the ancient gnarled oaks: now what prompted those strokes ? *They* never forswore I should say.

¹ *Tuscul. Quaest. Lib. I, cap. xvi.*

The new religion, as its Founder made known, was not to bring peace, but a sword. The Christians were unsatisfied with a place amongst other creeds; they were bent on the extirpation of existing faiths and the destruction of their appurtenances, which they regarded as works of their malignant but crafty foe the Devil, a Persian and Jewish spirit unknown in the Mythological religion. The Graeco-Roman worship was closely allied with art; so to art they were hostile in the highest degree. Architecture, painting, and sculpture went down before them. The 'licentious and mischievous' art of music, they taught, was provocative of war, lust, anger, and idolatry, the music they were prepared to tolerate being their own psalmody. Musical instruments, save certain of those of the harp kind, were condemned. The trumpet, the drum, and the old psaltery were no longer to be used. The syrinx was to be handed back to shepherds. Cymbals were the Devil's pomposity. The flute, which played so important a part in the religious rites and the pleasures of the classical world, was a special abomination, and was attacked with a rancour which seems almost incredible, the vials of contumely poured upon the instrument being so acrid that they could only have been distilled by men whom prejudice had deprived of common sense. St. Clement of Alexandria, a Father of the Church who flourished towards the close of the second century, wrote a manual of instructions for Christians, entitled *The Paedagogue*. In this work, he devotes a chapter to giving his pupils directions as to how they were to enjoy themselves at parties. He there tells them that the flute was to be banished from festive gatherings, it being more fit to be played to beasts and brutes in human form than to decent persons assembled at a sober banquet. In order that there may be no mistake as to his meaning, he illustrates it by citing a use to which a flute-tune is said to have been put which is too filthy to bear repetition; ¹ yet—into such inconsistencies can men be betrayed—he adds that if a Christian desired to be accompanied by, or to play on, the lyre, or the cithera, no objection could be raised, they being similar in construction to the harp, the instrument of King David's choice.²

¹ Ταῖς δὲ ἵπποις μὲν γυννόμεναις, οἷον ὑμέναιος, ἐπανλεῖται νόμος αὐλοφῆδίας· ἵπποθόρον τοῦτον κεκλήκασιν οἱ μουσικοί, *The Paedagogue*, Book II, ch. iv.

² A like inconsistency was shown by the English Puritans. Although they reviled and destroyed organs, a Puritan gentleman, mentioned by Baring Gould (*Old Country Life*, p. 251), did not think it wrong to play psalms and hymns on the theorbo; yet he was so staunch a Puritan that he buried

As it is instructive, I will mention the way in which the worthy Father proposed to deal with the ancient representative of our wood-wind. It was to be handed over to those who, sunk in superstitious reverence for the gods, were eager for idolatry; in other words, this bestial instrument from which Christians were to turn with disgust was good enough for men who were not prepared to throw off their old religion at the bidding of the converts to the new faith. The admission, trifling as it is, may serve to help us in endeavouring to account for the intense unpopularity of the early Christians, it being a sample, a very mild one, of the way in which they spoke of their unconverted fellow citizens. So incomprehensible does the hostility with which the Christians were regarded seem to writers who believe that they were attacked on account of their religious opinions, that the persecutions to which they were subjected have been attributed to the personal activity of Satan, who, finding his kingdom passing away, was making desperate efforts to uphold his tottering throne. Why were those who were charged to love even their enemies taxed by Tacitus with hatred of the human race? ¹ How could it have come to pass that under the sway of Rome, where religious toleration was so perfect that a thousand cults could co-exist in peace, the Christians were singled out for attack and assailed by furious mobs in city after city, and the cruel task of exterminating them demanded of the government at public assemblies by the united voice of presidents, magistrates, and the excited populace with such vehemence that the 'public clamours could not be disregarded without danger of an insurrection'? ² If the early Christians had been the gentle, inoffensive beings they are so often represented, filled with peace, goodwill, and charity to all mankind, that such demands should have been made would be indeed inexplicable; but whatever might have been the temper of the disciples of Judea who were under the immediate influence of our Lord, it is certain that the converts of Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy were neither lambs nor doves. They were a body militant in arms against Satan. Those who continued to worship Jupiter, Apollo, and Minerva, and, what is more, such followers of Christ as they termed heretics, were to them so many servants and soldiers of the Devil, who, if they could not

six feet underground, in a hole dug in his garden, two hundred pounds' worth of music-books, their contents being, he said, love-songs and vanity.

¹ Tac. *Ann.* xv. 44.

² Mosheim, *Ecclesiastical History*, Century II, Part I, chap. ii, § 3.

be induced to abandon their master by persuasion, should be coerced. It must have been only too apparent that if the Christians should succeed in getting the upper hand not only would religious freedom be a thing of the past, as the old worship would be put down by force, but the magnificent temples with their cherished and priceless contents would be demolished. Nor were such fears ill founded. Constantine, the first Roman Emperor who embraced Christianity, began to close if not to destroy temples, removing works of art from such edifices to adorn his new capital, Constantinople ; his sons, although they endeavoured to save these art-treasures for the delectation of the Roman people,¹ ordered the punishment of death to be inflicted on any who offered sacrifice, and death with torture on such as consulted an augur or an haruspex with a view of attempting to foretell the future by divination, thus, in the language of a contemporary bishop, completing the thorough prostration of the Devil.²

It is refreshing to be able to turn from the unclean allusion of St. Clement to a purer atmosphere. Going on for about half a century we meet with an opponent of the flute who brings with him the sweet air of Galilee and breathes the gracious spirit of his divine Master. It is true that the argument he advances against the instrument would not carry much weight in modern times ; but it *is* an argument not mere insult ; an ingenious argument, an argument

¹ Temples were not only the residence of the deities to whom they were consecrated, they were art-galleries and sacred receptacles for records, memorials, and votive offerings. When they were closed for worship they were placed in the hands of custodians who showed to visitors the costly and revered objects with which they were filled ; but the effort thus made to preserve them was only successful for a time, the Emperor Theodosius being unable, or unwilling, to prevent their destruction. In England, under the Commonwealth, cathedrals are believed to have had a narrow escape from the same destructive spirit. Had the Puritans, the humble imitators of the early Christians, remained in power a few years longer, these beautiful structures would, it is said, have been levelled with the ground ; indeed the attack on them had begun, both the organs and the stained glass windows having been broken up.

² The doctrine that the Mythological deities were actual existences, not imaginary beings, is laid down in the plainest way by St. Paul who calls them devils, declaring that what is sacrificed to them is sacrificed to devils, and intimating that those who drink at the table of the sacrificial feast and eat of the flesh of the victim are partakers with devils (1 Cor. x. 20-1). We can understand that the Greeks and Romans would resent being represented as devil-worshippers and feasters with devils.

addressed to man's sense of propriety; in short, an argument befitting a Christian. St. Cyprian (or the author of a work bearing his name), to whom I am referring, objects to the use of the flute on the ground that to attempt to speak with the fingers, as he says the fluteplayer does, is an act of ingratitude to the Artificer who bestowed on man the gift of a tongue.¹

The two examples I have brought forward are sufficient to make plain how the flute was treated by the early Christians; however, I will give a third specimen, because it will enable me to show that flute-players of the Old World were not free from a bad habit which we sometimes see amongst musicians at the present time, the habit of swaying the body and moving the head. St. Epiphanius, a bishop of the fourth century, does not scruple to assert that the flute was fabricated for the express purpose of leading mankind astray. He declares that it was modelled after the serpent through which the Evil One spoke when he beguiled Eve, the shape of the instrument being, according to him, an imitation of the form of that reptile. As for the flute-player, he is the image of the archfiend himself. In order to trace the resemblance between them, the Christian is directed to watch the performer as he plays. It will then be seen that he lifts his head, and that he bows his head; that he bends to the right and that he bends to the left. Now these, so says the omniscient bishop, are the very movements of the Devil, who has recourse to such gestures to exhibit his blasphemy against the Host of Heaven, and to cause everything upon the earth, including the civilized world, to vanish in utter destruction, whilst right and left he brings to perdition by his seductive tones those yielding to his misguiding influence and rendered spellbound as if under the enchantment of a musical instrument.²

¹ 'Clangores tubae bellicos alter imitatur raucos, alter lugubres sonos spiritu tibiam inflante moderatur, alter cum choris et cum hominis canora voce contendens spiritu suo, quem de visceribus suis in superiora corporis nitens hauserat, tibiarum foraminibus modulatur; nunc effuso, et nunc intus ocluso atque in aerem pro certis foraminum meatibus emisso, nunc in articulo sonum frangens, loqui digitis elaborat, ingratus artificii qui linguam dedit,' Cyprian, *De Spectaculis*, vii.

² Καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ αὐλὸς μίμημά ἐστι τοῦ δράκοντος δι' οὗ ἐλάλησεν ὁ πονηρὸς, καὶ ἠπάτησε τὴν Εὐάν. Ἀπὸ τοῦ τύπου ἐκείνου κατὰ μίμησιν ὁ αὐλὸς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰς ἀπάτην κατεσκευάσθη. Καὶ ὅρα τὸν τύπον ὃν αὐτὸς ὁ αὐλὼν ἐν τῷ αὐλῷ ποιεῖται. Αὐλῶν γὰρ ἄνω ἀνανέει καὶ κάτω κατανέει· δεξιὰ τε κλίνει καὶ εὐώνυμα ὁμοίως ἐκείνῳ. Τούτοις γὰρ καὶ ὁ διάβολος τοῖς σχήμασι κέχρηται, ἵνα κατὰ τῶν ἐπουρανίων ἐνδείξηται τὴν βλασφημίαν, καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀφανισμῷ ἀφανίσῃ καὶ ὁμοῦ συμπεριλάβῃ τὴν

On the triumph of Christianity the slaughter of victims and the burning of their flesh ceased, the Christian sacrifice being offered in symbolism only. But though the flame which rose from the altar was quenched, the feast which accompanied the sacrifice was not abandoned ; under the name of the agape, or love-feast, it was kept up when the Christians met for the celebration of their sacrificial solemnity. Like those of the feast it superseded, the two most prominent features of the agape were sacred singing and religious drinking. In the singing, psalmody was substituted for odes, hymns, and paeans, the lyre taking the place of the flute ; in the drinking, great efforts were made to enforce sobriety. Even those advanced in life, whose passions were less liable to be inflamed by alcohol, were enjoined not to go beyond the state of an *acrothorax*, a name given by the Greeks to one who was mellow, or exhilarated without being inebriated.¹ In some places, at the conclusion of the agape, after lights and water for washing hands² had been brought, each was called upon to stand forth in the midst and sing something to God, either out of Holy Scripture or of his own composing, and to give proof by the way he acquitted himself of

οἰκουμένην, δεξιά τε καὶ εὐώνυμα λυμαινόμενος τοὺς τῇ πλάνῃ πειθόμενους τε καὶ θελγομένους ὥσπερ διὰ μουσικοῦ ὀργάνου, ταῖς φωναῖς ταῖς πεπλανημέναις, Epiphanius, *Adversus Haereses, Haeres.* xxv.

We can draw our own conclusion from the following as to whether the ideas of Epiphanius on the subject of Christian love were, or were not, conformable to the teaching of Him whom he professed to serve. Towards the close of his career he paid a visit to Constantinople, at that time the seat of the imperial government. St. Chrysostom, the Patriarch of Constantinople, sent his clergy to receive him on his arrival with honour, and to invite him to take up his abode in the episcopal residence. It happened, however, that there were points of doctrine held by certain monks on the orthodoxy of which the opinions of the two Saints were not in harmony ; in consequence, Epiphanius spurned the proffered hospitality, and even refused to hold Christian communion with Chrysostom. When Epiphanius was about to quit Constantinople, on taking leave of Chrysostom, the vilifier of the flute is said to have given vent to the charitable wish, 'I hope thou wilt not die bishop ;' to which Chrysostom, another reviler of the instrument as diabolical, is reported to have replied, 'I hope thou wilt not return home!' Both wishes were gratified. Epiphanius died on the voyage to Cyprus, in which island his diocese was situated, and Chrysostom was afterwards deposed from his See.

¹ St. Clement of Alexandria, *The Paedagogue*, ii. 2.

² The ancients did not use forks, so that it was necessary to wash hands after eating, a practice which we keep up in our finger-glasses. But they had table-napkins. Each guest, it seems, usually brought his own with him.

how he had drunk.¹ There is, however, reason for believing that it was sometimes found impossible to so completely eradicate the old habit as to induce the converts to exercise such strict self-restraint in taking wine as the bishops required. As early as A. D. 56 or 57, less than twenty-five years after the Crucifixion, we hear of love-feasts at Corinth, one of the cities in which Christianity had been planted in the midst of the Mythological worship, where one was 'drunken' ² whilst another was hungry, owing to the unequal distribution of the good things, which were provided on such occasions by the more wealthy members of the society. The Corinthians were sternly reprov'd by St. Paul, but his rebuke does not seem to have been efficient in keeping the converts everywhere up to the high standard of abstemiousness expected by their leaders, what was looked upon as excess being sometimes 'so general and epidemical that the numbers of transgressors made the exactness of discipline impracticable'.³ The Christians, it should be remembered, were debarred the enjoyment of ordinary pleasures. The flute was banished. Light music was forbidden. Burlesque singing, or parodying songs, was denounced as associated with drunken frolics. Theatrical spectacles were to be shunned. Jollity and merry-making were held in detestation, revelry (ὁ κῶμος) being stigmatized as a drunk-making flute (μεθυστικὸς αἶλός ⁴). Laughter, if not actually prohibited, was to be kept strictly in check, and on the countenance of a well-regulated man would assume, they were told, the form of a smile, but even a smile was to be made the subject of discipline; indeed, such was the aversion displayed to levity, that wags, or persons who made themselves ridiculous to create merriment, were to be driven out of the community.⁵ As tobacco was unknown, the Christian could not solace himself with a pipe; his distractions were psalmody, sacred dancing,⁶ and drinking healths at feasts.

¹ 'Post aquam manulem et lumina, ut quisque de scripturis sanctis vel de proprio ingenio potest provocatur in medium Deo canere, hinc probatur quomodo biberit,' Tertullian, *Apol.* xxxix.

The singing test found its way to Britain: 'St. Gildas decreed that if a monk through drinking got thick of speech, so that he could not join in the Psalmody, he was to be deprived of his supper.' French, *History of Toasting*, ch. iii.

² 1 Cor. xi. 21. See also Jude 12, and 2 Pet. ii. 13.

³ Bingham, *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, Book xvi, 11. More detailed information is given in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, Art. Drunkenness.

⁴ *The Paedagogue*, II. iv.

⁵ *Ibid.* II. v.

⁶ Spaces were provided for dancing in churches. The dance is still carried

If excess was discountenanced, the significance of drinking in its religious aspect was fully recognized. As the god sacrificed to under the old system was thought to be an unseen partaker of the festive potations, so our Lord was believed to be in the midst of his followers as they feasted, to listen to their conversation,¹ and to share their cups in the spirit of convivial fellowship (ὁ Λόγος, says St. Clement in his directions for drinking at feasts, συμποτικὸς ἐστὶ νῦν), as he ate and drank with them when he was on earth. They quite understood that drinking together brought them into close union with the Deity and their fellow feasters. In drinking, they first showed their love to God in thanksgiving and psalmody, then to each other in holy communion, singing as they drank each other's health.² They

out by choristers in front of the high altar of the chapel *de la Conception grande* of the Cathedral of Seville on the octave of the festival of the Immaculate Conception, and on one or two other occasions. See Murray's *Handbook for Spain*. I am not aware that the custom is now kept up in any other church, but it appears from an article on dancing in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (q.v.) that even after the middle of the eighteenth century traces of dancing were to be found in the cathedrals of Spain, Portugal, and Rousillon, especially in the Mussarabian Mass of Toledo. In England the practice seems to have survived the Reformation in remote districts. Aubrey writes, 'Captain Potter (born in the north of Yorkshire) says, that in the Countrey churches, at Christmas in the Holy-daies after Prayers, they will dance in the Church, and as they doe dance, they cry (or sing) Yole, Yole, Yole, etc.' Dancing at sacrifices has been noticed in p. 309.

According to Scaliger, the bishops were called *Praesules*, because they led the dance on Feast-days. St. Chrysostom, though with other fathers he denounced secular dancing, is said to have thought it necessary to give a reason for excusing himself from taking part in the religious ceremony. 'According to some of the fathers, the angels were always dancing, and the glorious company of the Apostles is really a *chorus* of dancers.' The schoolmen used to exercise their acumen by debating the question, how many angels could dance on the point of a needle. A drawing of four angels dancing on clouds as they play on transverse flutes has been given in Lecture I, p. 32. It is needless to add that the Christians could find ample authority for sacred dancing in the Old Testament, praising God with dances being a well-known Hebrew practice. (Psalms cxlix. 3, cl. 4; Exod. xv. 20; 2 Sam. vi. 14).

¹ Tertullian's account of the agape, *Apol.* xxxix.

The following is from St. Chrysostom (*In Genesim*, Sermo 8):—

'Do you not see the wealthy how they introduce at their meals citharists (κιθαροδοῦς) and flute-players (αἰλητάς)? They make their house a theatre. Do you make your house Heaven . . . by bidding the Lord of Heaven to your table. Of such repasts (δεῖπνα) God is not ashamed.'

² Even now we continue to sing when drinking healths at festive gatherings, interspersing the healths with songs, and sometimes joining in a chorus.

also drank to martyrs and other spirits of the dead ; some, however, were so scrupulously abstemious as to reduce the drinking to a mere formality. St. Augustine mentions that on occasions when many

St. Clement writes as follows : ‘ We no longer use the psaltery (ψαλτηρίφ)—the old one—and the trumpet (σάλπιγγι), and drum (τυμπάνφ), and flute (αὐλφ) which those practised in war and despisers of the fear of the Deity were wont to make use of in their choruses at high festivals, that by such rhythms they might raise their relaxed spirits. But let our manifestation of affection (φιλοφροσύνη) in drinking be twofold in accordance with the law. For if “ thou shalt love the Lord thy God ” and then “ thy neighbour ”, let our first manifestation of affection be towards God in thanksgiving and psalmody, and the second towards our neighbour in holy communion (τῆς ὁμλίας τῆς σεμνῆς) . . . Further, amongst the ancient Greeks at their symposiac feasts and brimming cups a lay was sung, called a skolion, after the manner of the Hebrew Psalms, all singing a paeon, and sometimes also taking turns in the song whilst they drank healths round ; while those who were more skilled in music than the rest sang to the lyre. But let love songs be banished far away, and let our songs be hymns to God.’ *The Paedagogue*, ii. 4.

Glass drinking-cups used by the early Christians have been found in the catacombs at Rome. They are made with medallions at the bottom, the medallions being ornamented with scriptural designs and inscribed with such sentiments as, *Drink ! Live !—Drink, Rufus, may you enjoy life with all yours ! Long life to you !—Here’s to our worthy friends ! May you live happily with yours !* On one of them is a representation of our Lord in the midst of the water-pots, the contents of which he turned into wine, the whole surrounded by a similar convivial motto. In a learned article in Smith’s *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities* (s.v. Glass) the Rev. Churchill Babington writes, these glasses ‘ were at once sacred and convivial, and must therefore have been used at meetings which were both one and the other. Such were the *agapae*, such were the commemorations of martyrs, such were Christian marriages. On all such occasions, and perhaps others, these glasses were used’.

Drinking at marriages is still kept up, it having descended to us through the Bride-ale, an institution of which a good account is given in Brand’s *Popular Antiquities*. We have seen in our own time the wedding-feast, yecept a breakfast, give place to a reception ; but, though the feast is gone, those who attend the reception drink the health of the bride and bridegroom. Commemoration of the dead by drinking has not yet ceased in Germany. At the festive centenary of the birth of Theobald Boehm, kept at Munich in 1894, after a laudatory speech by his eldest son, the health of the great flute inventor was drunk (I was present and joined in the toast) in silence by the assembled members of his family. In England the custom was continued down to the time of the Reformation in ales (which appear to have been called soul-ales and dirge-ales, see below, note, p. 435) at obsequies, or obits, solemnities, which were celebrated every year on the anniversary of the death of the person to be commemorated. They consisted of a religious service, and an ale in the church. Extracts from wills in which the proceeds of land are to be devoted to obits are given in *Archaeologia* (Vol. XII, p. 16) ;

memories of the dead were to be honoured in this way, his mother, Monica, drank to them all in only one most watered little cup (*pocillum aquatissimum*), which she took in sips, drinking for piety's sake, not for pleasure.¹

I append one of them: 'I will that a state be made by my feoffees of and in all my lands in Cowling, to twelve or more persons, as the wardens and parishioners of Clive will name, under condition that the said wardens shall employ all the said lands and tenements, to doe an obit in Clive Church, and as much bread as will be made of three bushels of wheat, and as much ale of 4 bushels of mault, in cheese *xxd.* for ever.' The following, which I take from Brand, shows that a table was set in the church when required: 'Margaret Atkinson, widow, by her will, October 18, 1544, orders that the next Sunday after her burial, there be provided two dozen of bread, a kilderkin of ale, two gammons of bacon, three shouldrs of mutton, and two couple of rabbits, desiring all the parish, rich as well as poor, to take part thereof; and a table to be set in the midst of the church, with everything necessary thereto.' It appears from an extract I am about to give from another will that there was an ale at the church on the occasion of the funeral itself. The month's mind mentioned in the quotation is the minding or commemorating the deceased on the day month of his death. It will be seen that the celebration of the month's mind began in the church overnight, with a dirge and an ale; the next day there was a more important ale, at which meat was substituted for cheese, the mass associated with this ale being usually of exceptional solemnity: 'I will . . . that myn executrice doo purvay ayent my burying competent brede, ale, and chese, for all comers to the parishe church, and ayent the moneths mynd I will be ordeyned, at the said church, competent brede, ale, pieces of beffe and moton, and rost rybbys of beffe, and (? as) shall be thought nedeful by the discretion of myn executrice, for all comers to the said obsequy, over and above brede, ale, and chese, for all comers to the dirge overnight.' Brand's *Antiquities*, s.v. Minnyng Days. We learn from the Constitutions of John Thoresby, Archbishop of York, A.D. 1363, that 'in the obsequies of the dead' some used to 'turn the house of mourning and prayer into the house of laughter and excess'. The Archbishop, as might be expected, strictly forbids such excess in churches.

The month's mind appears to have been an introduction into Christianity of the *τριακάς*, a feast and sacrifice offered to the dead on the thirtieth day after the death; the obit, of the annual commemoration of the deceased, kept either on the day of his death or his birth, a purpose for which sums of money were sometimes left by will.

¹ *Confessions*, Book VI, ch. ii.

The water which the Greeks and Romans mingled with their wine was sometimes cold and sometimes hot. It appears from the passage referred to, that when St. Augustine wrote, hot water was used by the Christians in drinking to spirits, for, in describing Monica's little cup, he says that it was not only most watered, but only just lukewarm (*tepidissimum*).

In one of some sermons, formerly believed to be the work of St. Augustine, but now said to have been written by St. Caesarius, Bishop of Arles (Migne's

Religious customs are astonishingly tenacious of life; as an illustration of their longevity I may mention that agapae lingered on in England until the early part of the nineteenth century.¹ They had degenerated into certain feasts called Church-ales which were usually celebrated four times in the year,² the Whitsun-ale being the most important. Sometimes, the ales were kept in the church-house, sometimes, in an empty barn, or other available building, rarely, as at first, in the Church, though ale was sometimes sold there, their religious character being recognized by Shakespeare who calls them holy ales.³ A description of these gatherings does not

edition of Augustine's Works, Vol. V, p. 2308, Sermo ccxcv), it is stated that after the conclusion of a feast, at which they have taken as much as they ought, they begin to drink to various names, not only of those alive, but of Angels and the rest of the old sanctified, considering that in toasting their names they honour them in the highest degree by excessive intoxication ('... diversis nominibus incipiunt bibere, non solum vivorum hominum, sed etiam Angelorum et reliquorum antiquorum sanctorum, estimantes quod maximum illis honorem impendant, si in illorum nominibus nimia ebrietate sepeliant'). The attack is not confined to the laity, the clergy are charged with not being ashamed nor afraid to drink to excess, and to induce others to do the like. Such allegations should be received with caution. One cannot help suspecting that the writer of the sermon, carried away by zeal, has so represented the vice denounced as to create a false impression. In the eyes of a temperance reformer, one who hospitably pressed a friend to take a glass of wine would seem to be trying to make him intoxicated. If there were those who did not scruple to speak of our Lord as a gluttonous man and a wine-bibber, could his disciples escape censure? Did the bishops expect that every Christian would be as abstemious as Monica? Acts similar to those mentioned were no doubt not unknown, but we may reasonably hope and believe that they formed the exception, not the rule. At the time the sermon was written, Christianity had become the State religion, and numbers of professing Christians were now not converts by conviction; such would naturally be disposed to carry out in practice the old belief that spirits could be honoured by drinking to inebriety in their name. Compare the travesty of Church-ales in note 3.

¹ Andrews, on the authority of Miss Baker's *Glossary of Northamptonshire Words*, states that Church-ales were kept up at Kingsutton as late as this time.

² 'We find it stated that in the year 1496, "John Arundel, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, by a decree of confirmation, under the seal of the diocese, directed to the Mayor of Walsall and his brethren, for the advantage of Walsall Church, declaring that they (the Mayor and his bretheren) shall keepe the drynkynges iiii times in the year, and he that is absent from any of these drynkynges to forfeit a pounce of waxe for the light of the chapell of Soynte Katern in the sayde Church.'" Andrews, *Curiosities of the Church*.

³ *Pericles*, Prologue.

The following Puritan caricature of Church-ales quoted by Sir John Hawkins

come within the scope of this Lecture, but I may perhaps be permitted to mention some points of correspondence between them and agapae. At both, there was drinking ; at both, there was a solemn religious service ;¹ at both, there was music ; at both, the chief objects of the feast were social enjoyment and friendly intercourse between rich and poor ;² at both, the provisions were contributed by the well-to-do, the ale, which was specially brewed for the occasion by the churchwardens, being made from malt, either presented, or purchased by subscription ; at both, funds were raised for charitable objects ; at both, attendance was more or less compulsory, for those who refused to attend the agapae were anathematized by the Council of Gangra, and absentees from Church-ales were liable to be fined. But the Church-ale is not the only form in which the

in his *History of Music*, is an example of the unscrupulous tendency of fanaticism to distort and misrepresent :—

‘ In certaine towns where drunken Bacchus beares swaie, against Christmas and Easter, Whit-Sunday, or some other time, the churchwardens (for so they call them) of every parish, with the consent of the whole parish, provide halfe a score or twenty quarters of mault, whereof some they buy of the church stocke, and some is given them of the parishioners themselves ; every one conferring somewhat according to his ability : which mault being made into strong ale or beere, is set to sale eyther in the Church, or in some other place assigned to that purpose. Then when this *Nippitatum*, this *Hufficappe* (as they call it) and this *Nectar* of life is set abroad, well is he that can get the soonest to it, and spend the most at it, for he that sitteth the closest to it, and spendes the most at it, hee is counted the Godliest of all the rest, and most in God’s favour, because it is spent uppon his church forsooth : but he who either from want cannot, or otherwise for feare of God’s wrath will not, stick to it, he is counted one destitute both of vertue and Godlinesse . . In this kinde of practise they continue sixe weekes, a quarter of a yeare, yea, halfe a yeare together, swilling and gulling night and day, till they be as drunke as swine and as mad as March hares.’ The quotation is from Stubbes’s *Anatomie of Abuses*.

¹ When an attempt was made to put down Church-ales in Somerset, seventy-two clergymen of the county ‘ certified that on these days (which commonly fell on a Sunday) the service of God was more solemnly performed, and the services better attended, than on other days.’ ANDREWS.

² The design of Church-ales is recited in the preamble to an agreement made in 1621, at a vestry held at Brentford, wherein it is stated that the inhabitants had for many years been accustomed to have meetings at Whitsuntide, in their church-house and other places, there in a friendly manner to eat and drink together, and liberally to spend their monies, to the end neighbourly society might be maintained, and a common stock raised for the repairs of the church, maintaining of orphans, placing poor children in service and defraying other charges. See Whitsun Ales in Brand’s *Antiquities*.

agape has come down to us. Strange to say, traces of the practice of drinking pure and simple after the sacrifice in token, as in the early days of Christianity, of love towards one's neighbour, were to be found in modern times in an English village. 'At Danby Wisk,' says Aubrey, 'in y^e North-Riding of Yorkshire, it is the custom for y^e Parishioners after receiving y^e Sacrament, to goe from Church directly to the Ale Hous and there drink together as a testimony of Charity and friendship.'¹

On looking round for other vestiges of these ancient customs, one cannot fail to observe that, although the practice of fasting is still continued, the equally if not more obligatory duty of feasting has fallen into universal neglect. Those who fast on Friday almost always forget to feast on Sunday. The feasts of the saints, who succeeded the gods, are gone without exception; Lady-day is no longer kept, and the great feast of the Archangel Michael, though the bird that graced the board still bears the name of the sacrifice offered on the occasion, is now, like Lady-day, only remembered in connexion with the payment of rents.² There remains, however,

¹ The drinking at an alehouse after the church service was sometimes called a Church-ale, as appears from the following, quoted in Murray's Dictionary, s.v. Church-ale: 'Church-ales are when people go from afternoon prayers on Sunday . . . to some public-house where they drink and make merry.' Possibly Shakespeare might have had this kind of Church-ale in his mind when he wrote the following passage in *Two Gentlemen of Verona* (II. v. 56):—

Launce. If thou wilt, go with me to the alehouse; if not, thou art an Hebrew, a Jew, and not worth the name of a Christian.

Speed. Why?

Launce. Because thou hast not so much charity in thee as to go to the ale with a Christian.

² Such was the importance attached to keeping the feast of St. Michael and All Angels that even now they make a point in some Somerset families of having goose for dinner on Michaelmas Day in deference to a notion that bad luck throughout the ensuing year will attend those who fail to comply with the usage. The converse idea, that prosperity will be the reward of continuing the practice, is mentioned by Brand. He writes, 'it is a popular saying that if you eat goose on Michaelmas Day you will never want money all the year round,' and quotes the following:—

Yet my wife would persuade me (as I am a sinner),
To have a fat Goose on St. Michael for dinner:
And then all the year round, I pray you to mind it,
I shall not want money—oh! grant I may find it.

The custom of eating goose on Michaelmas Day is very old: Brand has traced it to the early part of the reign of Edward IV, there existing a document

one festival on which Time has not yet dared to lay his sacrilegious hand. The festal day is known as the day of the special sacrifice offered in honour of Him whose Birth it commemorates. On this holiday, which is still a holy day, the pious resort to the Temple, assist at the sacrifice, and join in the carol, whilst the mighty bellows heave, and the Temple-flute-player in his snowy tunic,¹ with skilful touch unlocks the prison of their pent up breath, which, joyous to be free, leaps to the pipe of twice five hundred reeds and swells the paean. There follows the sacred feast of which each living English soul partakes; the beggar is not shut out, nor is the felon in his cell forgotten.

THE TOMB-PIPERS AND THEIR INSTRUMENT

In examining the music of the Greeks and Romans, we cannot fail to notice that finger-holed wind instruments were far more important with them than they are with us. The explanation, there can be little doubt, lies in the circumstance that instruments played with the bow had not come into use, and that, in consequence, the ancients were obliged to have recourse to wind instruments for the production of sustained tone. We have only to imagine the violin family banished from the realm of music to realize how much more prominent clarionets, flutes, hautboys, and bassoons would become, and how greatly performers on them would be aggrandized. And here there is a point of which we should be careful not to lose sight, viz. that when we speak of the flutes of the Old World we are liable to create in the modern mind a misconception. We now confine the use of the word flute to instruments which owe their

of that date in which one John de la Hay was bound to provide, in addition to his rent, a goose suitable for the lord's dinner ('unam aucam habilem pro prandio domini') on the feast of St. Michael.

¹ Our surplice represents the tunic, or undergarment, of the Romans. The tunic was worn by all classes, but it often formed the only vesture of the poor. It has come down to us through the alb, the word alb being an abbreviation of *tunica alba*, anglice, the white tunic. 'The surplice, an alb of almost primitive form, ample and flowing, resembling the surplice of the present day was in use in the Middle Ages, in processions and certain occasions of ceremony.' The alb was the form of white tunic 'that in the primitive ages was held to be the costume appropriate to the Christian ministry, in the ninth century the alb began to have its loose and flowing proportions contracted; and these changes were continued until the vestment was made to fit with comparative closeness about the person of the wearer'. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, ninth ed., Art. Costume.

sound to the splitting of a stream of air by the sharp end of a wedge, such as transverse flutes, recorders, whistles, flageolets, and ocarinas¹

¹ The ocarina proper is a two-holed flute, which, though sold as a toy at Italian fairs, is not without interest, for analogy suggests the surmise that, if we had the means of tracing its pedigree, we should be able to carry it back to prehistoric times. (Compare, for instance, the two-holed flute of

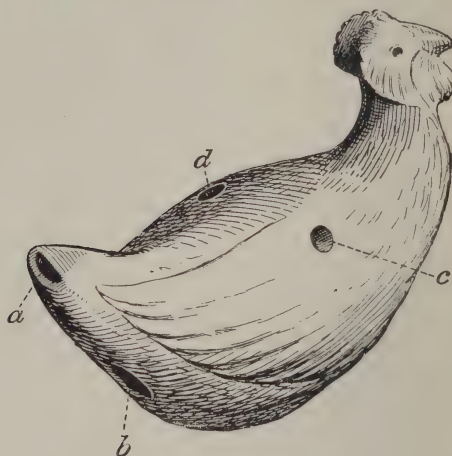


FIG. 97. OCARINA

a embouchure, *b* mouth, *c* *d* finger-holes.

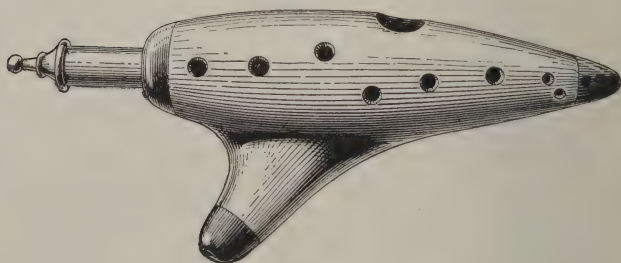


FIG. 98. IMPROVED OCARINA

baked clay from the ruins of Babylon in Engel's *Music of the most Ancient Nations*, Fig. 23; also a flute of pottery from an Indian grave in Central America in the *Catalogue of Instruments in the South Kensington Museum*, Fig. 56, p. 66; in the latter the tail and anal orifice of the animal mimicked serve the same purpose as in the ocarina.) The instrument takes its name ocarina, or little goose, from the bird in whose form it is supposed to be shaped, but the specimen here figured, which I obtained from Signor Mezzetti, seems to be intended to represent a hen rather than a goose. It is about three inches

whereas αἰλός, or tibia, was a much wider term ; it included not only our flutes but instruments sounded by means of a reed, in fact, all wind instruments except such as are blown with a cupped or trumpet embouchure. It is particularly necessary to be on our guard here, for both Burney and Hawkins believed that tibia signified a flute in the modern sense of the word.

Let us now turn to the flute which forms the chief subject of this Lecture. The instrument brings us again into contact with religious beliefs, but beliefs very different from those we have had occasion to notice ; beliefs so ancient that the creeds with which the Temple flute was associated seem in point of age to be as mushrooms to a gnarled oak ; beliefs perhaps held before the dispersion of the human family into nations ; beliefs which set us dreaming as to whether man might not have had some means of communicating his thoughts, nay more, that he might even have been capable of philosophizing, before the method of conversing with words had come into existence ; beliefs which have so rooted themselves in our psychic nature, that neither Judaism, the Mythological cult, Christianity, nor any other highly developed religion has been able, as far as my limited knowledge goes, to bring about their extirpation, a circumstance which may be looked upon as one indication that they were held by our ancestors through countless ages.

The practice of disposing of the dead by burial is so ancient that it is hopeless to attempt to trace its origin. It may even be that man was a burying animal when he was still in the ' missing-link ' stage of existence, the paucity of remains of early forms of our species being, possibly, due to the habit. Of all ceremonial institutions, rites connected with the dead are admitted to have the greatest vitality. The flute we are about to discuss was used in such rites by the Greeks and Romans ; the rites, however, in which it took part, did not owe their origin to the Graeco-Roman religious system, but were older usages which that system had not destroyed. Those who played

long, and is made of terracotta. The air-passage is in the tail, into the end of which (*a*) the performer blows. The vent of the bird (*b*) forms the mouth of the flute ; the body is hollowed into an ovoid cavity ; the finger-holes (*c, d*) are pierced in the bird's back. Signor Mezzetti states that, struck with the attractive quality of its tone, he with his schoolfellow Donati and others attempted to make the ocarina available for modern music, and after experiments extending over five or six years succeeded about 1865, or 1866, in so remodelling it—enlarging it, changing its shape, increasing the number of the finger-holes to eight—that a chromatic scale could be produced. A tuning slide by which the pitch can be raised or lowered was afterwards added.

the flute under the Mythological cult were, as we have seen, savagely attacked and even refused the rite of baptism by the Christians; the musicians to whom we are about to be introduced, though not treated so harshly, were scornfully repudiated by their professional brethren. Antigenidas and his pupil Ismenias, two of the most celebrated flute-artists of the Old World, used to say that nothing annoyed and tortured them so much as that these sepulchral performers on flutes of horn (*monumentarii ceraulae*) should be called flautists; ¹ they ought, we are left to infer, to have been always designated by the appellation of tomb-pipers (*τυμβαῖλαι*), or, as the Romans called them, corpse-players (*siticipes*).²

Here, at the outset of our inquiry, we are met by an important question—what kind of flute was played by those who were thus disowned? The name *ceraulae*, or hornflute-players, given by Antigenidas to the despised musicians enables us to answer with absolute certainty; their flute, though of large size, belonged to the Phrygian flute family. In olden days, the Phrygians were thought to be the most ancient people in the world; ³ in modern

¹ 'Is (Antigenidas) igitur cum esset in Tibicinio apprime nobilis, nihil se aequè laborare et animo angere et mente dicebat, quam quod monumentarii ceraulae Tibicines dicebantur,' Apuleius Florid., *Lib.* 1. 4. The displeasure of Ismenias rests upon the authority of St. Chrysostom (*Orat.* 49), who states that he was indignant in the highest degree.

² *Siticen* is compounded of *situs* and *cano*. *Situs* is applied to one dead and buried, or at least to a corpse laid out.

³ The following story is told by Herodotus, who says that he had it from the priests of Vulcan at Memphis in Egypt. It was probably invented to account for the belief of which it is alleged to be the foundation: 'The Egyptians, before the reign of Psammitichus, considered themselves to be the most ancient of mankind. . . . Now, when Psammitichus was unable, by inquiry, to discover any solution of this question, who were the most ancient of men, he devised the following expedient. He gave two newborn children of poor parents to a shepherd, to be brought up among his flocks in the following manner: he gave strict orders that no one should utter a word in their presence, that they should be in a solitary room by themselves, and that he should bring goats to them at certain times, and that when he had satisfied them with milk he should attend to his other employments. Psammitichus contrived and ordered this, for the purpose of hearing what word the children would first articulate, after they had given over their insignificant mewlings; and such accordingly was the result. For when the shepherd had pursued this plan for the space of two years, one day as he opened the door and went in, both the children falling upon him, and holding out their hands, cried "Becos". The shepherd, when he first heard it, said nothing; but when this same word was constantly repeated to him whenever he went

times, their racial affinities have been much debated, but never, I believe, satisfactorily settled. I shall be able to point out that the instrument which went by the name of the Phrygian flute is in the present day connected with the Celtic race, and that it can be found in India, the reputed birthplace of the Aryan family of nations. Dependence, however, cannot be placed on the name as a proof that the Phrygian flute was of Phrygian origin; we have seen the recorder called the English flute, and the *flauto traverso* styled the German flute, neither being peculiar to the nation whose name it bore; on the other hand, the Phrygian flute was associated with the rites of Cybele, a Phrygian goddess, an argument in favour of it being of genuine Phrygian nationality, but the Phrygians were mixed up with their neighbours the Galatians, a people admitted to be Celts.

The Phrygian flute attracted attention in the Old World both on account of its unusual construction and its peculiar tone. Although it was a finger-holed instrument blown with a reed, and its body made of either wood, reed, bone, or ivory—all these materials are mentioned—it was spoken of as a horn (κέρας), and the performer on it was called a horn-fluteplayer (κεραύλης, or κεραταύλης), and was said to flute upon the horn (αὐλεῖν τῷ κέρατι, Lucian, *D. D.* xii. 1). The horn was attached to the lower end of the flute, and was distinguished by an abnormality to which there are many allusions in classical literature; instead of being directed forwards like the bell-mouth of a recorder or a clarinet, it was ἀνανεῖον, as Julius Pollux terms it, that is, thrown back, or turned upwards.¹ On this account the horn is called by Ovid bent (*inflexum*),² and both by him and Statius hooked, or crooked (*aduncum*);³ and the Phrygian flute itself described by Virgil as a curved (*curva*)⁴ tibia, by Catullus as a curved⁵ reed, by Ovid as a crooked (*adunca*)⁶ lotos.

and tended the children, he at length acquainted his master, and by his command brought the children into his presence. When Psammitichus heard the same, he inquired what people call anything by the name of "Becos"; and on inquiry he discovered that the Phrygians call bread by that name. Thus the Egyptians, convinced by the above experiment, allowed that the Phrygians were more ancient than themselves.' *Herodotus* ii. 2, Cary's translation.

¹ According to Julius Pollux a horn was added not only to the Phrygian but to the transverse flute (πλαγίανλος), but Pollux was no doubt mistaken; indeed it is by no means certain that he makes the assertion, for his words will bear a different interpretation.

² *Fasti*, iv. 181.

³ See note, p. 354, and note 2, p. 390.

⁴ *Aeneid*, xi. 737.

⁵ LXIII. 22.

⁶ *Fasti*, iv. 190.

The horn thus applied to the Phrygian flute was that of a young cow (μόσχον). It is usually said in modern books that it was added to deepen the tone, a statement which rests on the authority of Athenaeus,¹ who, when quoting the words of Ion, 'I made a sound bringing the deep-toned flute with fluent rhythm,' adds by way of explanation, 'where he means Phrygian rhythm, for it is deep; on which account they also add a horn to it analogous to the bell of trumpets.' The meaning of the sentence, however, is so uncertain that Casaubon is of opinion that Athenaeus intends to imply that the horn was added not to deepen the flute, but to make it acute. As a matter of fact, the bell could have affected the intonation of one note only, the note produced when all the finger-holes were closed; it would not have deepened even this note, unless it was so constructed as to lengthen the tube.

To account for the circumstance that the Phrygian flute was constructed partly of horn and partly of some other material, I will hazard the following conjecture. The original Phrygian flute was in reality, as it was in name, a horn; it being the horn of an animal converted into a musical instrument; but when the art of flute-making became better understood, the obvious advantage that would result from the substitution of a properly shaped bore for the hollow of the horn led to an alteration in the construction of the body. But the Phrygian flute was a religious instrument; objections, therefore, might be raised, from a consideration of its spiritual influence, to a change in the material of which it was made; and so to keep up its character as a flute of horn, the horn mouth was retained at its lower end. Thus the original or old Phrygian flute was made entirely of horn, but its more modern and improved survival, partly of horn and partly of another material. Had the bell been intended only to affect the tone, we should expect to find it directed forwards like the bell of a clarinet; it was, however, turned upwards as if to retain the curved form of the old horn instrument.

This attempted explanation of the origin of the Phrygian flute was written many years ago. I am now able, thanks to the materials collected by Mr. Henry Balfour and published in a valuable Paper referred to in a former Lecture,² to make clear—at least to my own satisfaction—the mystery of the instrument. Had I not been

¹ *Deipnosophists*, iv. 84.

² Lecture I, note 1, p. 18. The Paper appeared in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, Nov. 1890.

blind, I should have already perceived that the Phrygian flute was a hornpipe, not only in its upturned horn, but down to its very name; for, as I have said, the Phrygian flute-player was called a *κεραύλης*, that is, literally, a hornpiper, so that by implication the Phrygian flute was a *κέραυλος*, or hornpipe. Mr. Balfour has opened my eyes by bringing to light a modern Greek hornpipe (Fig. 101). It corresponds so closely to the descriptions we have of the Phrygian flute as, in my opinion, to render it little less than certain that it is a survival of that instrument.

That the Phrygian flute was a hornpipe I have no doubt, but I will now leave the region of fact, and entering the realms of romance, submit to those better able to judge a transcendental view of its origin, and, with it, of the other members of the hornpipe family. I suggest that such pipes did not originate, as is generally thought, in the adding of a bell-mouth of horn to a reed-blown instrument, but sprang out of the conversion of the horn of an animal, sounded by the lips with a cupped mouthpiece, into a reed-blown pipe by the introduction of a reed, as the sounding agent, in place of the trumpet embouchure, and the substitution of a tube pierced with finger-holes for the body of the horn. Moreover, Mr. Balfour has traced the hornpipe to India, the birth-place of so many European instruments, and has figured an Indian horn-pipe which may perhaps enable us to go a step farther and draw the inference that the horn from which the hornpipe was developed was blown, as are many natural horns converted into trumpets, at the side, not at the end, as shown in Fig. 99.

It is impossible to discuss such a question adequately within the limits of a digression, but I will give some of Mr. Balfour's drawings, which he has kindly allowed me to copy, to show how the pedigree of the horn-pipe can be traced with the eye of fancy. Fig. 100 represents the Indian horn-pipe. Two pipes (shown separately at *f*), pierced with finger-holes, are placed side by side between *d* and *e*. They are sounded by reeds (*g*) concealed in a chamber (*a d*) formed of a gourd; the chamber being many times longer than is necessary for the reception of the reeds. The breath is impelled into the chamber at the opening *a*. Above the opening, the gourd selected for making the chamber has a tail, or projection, extending upwards to *b*. The upward prolongation being useless, I propose to account for it by imagining that it may be intended to keep up the resemblance to the parent horn, blown at the side. The cow's horn (*e c*) added at the end is also turned up, thus

heightening the resemblance to the parent horn, and thereby serving to retain the power over spirits the original instrument was thought to possess. I am about to give reasons for thinking that the progenitor of both the Greek and the Welsh hornpipe may have terminated at its open end in a snake's mouth; so that perhaps the whole instrument may be symbolical of an ophidian,



FIG. 99. SIDE-BLOWN TRUMPET,
AFTER ENGEL

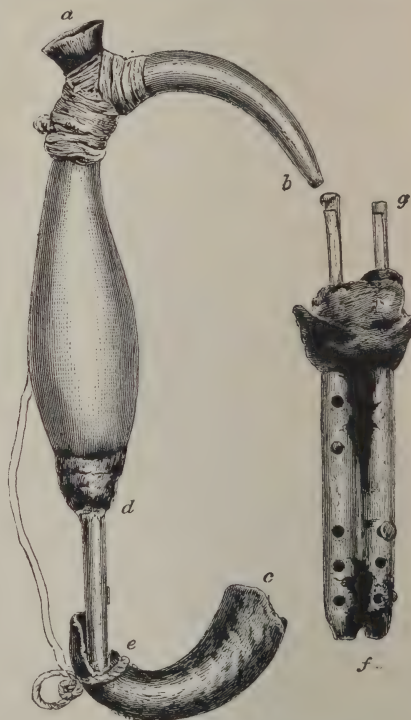


FIG. 100. HINDOO HORNPIPE

the long reed-chamber typifying the body, the tapering prolongation the tail, of the animal.

A side and front view of the modern Greek hornpipe are shown in Fig. 101, with the reeds *in situ* at *f*, and one of them separate at *g*. Here another stage in the evolution of the instrument is reached. The tail of the reed-chamber has disappeared, the gourd chosen for it not having an appendage like that adopted for the Indian hornpipe. The opening for the breath (*a*) is now at the end, not at the side, of the chamber, which is much shorter in comparison to the length of the

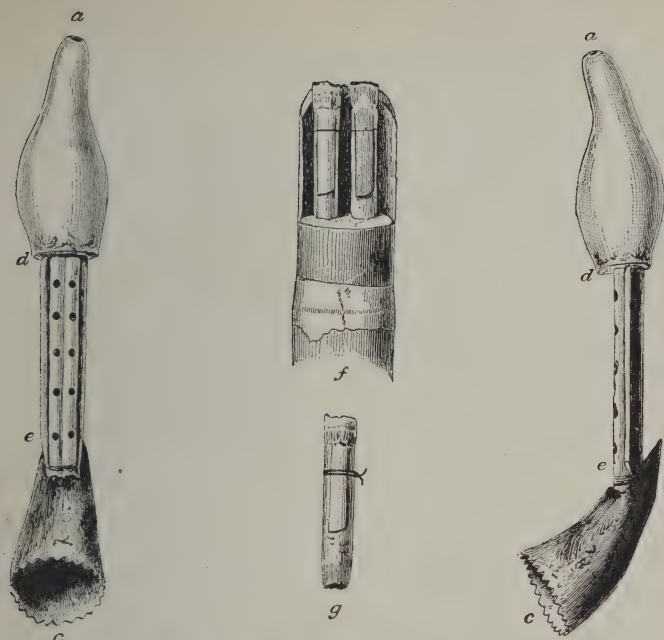
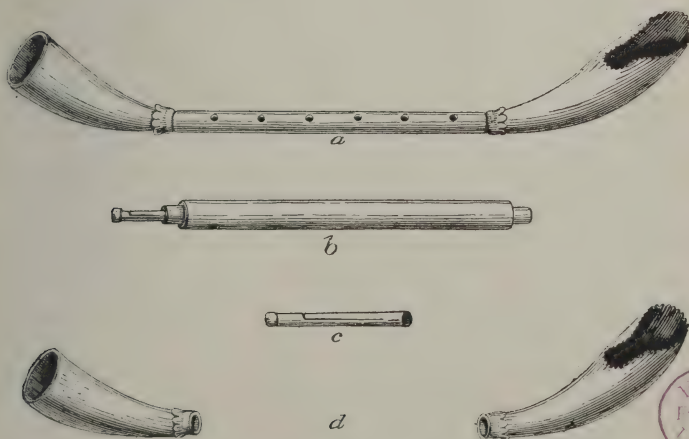


FIG. 101. MODERN GREEK HORNPIPE

FIG. 102. *a* the pibcorn, *b* the middle part, *c* the reed, *d* the horns

instrument. It will be noticed that although there are two pipes, both in the Greek and the Indian hornpipe, there is but one horn (*e c*), an indication of their descent from a single tube. The same horn, that of a cow, is employed in both, and in both is upturned. The pipes (*d e*) in the Greek hornpipe lie side by side in a half-tube formed of a split reed. The Phrygian flute, as we learn from Nonnus, was likewise a double instrument (δίδυμοι Βερέκυντες αἰολοί), the two pipes being yoked, or coupled together (ὁμόζυγες,¹ δίζυγες).²

In the Welsh hornpipe, or pibcorn (i. e. pipe-horn) as it is called, not only the bell, but the chamber for the reed is of horn, the material, according to my view, of the whole of the ancestral instrument. Most musicians are familiar with the pibcorn, but for those who are not acquainted with it, Fig. 102, taken from *Archaeologia* (Vol. III, p. 30), will render a description unnecessary. The horn of the Greek hornpipe (Fig. 101, *c*) is serrated, or notched, at the edge. The notching is neither useful nor ornamental; how can it be accounted for? The pibcorn seems to me to furnish a clue to its origin. The opening of the pibcorn's so-called bell is of a strange shape; it bears no resemblance to a bell, but is suggestive of the mouth of a reptile from which the upper jaw has been removed, the serration representing the reptile's teeth, thus giving rise to the idea that the ancestor of the hornpipe was a horn which ended in a serpent's head. Amongst primitive races, musical instruments are often constructed in the form of animals (Fig. 103). The practice of making horns with serpents' mouths lingered on almost down to our own time; they were called lesards (lizards), and are still to be seen in museums.³ Engel gives a drawing of a highly finished hornpipe (Fig. 105) in which, as it seems to me, a vestige of the upper jaw is discernible. From the Greek hornpipe both jaws have disappeared, but by a process of survival well known to anthropologists the notching is retained.

¹ Nonnus, *Dion.* xiii. 504.

² *Ibid.*, xl. 227.

The epithet *biforis* used by Virgil when referring to the Phrygian flute (*Aen.* ix. 618), is surely more likely to relate to the two tubes forming a double wind-passage, like the human nostrils to which *biforis* is applied, than, as Servius thinks, to the finger-holes of the instrument.

³ Engel's *Catalogue of the South Kensington Museum*, p. 320. Even such late instruments as Ophicleides and Russian Bassoons sometimes terminate in serpents' heads. Specimens of both are to be seen in the Museum of the Conservatoire of Brussels. Fig. 104 is from Mahillon's catalogue.

THE DUTIES OF FLUTE-PLAYERS IN THE RITE OF WAILING

To return from this imperfect but unpardonably long digression. I was speaking of the wrath of Antigenidas, a great artist of the Old World, at tomb-pipers being dignified with the name of flute-

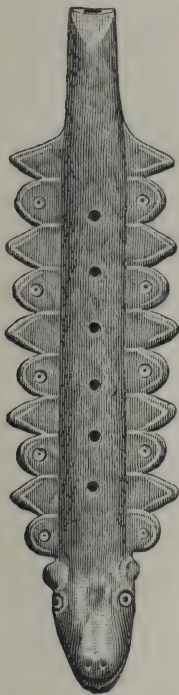


FIG. 103. AZTEC FLUTE, AFTER MAHILLON



FIG. 104. RUSSIAN BASSOON



FIG. 105. HORNPIPE WITH MOUTH SHOWING SUPPOSED VESTIGE OF UPPER JAW

players. Nor does his indignation appear to be unjustifiable. Not only is there reason for believing that these musicians were base and contemptible persons,¹ but it seems certain that their instru-

¹ It appears from Plutarch that the office of tomb-piper was anything but honoured or sought after. I will quote the passage, as it is important

ments, which were longer and larger than ordinary flutes, yielded tones as dismal as the goose-like shrieks of a bad clarionet, or the visceral grumblings of an ill-played bassoon. The general effect of the tomb-flute was likened to the bellowing of a bullock; its individual notes, according to Galen, the celebrated physician, bore a resemblance to certain deep-toned buzzings sometimes heard, amongst other sounds, in the human abdomen, and generated, so Galen taught, in the lower and more expanded portion of the alimentary tube, but only when it is in an empty state. Galen considered that the want of clearness in its *timbre* was due to the

from another point of view, for it shows that the Greeks believed that of all the uses to which the flute was put, its employment in wailing was the most ancient:—*Σοφοκλῆς δὲ καὶ τῶν ὀργάνων ἐκατέρῳ προσνέμων ἐκάτερον δῆλός ἐστι διὰ τούτων* .

Οὐ νάβλα κωκυτοῖσιν, οὐ λύρα φίλα,

καὶ γὰρ ὁ αὐλὸς ὁψὲ καὶ πρώην ἐτόλμησε φωνὴν ἐφ' ἱμερτοῖσιν ἀφίεναί. τὸν δὲ πρώτον χρόνον εἴλετο πρὸς τὰ πένθη, καὶ τὴν περὶ ταῦτα αὐτουργίαν οὐ μάλα ἔντιμον οὐδὲ φαιδρὰν εἶχεν, εἰς ἐμίχθη παντάπασιν, Plutarch, *De Ei apud Delphos*. It would seem that nothing but necessity would induce a person to take to the business of a tomb-piper. Aelian, when giving instances of persons of obscure origin who had risen to eminence, cites the case of Eumenes, who was believed to be the son of a needy man who followed this calling (*Var. Hist.*, Lib. xii, cap. 43). The flute-players who took part in the rites of the Phrygian deity Cybele, in whose worship there was a mock wailing for Atys, the favourite of the goddess, were little, if at all, better than beggars. Whilst they were playing, coppers were collected, and it seems from a passage in Ovid that few refused to give a trifle. He says:

Ante Deum Matrem cornu tibicen adunco

Cum canit, exiguae quis stipis aera neget ?

Antiphanes (Athenaeus, vi. 9) declares that, with the exception of fishmongers and money-changers, they were perhaps the greatest scoundrels on the face of the earth. Aelian (*Var. Hist.*, Lib. ix, cap. 8) gives an account of one of them, and if we may take him to be a fair specimen of his class, these begging votaries of Cybele fully deserved the character they bore. He was a profligate wretch of the name of Dionysius. So abominable was his conduct that the Locrians, amongst whom he put in practice his system of debauchery, were exasperated to such a degree that in retaliation they seized his wife and daughters and put them to death in a shameful and horrible way. He settled at Corinth, where, after experiencing many vicissitudes of fortune owing to his overwhelming poverty he adopted this mode of obtaining a livelihood, playing not only the Phrygian flute, but the peculiar drum used in the service of Cybele. I may add that the disgraceful conduct of the Jewish corps-players, of which I shall have occasion to speak, in laughing at our Lord when he was about to work a miracle, seems to show that the Hebrew tomb-pipers were not less ill-conditioned than their Gentile brethren.

material of which it was made, and the depth of its tone to the unusual width of the bore.¹ On the latter point, however, there was a difference of opinion; Aristotle attributed its low pitch to the heated state, and consequent density,² of the breath of those who took part in wailing, the rite in which it was employed.³

¹ Βομβώδεις δ' εἰσὼν ἕτεροι, τοῖς ἐξ εὐρυτάτων αὐλῶν εἰκότες, ὁποῖους ἔχουσιν οἱ τυμβαῦλαι καλούμενοι, διὰ μὲν τὴν ὕλην ἐξ ἧς γεγόνασιν οὐ δυναμένους ἡχεῖν καθαρὸν, διὰ δὲ τὴν εὐρύτητα τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος ὁδοῦ βαρύτητα φθεγγομένους. οἱ τοιοῦτοι πάντες ἐν τοῖς παχέσιν ἐντέροις συνίστανται, κενοῖς γενομένοις περιπτωμάτων, Galen. *de Symp. Caus.* lib. iii.

² It is scarcely necessary to mention that we now know that gaseous bodies are rarified, not condensed, by heat.

³ 'For hot breath produces a deep tone from its density; but cold breath the contrary from its tenuity. And this is manifest in flutes. For they who make use of a hotter breath and emit it as those who are wailing do, play with a deeper tone.' Aristot. *de Animal. Gener.* lib. v, cap. 7. Again, 'Heat, therefore, moves a great quantity of air, so that it is moved slowly. But cold moves a small quantity of air. This likewise takes place in flutes. For those who play them with the breath hot play with a much deeper tone.' Aristot. *Prob.*, sect. xi, l. 18. We have here one of the many proofs that can be cited that Aristotle, notwithstanding his gigantic intellect and amazing acumen, and though, as has been shown, he saw clearly the importance of reasoning from facts to notions, not from notions to facts, was not favoured by nature with the gift of so interrogating phenomena as to elicit their true relations. In modern times there is another conspicuous example of the same natural inaptitude in a great mind. Lord Bacon, the founder of the inductive method, proved to be wanting in the same power when he attempted to put questions to nature. It is true that in Aristotle's time there were no thermometers which would enable an observer to ascertain whether or not the act of wailing was accompanied with a rise in the temperature of the breath, or whether, as Aristotle maintained, the breath of those who laugh is hotter than that of those who weep. But there was a ready method, which would have occurred to any one endowed with a natural capacity for such investigations, of testing the hypothesis as far as it related to the flute; and that was by ascertaining whether the tomb-pipers did, or did not, produce the same deep tone when they were practising quietly at home, as when they were playing with frantic fury at a wailing. It must surely, too, have been as well known to the flute-players of the old world as it is to ourselves, that heat has a tendency to sharpen, not to flatten, wind-instruments.

In attributing the depth of the tone to the width of the bore Galen showed himself in advance of Aristotle as a scientist. A wide bore favours the emission of the low notes; indeed, if the bore is very narrow, the fundamental tones of the tube cannot be elicited from the instrument. On the other point raised, the opinion expressed by Galen that the material of a wind-instrument affects the quality of the tone, though it does not find universal acceptance, would even now be endorsed by the majority of flute-players. See the author's *History of the Boehm Flute*, 3rd ed., pp. 293 and 363-72.

In order to understand Aristotle's meaning we must bear in mind that the passions were formerly thought to have the power of affecting the temperature of the blood, an idea preserved in the language of everyday use. Thus we speak of a man's blood getting up and even boiling under the influence of anger; conversely, we say that horror makes the blood run cold. We must also remember that Aristotle taught that the object of respiration was to carry off heat from the blood, and that, consequently, the hotter the blood, the higher would be the temperature of the air exhaled. Nor must we forget that the usages in vogue in Aristotle's time, when a person died, present a perfect contrast to those with which we are familiar. The chamber of death, which with us is regarded with such awe, that even a whisper seems to be a desecration of its solemn silence, was amongst the Greeks the scene of a tumult that baffles description; it was crowded with men and women in a veritable state of phrensy, rending their garments, tearing their hair, beating their breasts, rolling on the ground¹ and dashing their heads against the floor, whilst their cheeks, torn with their nails, were bedewed with gore which flowed from the self-inflicted wounds. Amongst them were one or more flute-players,²

¹ The wailer sometimes rolled in the mire, and gathering up dirt with his hands, applied it to his head. Priam, when wailing for his son Hector, chose to roll in the courtyard of his palace where cattle were kept, and he is represented by Homer as having made his head and neck truly filthy (*Iliad* xxiv. 164, 640). On a pavement or floor where there was no dirt this could not be done, and then dust, or earth, was sprinkled on the head. The practice is often alluded to in the Old Testament (Josh. vii. 6, 1 Sam. iv. 12, 2 Sam. xv. 32, Job ii. 12). The custom of throwing the body on the ground was very general. Joshua and David both complied with it (Josh. vii. 6; 2 Sam. xii. 16, xiii. 31).

² In Jewish wailing, as I shall point out, more than one flute-player was absolutely necessary, but in the representations I have seen of Greek and Roman wailing only one is depicted; however we are told, as I shall mention, of the flute-players, not the flute-player, being sent to by the Romans, when the sick man's end was drawing near. In the ancient pictures, the musician is playing on the ordinary double flute, so that it would seem as if that instrument had ousted its despised rival from the ceremony. The Phrygian flute, however, was retained in the celebration of the wailing for Atys, the shepherd of whom Cybele was enamoured. Amongst the Romans, the tomb-flute appears to have lingered on in connexion with funerals, it being stated by Statius, in a passage I shall quote, that it was suitable for leading out the funerals of children. There seems also reason for thinking that *siticles* were sometimes to be found amongst the musicians who played in the procession at funerals of adults.

and if an expression used by Lucian, whose account I am chiefly following, is rightly interpreted, the blows as they resounded on the chests of the wailers kept time to the accent of the music.¹ But the notes of the flute were not the only sounds heard; there was sobbing, groaning, and shrieking, whilst from time to time rose a strange, weird cry poured forth with unbridled vehemence by the women.² It was the wail, or death-cry (*θρήνος*), a sound so difficult to emit with due effect that persons were specially trained to utter it. The ululation—for such it was—was led by one who by the careful collection and diligent study of the many death-cries handed down by tradition, had made himself a master of the art of wailing³ (*θρήνων σοφιστής*).

¹ We learn that the blows were given rhythmically, from an expression of Festus, who speaks of the time, or measure, in which they were delivered (*modus plangendi*). The time was given, he says, by the *præficiae*, or professional wailers, to the non-professional party, and it would seem from the passage in Lucian (*ἡ πρὸς τὸν αὐλὸν στερνοτυπία*), that when a flute-player was employed the *præficiae* took it from the flute (see Fig. 107). In the New Testament (Matthew xi. 17) Jewish children are represented as playing at weddings and wailings. They divided themselves into two parties, and in the game of weddings, one of the parties pretended to be the flute-players who officiated on such occasions, whilst the other party danced to the sounds they made; in the game of wailings, one side constituted themselves either the flute-players, or the *præficiae*, who gave the time, and the other beat themselves in response. The passage should be translated, 'we have piped unto you, and ye have not danced; we have wailed unto you, and ye have not beaten yourselves.'

² *Ἡ τῶν γυναικῶν περὶ τὸν θρήνον ἀμετρία*, Lucian, *De Luctu*.

³ Unfortunately *θρήνος*, like its Irish cognate *caoine*, or *keen*, is used to denote not only the death-howl, or *ululatus*, but also a very different sound, the *ιάλεμος*, or *naenia*, which was a dirge, song, or recitative with words. That the *naenia* was sung to the flute, there can be no doubt; but whether the notes of the instrument were mingled with the *θρήνος* proper, or wordless *ululatus*, I know of nothing to show. The flute-players, or flute-player when only one was engaged, led, not merely accompanied the dirge, as is evident from the following passage in Josephus, where he speaks of the wailing made for himself when he was supposed to have been killed at the capture of Joppa: *πλείστους μισθοῦσθαι τοὺς αὐλητὰς οἱ θρήνων ἐξήρχον αὐτοῖς*. The minstrels who led the *θρήνοι* in Homer's description of the wailing for Hector (*ἀοιδούς θρήνων ἐξάρχους*) are generally considered to be either vocalists or harpists, but the old scholars who pronounced them to be flute-players may have been right.

The passage in the *De Luctu*, where Lucian terms the leader of the wails *θρήνων σοφιστής*, runs as follows:—*μεταστειλάμενοί τινα θρήνων σοφιστήν, πολλὰς συνειληχότα παλαιὰς συμφοράς, τοῦτ' ἀναγωνιστῇ καὶ χοραγῷ ἀνοίας*

In the midst of the tempest of passion was the corpse. It had been piously bathed, anointed with precious perfumes, clothed in a rich robe, sometimes of purple, but more commonly of spotless white,¹ and profusely crowned with full-blown flowers.² It was raised aloft on an elevated couch, where, gently pillowed, it lay in all the calm and placid beauty of death. There comes a lull in the whirlwind of delirium, and a member of the family, advancing from the throng of relatives, not only embraces the dead body, but addresses it in a set speech.³ In the composition of the speech three

καταχρῶνται, ὅποι ἂν ἐκείνος ἐξάρχη, πρὸς τὸ μέλος ἐπαΐζοντες. The sentence has greatly exercised commentators who have failed to make it intelligible. The obscurity attributed to it arises from a misapprehension of the meaning of the word συμφοράς, which is usually rendered calamities; if we translate it wails, a meaning it will bear, the sense becomes clear. Lucian is alluding to the *ululatus*, not to the *naenia*, as the word he uses (ἐπαΐζοντες) shows. He had previously mentioned that the flute was played at the beating of the breast, but he does not state that the master-wailer led the *ululatus* with the instrument, but seems to imply that he used his voice for the purpose. The master-wailer is described as both the χοραγός and the συναγωνιστής of the wailers. The χοραγός, or κορυφαίος, sometimes sang by himself, so that we may consider that Lucian means to say that the master-wailer first gave out alone the subject (μέλος) of the *ululatus*, and afterwards sang it again, as a συναγωνιστής, with the chorus of wailers. This would be strictly in accordance with the practice kept up at Irish wakes. In Ireland the leading keener, or professional wailer, after chanting the cepog, or dirge, as a solo. extemporizes a ullaloo, or *ululatus*, which is repeated in chorus by those assembled, 'following as closely as they can,' writes Sullivan, in a passage quoted below (note, p. 417), 'the tune or air adopted by the professional mourners.' We have here a resemblance to Lucian's description of the Greek method of wailing so close as to be quite remarkable: 'whithersoever he' (the master-wailer) 'leads', says Lucian, 'they' (the persons present) 'wail to this tune (μέλος).' See the account of a dirge and wail given in the excursus, p. 411.

¹ See Becker's *Charicles*, excursus to Scene ix, also Kirschmann, *de Funeribus Romanorum*, lib. i, c. 10.

² We still continue to bring flowers to the corpse, but we have quite forgotten the purpose for which they were originally intended. That our custom is a survival of the practice of crowning the dead is evident from the circumstance that we arrange our flowers in the form of wreaths or chaplets. Instead, however, of placing them on the head of the defunct, we lay them on the coffin and the grave.

³ It would seem that making the speech, as well as uttering the wails, was considered to be the business of women. The three speeches addressed to the dead Hector in Homer are all made by women. It is true that Lucian, in the *De Luctu*, represents a father addressing his dead son, but an exclamation (by Jove) he makes use of when mentioning the circumstance seems to show

points were observed. The defunct was called by his name, or by some familiar or endearing appellation; he was told of the forlorn state of his bereaved relatives, and often reproached for deserting them; and finally he was reminded of any achievements for which he might have been distinguished, and of the pleasures and advantages he had lost by dying. Of the three points, the first was the most important; indeed it may be said to have been essential, for though the two others were sometimes dispensed with, it seems to have been seldom if ever omitted.

From the foregoing description a general idea may be formed of the chief features of the rite of wailing as it was practised by the three nations of antiquity with whose domestic life we are best acquainted, the Greeks, the Romans, and the Jews. There is abundant evidence to show that the flute was used in the celebration of this rite. The allusions we have to the ceremony as carried out by the Romans are meagre, but in Fig. 107,¹ which represents a Roman wailing, a flute-player, judging from the dress a woman, is seen in the act, seemingly, of giving the *modus plangendi* for beating the breast, whilst the position of the hands of the *præficiae* and the other wailers seems to show that they are keeping good time to the music. The figure is not the only evidence we have that flute-players took part in Roman wailing. We learn from a Latin saying that the flute-players might be sent to before the sick man was actually dead.² The object of the communication, we are asked

that he regarded it as something unusual or improper; he says, 'Then the Mother coming forward and *by Jove* the Father.' His speech may be freely rendered thus: 'My sweetest child, you are gone from me and have died, and are snatched away before your time, leaving your wretched father all alone: you have not tasted the sweets of wedlock, the delights of paternity, the joys of war, or the pleasures of husbandry, nor have you attained to the honour of old age! Never again, my Son, will you take part in revelry or in love, never again will you join the drinking-bout in the banquet with your comrades.' Compare the Irish address to a dead man, given below, p. 415.

¹ The explanation of the figure given in Smith's Dictionary is that it 'represents the *lectus funebris*, on which the corpse of a female lies dressed. Two female mourners (*præficiae*) stand behind, and by their side a man in the act of putting a garland' (a *taenia*?) 'on the head of the corpse. On each side of the *lectus funebris* is a torch. On the left side is a female blowing the flute, and above another with folded hands; on the right side sit three females, wearing the *pilleus* (probably manumitted slaves): below is the family of the deceased.'

² 'Licet ad tibicines mittas' (*Petron. Satyr.* c. 129), 'you may send to the flute-players.' The flute-players could not, of course, be sent to with pro-

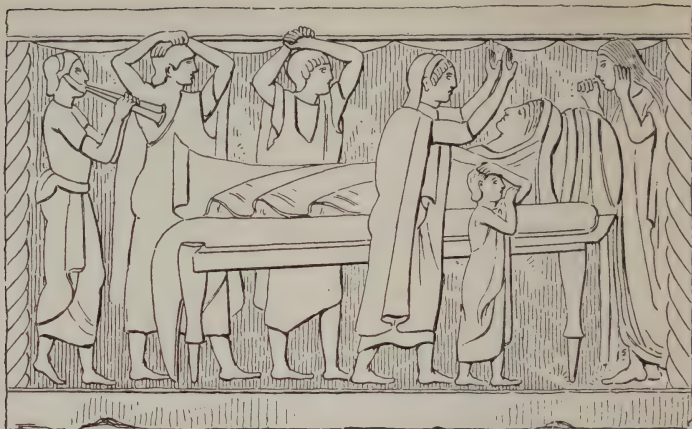


FIG. 106. FLUTE-PLAYER AT A WAILING

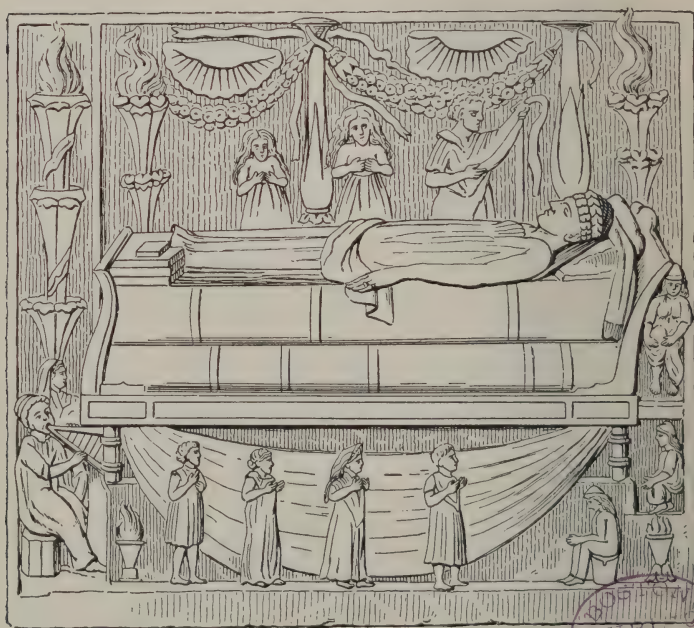


FIG. 107. FLUTE-PLAYER AT A ROMAN WAILING

to believe, was to engage them for the funeral. This, however, is an unsatisfactory explanation. What would be thought in the present day of a man, who, on learning that the life of a member of his family was despaired of, sent forthwith, without waiting until he had expired, to the organist of the parish church to engage him for the Burial Service? To impute such indecency to the Romans is monstrous. Their funerals—at least those of the more wealthy—like our own, did not take place until the seventh or eighth day after the death, so that there was ample time to make all the necessary arrangements. It is surely more reasonable to suppose that the message was intended, not to engage the flute-players for the funeral, but to warn them to be within call, so as to be in readiness to take part in the wailing whenever their services might be required; and we know that the conclamation, which was the first act of the Roman wailing, was set up without a moment's unnecessary delay after the sufferer had breathed his last, even if it did not sometimes commence before the final struggle was over.¹

THE RITE OF WAILING—CAN IT BE EXPLAINED?

In wailing importance was undoubtedly attached to the use of the flute, so we are naturally led to inquire for what purpose the instrument was played. We have traced the design of flute-music in the Mythological system of religion, but wailing was not the offspring of that system, it was an older rite intruded into the cult, the Mythological contribution to the ceremony consisting in the putting into the mouth of the dead man a coin to pay Charon's

priety (*licet*) until the end appeared to be drawing near. Hence, to say 'the flute-payers may be sent to' was equivalent to saying that the death was imminent. Some read *tubicines*, trumpeters, instead of *tibicines*, flute-players. In Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* (3rd ed., Art. Funus) there is depicted a scene said to be intended for a conclamation. There are no flute-players present, but two musicians with instruments of the trumpet family are shown in full blast. The picture, assuming it to be genuine, serves to confirm the suspicion that the conclamation sometimes began before the death had taken place, for the person conclaimed, so far from being dead, has sufficient strength to support the weight of her body on the left elbow as she lies on a couch.

¹ In Virgil's description of the death of Dido, the conclamatory rites—raising the *ululatus*, beating the breast and tearing the cheeks, calling the name, making the complaining and reproachful speech, and even the ceremony of washing the body—are represented as being performed whilst Dido is still in the death agony. *Aeneid* iv. 665–85.

fare for ferrying him over the river Styx, and placing by his side a honey-cake as a sop to quiet Cerberus, the savage guardian of the entrance to the Mythological Hades. Was the flute only intended to lead, or accompany, the *naenia*, to give time in beating the breast, or to help to induce the maniacal state into which the wailers lashed themselves? The question involves one still larger; what was the object of the rite itself? To this, no satisfactory answer has, as far as I know, yet been returned. It has hitherto been taken for granted that wailing is a form of mourning, a supposition on which it is so inexplicable that they who have dealt with the matter have either admitted their inability to trace the origin of its strange customs by expressing the opinion that they must have originated in caprice, or have proposed explanations little short of ludicrous.¹ As the inquiry is of interest, I shall ask to be allowed to leave the flute for a little whilst I point out, as briefly as I can, how, as it seems to me, they may have arisen. I shall attempt to show that they sprang out of a practice once common to the greater part, if not the whole, of the human race; a practice the original purpose of which was not to express grief, but to undo the work of death and bring back the departed to the world he had quitted. The method I shall employ is one which has been adopted with success in similar inquiries. According to this method those members of the family of nations whom we call savages are regarded as the surviving representatives of a state of culture through which more refined communities have passed, and a study is made of their usages on the assumption that we can thus trace the complex customs of civilized life, if not to their birth, or even to the cradle, at least to a period of comparative infancy.

It is, of course, needless to mention that even in the present advanced state of physiological knowledge it is not always easy to say with certainty that life is actually extinct. The two signs which are popularly regarded as conclusive evidence on the point, the apparent cessation of respiration and the heart's action, are admitted to be fallacious; it is only when the transient stiffening of the body known as cadaveric

¹ The following is a sample of the explanations that have been offered: 'Plucking the hair is well calculated to assuage the action of some particular organs, to which the sensations of the individual may be a sufficient guide. Beating the breast may relieve the heart which may be oppressed with a tumultuous circulation. Cutting may be the effect of nature's indication of bleeding. Crying aloud certainly directs the attention from anguish of mind or body. Tearing and rending seem to palliate nervous irritation.' Kitto's *Cyclopaedia of Biblical Literature*, Art. Mourning.

rigidity has been observed, or when decomposition has commenced, that somatic death, as the death of the body as a whole is now termed, can be pronounced with certainty to have taken place. Men, however, in a state of primitive culture hold that the activity of the vital functions is due to the operation of the spirit ; and it is on the departure of the spirit that their attention is fixed when a person dies. But they believe that the spirit leaves the body, not only at death, but during sleep, appealing in proof of it to the phenomena of dreams, which they regard as the adventures of the spirit during its absence from the body :¹ thus they come to look upon sleep as a kind of half-death. There are, however, certain abnormal states of the body known as ecstasy, catalepsy, and trance, in which the functions of the brain, heart, and lungs seem to be suspended, so that the sufferer appears to be really dead.

¹ 'Certain of the Greenlanders, Crantz remarks, consider that the soul quits the body in the night and goes out hunting, dancing, and visiting ; their dreams, which are frequent and lively, having brought them to this opinion. Among the Indians of North America, we hear of the dreamer's soul leaving his body and wandering in quest of things attractive to it. These things the waking man must endeavour to obtain, lest his soul should be troubled and quit the body altogether. The New Zealanders considered the dreaming soul to quit the body and return travelling to the region of the dead to hold converse with its friends. The Tagals of Luzon object to waking a sleeper, on account of the absence of his soul. The Karens, whose theory of the wandering soul has just been noticed, explain dreams to be what the lã sees and experiences in its journeys.' Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, ch. ii.

The following is from the same work :—

'The king' (Gunthram) 'lay in the wood asleep with his head in his faithful henchman's lap ; the servant saw as it were a snake issue from his lord's mouth and run to the brook, but it could not pass, so the servant laid his sword across the water, and the creature ran along it and up into a mountain ; after a while it came back and returned into the mouth of the sleeping king, who waking told how he had dreamt that he went over an iron bridge into a mountain full of gold. This is one of those instructive legends which preserve for us, as in a museum, relics of an early intellectual condition of our Aryan race, in thoughts which to our modern minds have fallen to the level of quaint fancy, but which still remain sound and reasonable philosophy to the savage. A Karen at the present day would appreciate every point of the story ; the familiar notion of spirits not crossing water, which he exemplifies in his Burmese forests by stretching threads across the brook for the ghosts to pass along ; the idea of the soul going forth embodied in an animal ; and the theory of the dream being a real journey of the sleeper's soul. Finally, this old belief still finds, as such beliefs so often do, a refuge in modern poetry :—

Yon child is dreaming far away,
And is not where he seems.'

Having witnessed recoveries, or, as they would say, having known the spirit come again, in such cases,¹ they consider passing in and out of the body to be voluntary acts on the part of the spirit, and naturally believe it to be in the power of the spirit to return even after death has actually taken place : accordingly, we find them calling the name of the dead man in a loud voice in the hope that the spirit may hear, come back, re-enter, and reanimate the body : a practice still carried out in all its primitive simplicity in some parts of the world.²

Let us return to the Romans, for they furnish us with the key to the investigation. Their wailing did not differ materially from that already described. There was the same beating the breast, tearing the hair, and lacerating the cheeks,³ the *ululatus*, or death-wail, being

¹ The Algonquin Indian thus 'explains the condition of men lying in lethargy or trance ; their souls have travelled forth to the River of Death, but have been driven back and return to reanimate the bodies.' Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, ch. xi. 'The ancient Samoan idea of what became of the spirit after death, was that when it had dissolved partnership with the body it travelled to the extreme west end of the island of Savaii, and from a certain stone there leaped into a circular pool, which was the entrance to their Hades, called "Pulotu". Just at the edge of the plunging place there stands a solitary cocoanut tree, against which if the spirit strikes it returns to the sick body, and the patient recovers.' Churchward's *Consulate in Samoa*, p. 371.

² 'When any one faints or dies, their spirit, it is said, may sometimes be brought back by calling after it ; and occasionally the ludicrous scene is witnessed of a stout man lying at full length, and bawling out lustily for the return of his own soul.' Williams's *Fiji*, ch. 9. 'The soul being separated from the body by death, is not supposed to go far away at first. Indeed, the name of the deceased is loudly called with the notion that the soul may hear and come back. A woman knowing that a neighbour was at the point of death heard a rustling of something in her house, as it were a moth fluttering, just as the sound of cries and wailings showed her that the soul had flown. She caught the fluttering thing between her hands, and ran with it, crying out that she had caught the *atai*. But though she opened her hands above the mouth of the corpse there was no recovery.' Rev. R. Codrington, *Religious Beliefs and Practices in Melanesia*.

³ Unguibus ora soror foedans, et pectora pugnīs.

Virgil, *Aeneid* iv. 673.

Sic funere primo

Attonitæ tacuere domus, quum corpora nondum

Conclamata iacent, nec mater crine soluto

Erigit ad saevos famularum brachia planctus.

Lucan, *Phar.* Lib. II.

The reader, if interested in the subject, will find many passages relating to beating the breast, and tearing the hair and cheeks, quoted in Kirschmann, *de*

raised by the maidservants of the family under the guidance of the *præficae*,¹ as the professional wailing-women were called, with such vehemence as to disturb the quiet of the whole neighbourhood.² There was, however, a difference in the way in which the deceased was addressed. The members of his family with the friends and neighbours who had assembled *conclaimed* him, i. e. shouted, or hallooed to him, calling him by name, and raising their voices together.³ The practice was termed, as I have already said, the conclamation. The shouting commenced when the eyes of the defunct were closed, sometimes it seems still earlier, and was repeated from time to time during the period which intervened between the death and the funeral. The last conclamation (*conclamatio suprema*) was looked upon as the most important; it was not until it was over that all hope of seeing the body revive was abandoned.⁴

Although the Romans had lost the origin of wailing when they became a civilized people, they recognized that in the rite there was interwoven with the idea of lamentation a fond hope that the proceedings might have the happy effect of restoring the seemingly dead to life.⁵ They also retained the belief that it was

Funeribus Romanorum, Lib. II, cap. 11. The following refers to the practice of tearing the bosom, and calling the name :—

Tu vero nudum pectus lacerata sequeris;

Nec fueris nomen lassa vocare meum.

Prop., Lib. II, 13, 27.

¹ 'Quae præficeretur ancillis quemadmodum lamentarentur præfica est dicta,' Var. *L.L.* 7. 3.

² Seneca, *De Tranquillitate Animi*, c. xi.

³ 'On ouvrit la chambre de toutes parts, et y laissoit entrer ceux qui vouloient de la famille et du voisinage : là où ils se mettoient trois ou quatre ensemble à crier le défunct par plusieurs fois.' Guichard, *Funérailles de Romains, Grecs, etc.*, ch. 1, p. 20.

⁴ 'Plinius in naturali historia dicit, hanc esse causam, ut mortui et calida abluantur, et per intervalla conclamentur, quod solet plerumque vitalis spiritus exclusus putari, et homines fallere. Denique refert quendam superpositum pyrae, adhibitibus ignibus, erectum esse, nec potuisse liberari. Unde et servabantur cadavera septem (vel octo) diebus, et calida abluebantur : et post ultimam conclamationem comburebantur.' Servius, *Comment. in Virg. Aen.* vi. 218.

⁵ 'Unde putatis inventos tardos funerum apparatus ? Unde, quod exequias planctibus, ploratu, magnoque semper inquietamus ululatu, quam quod facinus videtur credere vel morti ? Vidimus igitur frequenter ad vitam post conclamata suprema redeuntes.' Quintilian, *Dec.* viii. 10.

Although no instances are recorded, it is more than likely that the Romans

intended to bring this about by acting on the spirit. Kirschmann, in his learned work *De Funeribus Romanorum*, states, as the result of

had known animation restored by the conclamation. Whilst I was preparing these pages for the press, the following allusion to a well-known case, in which a man believed to be dead was roused by the sound of the voice of a friend, appeared in the *Globe* (April 11, 1907):—

‘A sad case of premature burial which occurred the other day in France recalls the strange adventure of which Cardinal Donnet was, eighty years ago, the hero. Forty years later the prelate himself related the peculiar story to his colleagues of the Senate, when that grave body was discussing the subject of premature interment. “In 1826,” he said, “on a hot day and in a crowded church, a young priest while delivering a sermon was suddenly seized with faintness and lost consciousness. He was carried out of the church, pronounced to be dead, and a few hours later his funeral was arranged for. But the priest was not dead. He could not see, but he could hear, and what he heard was not of a nature to reassure him. He heard the doctor declare life to be extinct, he heard him make inquiries as to his age, his place of birth, and finally sign the order for his burial. The venerable bishop of the cathedral in which the young priest had been preaching came to the foot of his bed and recited the “*De Profundis*”, the measurements for the coffin were taken, and night was drawing near. Imagine the horror of the victim, dead in all but intelligence. Finally, in the midst of the many voices which he heard around him, the priest distinguished one whose accents were familiar to him. It was the voice of a friend of his childhood, and the effect of it was such that with a superhuman effort he awoke from the lethargic sleep into which he had fallen. Next day he was in his accustomed place in the cathedral. To-day, Messieurs, he stands among you.”’

It is conceivable that shouting the name by relatives and friends would have had the desired effect in a similar case reported a few weeks later (June 2) in the *Observer*:—

‘A remarkable story of a man who was thought to be dead and only just escaped being buried alive is telegraphed from Rochdale. Mr. James Fegan, a young commercial traveller, was taken ill a few days ago, and at seven o’clock one morning he was declared to have died after having had a collapse.

‘His brother and sister at once made arrangements for the funeral. The doctor was informed that death had taken place, and he prepared the customary certificate, and a grave was dug in Rochdale Cemetery.

‘Three hours after the supposed death an undertaker, Mr. Albert Heywood, arrived to take measurements of the “corpse”. He removed one of two pillows with which Fegan’s head was propped up. Then he began to take his measurements. Suddenly he was startled to see the body heave slightly. Later he remarked an undoubted twitching of the eyes, which had been closed by the person who “laid out” the body.

‘“Why, the man’s alive!” he exclaimed. A doctor was at once summoned, and a sister of the supposed dead man was informed that her brother was living. She immediately fainted.

‘Meanwhile Mr. Heywood plunged Fegan’s hands into iced water. The

his researches, that the conclamation was designed, either to keep the spirit back as it was coming forth,¹ or else to rouse it in case it might be slumbering within the body.² He went no farther, for

shock revived him. Brandy was given to him, and he was wrapped in blankets, and in a few hours had recovered sufficiently to sit up in bed and talk to his friends and relations.

‘In an interview last night Fegan said, “It was like an eternity; an eternity of unspeakable mental agony. I knew that I was alive the greater part of the time, and made terrible inward struggles to manifest some outward sign of life.

“When the undertaker came I thought I should have gone mad. I hoped for something to happen that might so startle me as to produce a sign of life.

“If the undertaker had not measured me a second time I suppose I might have given up the ghost.

“Though I was hoping that when the time came to screw me in the coffin I should wake up with fright, still, as that would be my last chance, I was only too glad of something to excite me before then.

“Imagine my despair when I thought the undertaker had done with me, and imagine my joy coupled with an awful dread, when I felt him lower my head from the pillow and repeat the process of measuring me. I made desperate efforts to raise myself, and once actually succeeded in making a slight movement, but no one observed it.

“Once more I could distinctly feel that I had moved, and this time the undertaker noticed it. I heard him shout, “He’s not dead! He’s alive!”

“Then the undertaker whistled for those downstairs to come up.”’

¹ In Virgil’s description of the death of Dido, the conclamation, as I have already mentioned, is set up before the spirit, which is represented as struggling to get free, has been released from the body. Kirschmann quotes the following:

At mihi non oculos quisquam inclamavit euntes:

Unum impetrassem te revocante diem.

Propertius, Lib. IV. 7, 23.

Nec mandata dabo? nec cum clamore supremo

Labentes oculos claudet amica manus?

Ovid, Lib. III, *Trist.* Eleg. 3.

² The notion that the spirit may be dozing finds expression in the form of conclamation still carried out when the Pope dies. The corpse of the Pontiff is tapped on the forehead with a mallet, and the speech, ‘Father, are you asleep?’ (*Papa, dormisne?*) addressed to it.

In support of the opinion that the Roman conclamation was intended to wake the spirit Kirschmann cites the passage from Servius just quoted (n. 4, p. 365). The following is a literal translation of it: ‘Pliny, in his *Natural History*, says that this is the reason that the dead are both bathed in warm water and conclaimed at intervals, because the vital spirit is often thought to be excluded, and to deceive men. Finally he relates that a person laid on the pyre, on the application of the flames, rose up, nor could he be set free. Hence corpses were both kept seven (or eight) days, and after the last conclamation were burnt.’

he had persuaded himself that the spirit having once quitted the body had never been known to enter it again except in the seven scriptural instances of miraculous interposition. If, instead of

There is a certain ambiguity in the words of Servius where he speaks of the spirit being thought to be excluded. The interpretation put by Kirschmann on the expression is that the spirit was often *thought* to have departed when it was only lying dormant in the body. Servius, however, means to say the very opposite, that the spirit was not only thought to be, but really *was*, out of the body. The remarks made by Kirschmann seem to show that he felt this to be the true meaning of the passage, but, owing to his preconceived ideas on the subject of death, he could not bring himself to acknowledge it. To make sure, however, that this is what Servius meant, we have only to turn to the passage in Pliny's *Natural History* (Book VII, chap. liii) to which he refers. It is a chapter devoted to cases of persons mistaken for dead whilst they were still alive, and it is plain that Pliny attributes the inanimate appearance of the body in such cases to the absence of the spirit. He says, too, that women, for a reason he gives, are more subject to this affliction than men, thus, to use modern terms, connecting catalepsy with hysteria. To show that it is quite certain that Pliny held that the spirit was absent, I will mention some of his cases. One of them is that of Aristaeus, the magician of Proconesus, whose spirit could leave and enter his body whenever he pleased, and was seen to come out of his mouth in the shape of a bird of a black colour. Another is that of Corfidius, who, after his will had been read and his funeral contracted for, whilst lying laid out clapped his hands to summon the servants, and on their entrance told them that he had come from his brother who had just died. Whilst he was speaking, intelligence of his brother's death reached the house. In a third case, the body of a captain in the navy, which had been lying for hours on the seashore, was reanimated, and Gabienus (for this was his name) informed the bystanders that he had been sent back from the shades below with a message for the commander-in-chief. A fourth case, that of Hermotimus, attracted more than usual attention in the old world. The story is briefly given by Lucian (*Musc. Encom.* 7), and is narrated at greater length by Pliny and Plutarch (*De Deo Socrat.*), besides being mentioned by several other writers. Hermotimus was a philosopher, or prophet, whose soul separated from his body at particular times (I am giving the story as it is told by Lempriere, with the exception of a trifling correction), and wandered in every part of the earth to explain futurity; after which it returned and animated his frame. His wife, who was acquainted with the frequent absence of his soul, took advantage of it, and betrayed him to his enemies, who burnt his body on the funeral pile as if it had been totally dead, and thus deprived his soul of its natural receptacle, or sheath, as Pliny terms it. A modern physiologist would explain the story by saying that Hermotimus was subject to catalepsy, a disease, or unnatural state, in which animation is suspended with or without loss of consciousness. As the eyes are fixed and the muscles in such a state as to preserve any attitude or posture in which the body may be placed, the sufferer looks like a statue or a stiffened corpse. In the case of Hermotimus, catalepsy was complicated with ecstasy, a kindred affection,

stopping, he had advanced another step, he would have come upon what seems to me to be the true interpretation of the usage ; for if we admit that in the psychical evolution of man there was a period

which derives its name (*ῥεστασις* from *ἐξίστημι*) from the circumstance that the spirit of the patient was thought by the ancients to be out of the body during the attack. When in the ecstatic state, Hermotimus wandered in dreams. Catalepsy is associated with hysteria and religious mania. There is a case on record (that of Col. Townsend) of an individual who had the power of inducing it at will. Certain of the fakeers, or religious devotees of India, will allow themselves to be buried : on being exhumed after some days, or even weeks, they revive ; but how they suspend the vital functions and throw themselves into a state which seems akin to hibernation has not yet been made known.

Pliny gives two instances of persons burnt alive on the funeral pile. Fuller details of that to which Servius refers are to be found in Valerius Maximus (lib. i, cap. 8), from whose account it appears that, when the flames took hold of the unfortunate man, he cried out that he was alive, and implored a bystander to succour him. As a set-off to this horrible scene, Pliny mentions another case in which the supposed corpse was fortunate enough to revive before the proceedings had gone too far to admit of a rescue. He also speaks of two persons who were carried out on the bier, but returned home on foot.

Since the foregoing was written a case bearing some resemblance to that of Hermotimus occurred in the United States. The conduct of the wife, however, affords a pleasing contrast to that of the spouse of Hermotimus ; instead of conspiring to get her husband out of the way, she caused those who, in her opinion, had murdered him to be brought to trial ; but they were acquitted. The story is thus told in the *Globe* of May 16, 1889 :—

‘A great sensation has, says the *New York Herald*, been caused by an assertion made by Mrs. Bishop, widow of the thought-reader, to the effect that her husband’s body was dissected while he was in a cataleptic state. She claims that he had previously lain for forty-eight hours in the same condition, and that the physicians really killed him by their haste to get his brain. The autopsy was performed so hurriedly that neither relatives nor friends heard of his supposed death until it was too late to warn the surgeons. Mr. Bishop had left directions that his body was not to be opened or buried until it began to decompose, as he was always haunted by the fear of being buried or killed while in a fit. Many of his friends refuse to believe he was dead, and the widow talks freely about the whole matter, insisting that her husband was murdered. The physicians justified the hasty autopsy by the certainty that Mr. Bishop was dead and by the scientific interest which attached to the formation of his brain.’

The next day the following appeared in the same newspaper :—

‘A New York correspondent telegraphs that the horrible uncertainty regarding Mr. Irving Bishop’s death continues to be the reigning sensation in that city. His mother and wife both insist that he was dissected while alive, but was unable to speak or move. The mother tells a story of her own early life to corroborate this theory. She says : “I am subject to the same

when calling the name was a recognized method of attempting to induce the spirit to re-enter the body, it requires no demonstration to show that in the Roman conclamation the practice was preserved but little changed from its pristine form.¹

From calling to pointing out how desirable it would be to come is but a step, and thus the custom of calling the spirit seems to have been developed into a speech, but a speech of which the name of the defunct, or some equivalent for it, formed the most important component. In process of time, however, as culture advanced, the origin of the speech was forgotten, and those who made it no longer addressed themselves to the invisible spirit, but to the senseless corpse.² It is easy to understand how absurd such a proceeding

cataleptic trances, in which my boy often fell. One can hear and see everything, but both speech and movement are paralysed. Some years ago I was in a trance for six days, and I saw the arrangements being made for my burial. Only my brother's determined resistance prevented them from embalming me; and I lay there and heard it all. On the seventh day I came to myself, but the agony I had endured left its mark for ever."

¹ Summoning the spirit by pronouncing the name may be connected with the old notion that the knowledge of a name gave the possessor of it power over the being, or thing, to which the name belonged. One acquainted with the name of a dog has a certain authority over the animal; at the creation, Adam gave names to cattle, beasts, and birds (Gen. ii. 19, 20), and got dominion over them. Even now there are savages who object to let a stranger know their name for fear of putting themselves in his power. The belief in the occult power of names sprang up, it has been conjectured, in the dawn of language, when names were just coming into use and were thought to have some mysterious influence. The idea, however it originated, appears in a highly cultivated form in the religion of the ancient Egyptians. 'To the Egyptian,' writes Dr. Budge, 'his name was as much a part of man's being as his soul, or his double (*ka*), or his body, and it is quite certain that this view was held by him from the earliest times.... It was believed that if a man knew the name of a god or a devil, and addressed him by it, he was bound to answer him and do whatever he wished.' After death 'the deceased could not pass the seven halls in the kingdom of Osiris unless he knew the names of the seven doorkeepers, the seven watchers, and the seven heralds who guarded them.' He could not enter the sacred boat until he had given the name of the boatman as well as the names of the mast, sail, rudder, and every other part of the boat.

See below, note 2, p. 399, also Tylor's *Researches into the Early History of Mankind*, ch. vi.

² The rite can be found in what seems to be a transition state, the body and the spirit being addressed separately. In Persia, for instance, when wailing at the tomb (in some Eastern countries the ceremony is kept up long after the funeral) the women ask the spirit why it does not continue to animate the body, and the body, why it died. The speeches are long, but

must have seemed ; well might the *naenia*,¹ or chant the *praeficae* sang to the flute, become amongst the Romans a byword for idle nonsense ; well might Lucian say that the voice of a Stentor would not be loud enough to make the dead man hear, well might he term the speech a vain and foolish utterance, and heap on it sarcasm and ridicule. But the difficulty of accounting for these apparently senseless proceedings vanishes when we recognize in the speech to the dead an address to the spirit. Why, for instance, the deceased should be asked how he could be so cruel as to leave his friends and relations ; why the honours and advantages he had enjoyed should be recounted, and why what he had lost by dying should be pointed out—all this becomes perfectly intelligible when we realize that the speech was addressed at first, not to the inanimate clay, but to the disembodied spirit, and that the purpose of the harangue was to induce it to reoccupy the corporeal tenement it had so lately quitted, and near which it was believed to be still lingering.

This brings us to the professional wailers, an institution equally difficult to account for, if we regard them as persons engaged to utter lamentations in the capacity of representatives of the members of the bereaved family. The 'whipping boy' who received a vicarious flogging when Prince James misconducted himself was certainly the outcome of a strange idea, but a practice of delegating to another the office of expressing one's own feelings is past comprehension. It is easy to see that the professional wailing-women were not deploring,

according to Sir John Chardin, their burden is, 'Âme, Esprit, où es-tu allé ? Pourquoi n'animes-tu plus ce corps ? Et toi, corps, qu'avois-tu à mourir ? te manquoit-il de l'or, de l'argent, des vêtements, des plaisirs, des tendresses ?' Soul, Spirit, whither art thou gone ? Why dost thou no more animate this body ? And thou, body, what ailed thee to die ? Wast thou in need of gold, of silver, of raiment, of pleasures, of caresses ?

¹ The *naenia* was quite distinct from the *ululatus* ; it was not an inarticulate cry, but a chant which admitted of words. The Romans deified the *naenia*, thus incorporating into their religious system the belief in the power of the voice to arrest the flight of the spirit. The temple of *Naenia* stood outside the walls of Rome, near the *porta Viminalis*. She was invoked when a person was at the last extremity, that is to say, when the spirit was about to take its departure. 'In tutela sunt Orbonae,' says Arnobius, 'orbati liberis parentes ; in *Neniae*, quibus extrema sunt tempora.' The nature and original purpose of the *naenia* not being understood, the goddess has been a puzzle to writers : one styles her the Goddess of Funerals, another suggests that the object of her worship was to procure peace for the departed. See Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, art. *Naenia*. An attempt to throw light on the *naenia* will be found below in the *Excursus*, p. 410.

but it is not so easy to discern the nature and object of the sound it was their chief business to emit. The wail is certainly not one of the many utterances by which the passion of grief finds its natural expression. It is neither the moan of affliction, the sigh of sorrow, the sob of the breaking heart, the groan of misery, the scream of anguish, the shriek of agony, nor the fearful and appalling yell of horror and despair. It bears a certain resemblance to the first sound uttered by the young of our species, but to find a fitting comparison for it we must have recourse to the cries of the brute creation. It is described as resembling the natural voice of animals of the genus *canis*,¹ a sustained sound rising and falling in pitch and often distinguished by a *crescendo* and *diminuendo*. It wavers, or pulsates, and so unites the howling of a dog with the hooting of an owl. Should the beats be slow, it may be likened to the bellowing of a bullock, or, when uttered by a bass voice, to the roaring of an ostrich or a lion.² It is a musical sound, and can be so produced that a writer describes a wail he heard as 'exquisitely beautiful',³ whilst another author pronounces its effect when 'borne upon the mountain echoes' to be 'absolutely magnificent'.⁴ It is often spoken of as singing; it differs, however, from modern singing inasmuch as it has no intervals, but rises and falls in a glide like the sound of the acoustical instrument known as the siren. However, in making a comparison between it and modern singing, we have to bear in mind that we are dealing with a rite of almost inconceivable antiquity,⁵ a rite antecedent to, or lying behind, the most primitive form of culture with which we are acquainted, and there seems, I venture to think, reason for believing that wailing may be the survival of a kind of singing which preceded the lowest form of the vocal art now existing; that it may constitute a proto-

¹ Wolves and dogs in a wild state do not bark, but only howl. Hence it has been conjectured that barking may be an attempt on the part of the animal to imitate human speech. 'The domestic dogs which ran wild on the island of Juan Fernandez are said to have lost the power of barking in thirty-three years, and to have gradually reacquired it on removal from the island. The Hare Indian dog makes an attempt at barking, which usually ends in a howl, but the young of this breed born in the Zoological Gardens seem to possess this faculty to the full extent.' *Encyc. Met.*, art. Dogs.

² See below, p. 396.

³ Below, p. 411.

⁴ Hall's *Ireland*, vol. i, p. 225.

⁵ Remarks on the antiquity of wailing will be found in the Excursus of this Lecture, p. 407.

chant, to coin a word, or one of the primary inflexions of the human voice from which notes with intervals between them were evolved :¹

¹ Some savages in singing cannot hold a note steadily, but ascend to, or descend from, the note they are endeavouring to hold, by fractional intervals of a semitone, and then return to it again in the same way. From this circumstance Mr. Rowbotham would draw the conclusion that the first note was evolved from some less simple musical sound, or, as he expresses it, that a note is a decayed or compressed phrase. (See his *History of Music*, vol. i, p. 84, where the subject is discussed at considerable length.) Now if this be admitted, surely the phrase still survives in the wail. I should mention, however, that this view of the subject would not be acceptable to Mr. Rowbotham, for he is not of opinion with Darwin that singing preceded articulate language, but follows Herbert Spencer in considering that vocal music arose out of impassioned speech. But wails, though they admit of an infinite variety of forms, are inarticulate sounds, so that, if they represent the earliest shape of vocal music, the first songs were songs without words. Wails, as I am about to show, were once in general, if not universal use in connexion with man's endeavours to act on spirits with a view of attempting to exercise, through them, a controlling influence over the laws of nature. Going back a step further and speculating as to how this power of influencing spirits was first attributed to wails, I would suggest that wails arose out of certain cries or vocal sounds in use before words, cries which appealed powerfully to the feelings of those who heard them. When man had begun to attempt to explain natural phenomena, and had reached the stage of culture in which the vital functions are thought to be carried on by spirits subject to emotions, this mysterious influence over the feelings would naturally be attributed to a power possessed by the sounds of moving the soul. The explanation once accepted, the transition to the belief that such cries had the same influence over the disembodied, as they had on the embodied, spirit would be easy. If this view of the origin of singing be well founded, vocal music did not spring out of impassioned speech as Herbert Spencer maintains, nor was it at first confined to a sexual call as Darwin thinks, it was also religious in an early stage, it being used as an imploring appeal to spirits embodied, or disembodied; in short, as we still call it in deference to the old theory of its mode of action, it was a soul-stirring sound.

It will be understood that the singing here referred to is confined to that part of music which we call melody, as distinguished from rhythm. Wails are unrhythmical (see below, p. 430); on the introduction of rhythm music becomes dramatic, and magical or mandatory (see note I, p. 383), the more marked the rhythm the less supplicatory being the music. From true church music, be it remembered, rhythm is banished, such music being called plain song (*cantus planus*), a name given to it to denote that it is unmeasured and unmeasurable. In a Paper on the Music of the Byzantine Liturgy, read before the Musical Association (*Proceedings*, 1908-9, p. 58), in introducing illustrations of solemn parts of the service, Mr. Terry said, 'I must ask you not to smile at the singing, because the effect of hearing this music the first time with trained English voices is curious. When you hear the

may more, if I might be allowed to hazard a conjecture, I would say that it may be a cultivated form of some inarticulate human call, or cry, capable of exciting sympathy in those who heard it ; in fact, one of the natural cries of man ; one of the cries he used to raise before he became a speaking animal ; one of a class of cries of which we have a survival in the cries which, bursting forth unbidden from those in agony of mind or body, appeal more eloquently than words to the feelings and emotions of those on whose ears they fall : cries still heard in the cries of the infant, whose speechless voice goes straight to the mother's soul and stirs it to the very depths.

Whether wailing be, or be not, singing, in so artificial a state do we find it that the art of producing the sound was, and still is, like singing, studied as a profession. A verbal description is not the only

regular Arab singing it is much as if a person were holding his nose and howling.'

It is not impossible that the cry from which wails were developed may survive in the vocal sound *o*, *oo*, or *au*, which uttered in a certain way is still used in entreaty and invocation ; in fact, an approach to a ululation may be detected in the utterance of untrained itinerant preachers who sometimes begin their prayers thus, ' Ô Lord,' the *O* being a prolonged musical sound, marked by a *vibrato* and a distinct rising and falling of the voice. Herbert Spencer noticed that melody was connected with religious fervour, but having persuaded himself that vocal music originated in words uttered under the influence of passion, he missed the significance of the union. In his *Essay on the Origin and Function of Music*, p. 416, he writes, ' Whoever has been present when a meeting of Quakers was addressed by one of their number (whose practice it is to speak only under the influence of religious emotion) must have been struck by the quite unusual tones, like those of a subdued chant, in which the address was made. On passing a chapel in Wales during service, the raised and singsong voice of the preacher draws attention. It is clear, too, that the intoning used in churches is representative of this mental state ; and has been adopted on account of the congruity between it and the contrition, supplication, or reverence verbally expressed.

Spencer's hypothesis fails to explain the marvellous action of music (see above, note 2, p. 136) ; but if we regard the art as the cultivated survival of a language by which appeals were made to emotions and desires before the invention of words, its mystic influence becomes more easy to account for. In my view, song is not, as Spencer believes, the offspring of impassioned words, but an utterance in use before speech was devised ; an utterance on which words, when they had come into use, were grafted ; an utterance employed as a language through so prodigious a lapse of time, that its effect became bound up with our being, so that musical sounds still touch responsive chords in our nature, and waken memories of our earliest existence.

means we have of forming an idea of what it is like. The *hüllulu*, or Irish death-howl, undoubtedly represents the *ululatus* of the Romans, and it is highly probable that it resembles it as much in sound as it does in name. Now the Irish pipers have assayed with their instruments to give a representation of their national death-cries, and their attempts thus to portray them have been reduced to musical notation. On examining the result, which will be found in the Excursus to this Lecture, we have no difficulty in tracing the ululatory character of the wail, for each cry commences on a low note, rises to a treble, and after certain hoots, or tremulous undulations, dies away in a fall.¹ The beats vary in rapidity; sometimes they are slow, at others so quick as to be represented by a shake. They indicate that the voice is under the influence of emotional agitation; the natural *vibrato* being caused by an involuntary quivering of the muscles of the chest rendering the respiration unsteady. If the agitation is violent, such as is produced by awe, terror, anger, joy, or carnal desire, not only is the respiration affected, but the whole body trembles. The trembling is simulated in modern music, but, as its origin shows, it should be reserved for impassioned passages; so great, however, is the effect it produces on those who hear it, or, to use old phraseology, so soul-stirring is it, that some musicians cannot resist the temptation of applying the *tremolo* to every note they sing or play.²

In seeking a clue to the object of the *ululatus* we observe that its use was not confined to death-wailers; it was raised by Bacchantes in their wild religious orgies; by the witches who are represented by Horace as engaged in bringing up ghosts;³ by magicians, or wizards, who were called howlers (*γόητες*) from the cry they used in their business: a cognate sound (*ὀλολυγή*) was uttered by Greek women when crying to the gods. In all these cases appeals were being made to supernatural beings. This suggests the idea that the wail was a kind of voice deemed suitable for addressing spirits. And here I may call attention to the difficulty we have in

¹ The cries should be examined as they are given out by the first and second semichorus. The part assigned to the full chorus seems to have been added by the pipers. See p. 417.

² For other observations on the use of the *tremolo* for inspiring awe and conjuring up the idea of the presence of spirits, see pp. 139, 148. One who has witnessed a performance of the drama entitled *The Corsican Brothers* will never forget the ghostly effect of the quivering of the violins in the music composed for the play.

³ *Sat.* I. viii.

realizing the vividness of the belief once entertained in the influence vocal music was thought to exercise over the spiritual world; a belief the evidence of the existence of which is plainly written in the ritual of so many religions; a belief of which we can find proof upon proof accumulated in the museum where countless ancient and forgotten phases of psychological development lie fossilized—our language. It is enshrined in our most familiar expressions. How often do we speak of *incantations*, how often do we call a strain *charming* and *enchanted*, forgetting that we are using words etymologically of musical origin, and indicative of the occult power the divine art was once believed to possess.¹

That the death-wail was uttered with the view of influencing spiritual beings, nay more, that it was addressed to the departing or

¹ In a certain stage of culture disease is believed to be the work of spirits, and recourse is had to *enchantment* with a view of effecting a cure; a mode of treatment of which a vestige still lingers amongst us in the plan sometimes adopted of getting rid of warts by *charming* them, or stopping their growth by magic; whilst even now we call epilepsy and apoplexy *seizures*, the symptoms having once been attributed to the action of an evil spirit suddenly *seizing* a victim, and we apply the term *plague*, that is, a stroke (*plaga*), or blow from an invisible being, to pestilence. Did not David, as well as Ornan the Jebusite and his sons, actually see the angel of pestilence standing between earth and heaven with his sword uplifted to strike? (1 Chron. xxi. 15, 20). A case familiar to every one, in which music was used as a remedial agent, is that of Saul, who was treated by it with complete success for melancholia (1 Sam. xvi. 23); but afterwards, when the melancholia became complicated with homicidal mania, it failed (1 Sam. xviii. 10, 11, and xix. 9, 10). Just as wailing was kept up when its original significance was lost, so music was employed in healing long after the idea that diseases were caused by spirits had been abandoned; and then other reasons—such as that it acted on the body through the mind, or set up vibrations in the affected fibres—were given to explain its mode of action. Recourse was had to music, not only in mental affections, but in fevers, epilepsy, epidemics of plague—in short, in most, if not all, of the ailments to which flesh is heir. In Saul's case the harp was recommended (1 Sam. xvi. 16); sometimes vocal music was ordered; but more frequently the flute was advised, as might be expected from its admitted power over spirits. In topical affections, the music was applied locally. Thus, to relieve the torture of lumbago, the flautist played over the loins of the patient, the music prescribed being, according to Theophrastus (Athenaeus xiv. 18), that of the Phrygian mode—a mode of acknowledged influence in evoking, or drawing out a spirit (see below, p. 391); some physicians, however, appear to have preferred softer strains for this distressing malady. The subject does not come within the scope of this Lecture, but a chapter on the use of the flute in the cure of disease will be found in Bartholinus (ii. 2). See also Burney's *History of Music*, vol. i, p. 183.

departed spirit of the person for whom it was raised, is confirmed by evidence from an unexpected quarter—Ireland. Even now in Ireland, cut off as it is by two seas from the civilizing influence of Europe, hired wailers gather round the corpse and spend whole nights in questioning and upbraiding the lifeless body and in raising in conclamation with the friends and family of the deceased the strange cries the art of uttering which they have taken such pains to acquire. It is true that those who keep up the practice in the present day understand its original purpose no better than did the Greeks when Lucian wrote; but we have only to go back three or four hundred years to find the ceremony in a most instructive phase. The proceedings commenced, as they seem sometimes to have done amongst the Romans, before the sufferer had passed away; the speech was addressed, not to the body as it is now, but directly to the spirit, and it is stated by a contemporary writer, who lived in Ireland, that the cries uttered by the professional wailers were such as were adapted to the purpose of calling one who was at the point of death. If the wailers did not try to catch the spirit and bring it back a prisoner to the body like the simple Melanesian women of whom I have just spoken, or to entice it into a coat, as do the Chinese,¹ nor attempt to induce it to return by whistling, after the manner of the inhabitants of Celebes,² they

¹ 'When a Chinese is at the point of death, and his soul is supposed to be already out of his body, a relative may be seen holding up the patient's coat on a long bamboo, to which a white cock is often fastened, while a Taoist priest by incantations brings the departed spirit into the coat, in order to put it back into the sick man. If the bamboo after a time turns round slowly in the holder's hands, this shows that the spirit is inside the garment.' Tylor (*Primitive Culture*, ch. xi), on the authority of Doolittle's *Chinese*, vol. i, p. 150.

The priest calls the name when repeating his incantations to induce the spirit to enter the coat. The name is also called at the funeral; Doolittle writes (p. 215): 'Occasionally along the road, and specially at the corners of the streets, the name of the deceased is loudly called by one in the procession.' When the spirit is believed to be inside the coat, the garment is laid upon the dying man, or, if he is in a state to allow it to be done, put on upon him.

² Hickson, *A Naturalist in North Celebes*, p. 257.

Whistling as a religious practice is of vast antiquity, as its wide dispersion shows. That it is now generally considered to be wicked may be attributed to the circumstance that it was condemned by those who introduced later forms of belief from which it was excluded, just as the serpent was cursed when serpent worship was put down, and flute-music stigmatized as diabolical by those who destroyed the Graeco-Roman cult. Engel writes

stationed themselves, when it was about to take its departure, crossways around the dying man and poured forth their ancient and mysterious utterance, attempting with outspread hands to detain it as it struggled to come forth, recounting the advantages it enjoyed in the life it was abandoning, asking it why it would depart and whither or to whom it would retire, then expostulating with it on its ingratitude, and finally affirming with passionate lamentations that as it flies out it will pass into the shape of those withered and shrunken female forms that sometimes appear, but only at night and in the dark.¹

(*Musical Myths and Facts*, p. 91): ‘The Arabs generally disapprove of whistling, called by them *el sifr*. Some maintain that the whistler’s mouth is not purified for forty days; whilst others are of opinion that Satan touching a man’s person causes him to produce the offensive sound. The natives of the Tonga Islands, Polynesia, consider it wrong to whistle, as being disrespectful to their gods. In European countries people are met with who object to whistling on a certain day of the week, or at certain times of the day. The villagers in some districts of North Germany have the saying, that if one whistles in the evening it makes the angels weep. The villagers in Iceland say that even if one swings about him a stick, whip, wand, or aught that makes a whistling sound, he scares from him the Holy Ghost; while other Icelanders, who consider themselves free from superstitions, cautiously give the advice: “do it not; for who knoweth what is in the air.”’ ‘Sailors becalmed,’ says Dr. Tylor (*Primitive Culture*, ch. iv), ‘sometimes whistle for a wind; but in other weather they hate whistling at sea, which raises a whistling gale.’ Tylor attributes the notion to the magical symbolism believed in by lower races; but according to Dr. Pegge, sailors object to whistling on shipboard because it is ‘a *mocking* and consequently an enraging of the devil’ (whistling being the devil’s language), which causes him to stir up storms. Arabs hold whistling to be the chit-chat of the Jinns. (Jinns are old Arab spirits which Mohammedanism, instead of suppressing, retained in subjection to Allah.) The Hejazis objected to Burkhardt that he could not help talking to devils (Burton’s *First Footsteps in East Africa*, p. 142). The Tonga islanders think that disembodied spirits have the power of visiting the living, announcing their presence, though invisible, by whistling (Mariner’s *Tonga Islands*, ch. xviii). The familiar spirits of the Zulu diviners are called whistlers from the way they talk (Tylor).

¹ See an account of Ireland in Camden’s *Britannia*, by J. Good, a priest educated at Oxford, who was a schoolmaster at Limerick about 1566. The passage is so remarkable that I give it in the author’s words, as quoted by Camden:—

‘Moribundum aliquem antequam satis concedat, praefficæ in quadrivio stantes passis manibus, vocant quibusdam clamoribus, ad hoc aptatis, et animam eluctantem remorari conantur, commemoratis bonorum, coniugum, formæ, famæ, agnatorum, amicorum, equorum commoditatibus; interrogantque cur velit, et quo, et ad quos recedere, cumque anima expostulant,

It is not my intention to pursue the subject farther, and enter on an inquiry into the origin of the other ceremonies connected with the rite of wailing. The warm bath, the perfumed oil, the splendid garments, and the floral wreaths would obviously have the effect of rendering the body more inviting to the spirit, just as guests at feasts were bathed, perfumed, richly dressed, and crowned with flowers to make them more acceptable to the spiritual beings who were believed, as I have pointed out, to be unseen partakers with them of the banquet; moreover, a living man is sometimes dressed in his best and laid out to attract the spirit.¹ Whether or not such an object led to their introduction, only a careful investigation can determine. There seems less doubt, however, as regards the practice of defiling and disfiguring the body by rolling in the mire, dashing the head against the ground, cutting the flesh, tearing the hair, and lacerating the cheeks. We know that it was for the spirit of the dead man that wailers cut their flesh;² and we may, I think, reasonably suppose that such propitiatory self-sacrifices were not offered without the hope that the spirit would reward those near and dear to it for their devotion by yielding to their solicitations. The priests of Baal, when endeavouring to prevail on their divinity to grant them a favour, cut themselves with knives and lancets.³

quod ingrata sit. Denique animam evolantem ad muliercularum illarum de nocte et nigredine apparentium speciem transire conqueruntur, et affirmant.'

The expression, *in quadrevio stantes*, is puzzling. It cannot possibly mean that the *præficiae*, or keeners, as the Irish call them, stood at a cross-road; but in mediæval Latin the signification of *quadrevium* is not confined to a place where ways cross; the word is applied to a body, or collection, four in number: thus, the four arts, Arithmetic, Geometry, Music, and Astronomy, were called a *quadrevium*; and Prudence, Justice, Courage, and Temperance termed the *quadrevium* of virtues (see Du Cange). The interpretation I put upon *quadrevium* in the passage before us is that it is intended to describe the quadripartite figure in which the keeners group themselves—one at head, one at the feet, and one or more on each side of the body—as mentioned by Sullivan in his account of a typical wake, quoted below in note, p. 417.

¹ Amongst certain Turanian Buddhist tribes, in cases of illness attributed to the absence of the spirit, 'the sick man is laid out in his best attire and surrounded with his most attractive possessions, the friends and relatives go thrice round the dwelling, affectionately calling back the soul by name, while as a further inducement the Lama reads from his book descriptions of the pains of hell, and the dangers incurred by a soul which wilfully abandons its body.' Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, ch. xi.

² 'Ye shall not make any cuttings in your flesh for the (departed) soul.' Levit. xix. 28, as translated in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, art. Cuttings.

³ 1 Kings xviii. 28.

The Magi who Herodotus tells us laid a storm at sea by means of incantations, or, in other words, brought about a departure from the ordinary course of nature by acting on spirits, supplemented their howls with gashing.¹ There are other indications which point in the same direction, but I must hasten back to the flute, from which I have already wandered too far.

We were discussing the employment of the flute in the rite of wailing as practised by the Greeks, Romans, and Jews, and it was an attempt to obtain an answer to the question, with what object was its music introduced, that led to the digression I have just

¹ Herod. vii. 191. Some think that the expression used by Herodotus (*ἔντομα ποιεῖν*) refers to the sacrifice of human victims. (Compare Herod. ii. 119, where the cutting, whatever it might have been, is practised on children, with a view, as here, of influencing the weather.) The Magi did not succeed in getting the storm down until the fourth day; so Herodotus naïvely remarks that perhaps it subsided of its own accord. Meanwhile it had wrought fearful havoc with the fleet with which Xerxes was preparing to invade Greece. Whilst the storm was raging, the Greeks, on their side, were not idle; they too were engaged in appealing to supernatural agents, praying and sacrificing to Boreas with a view of inducing him to increase the fury of the tempest. So grateful were they to Boreas for the service he had rendered them, that they erected a memorial temple in his honour. To understand such proceedings, we have to bear in mind that the forces of nature were once thought to be spirits, so that not only the vital processes of animals and plants, but the movements of inorganic matter—such as those of winds, waves, rivers, heavenly bodies—were believed to be the work of supernatural beings, who could be won over by prayers, music, flowers, fruit, the sweet odour of incense, cooked animal food in burnt sacrifices, and alcoholic drinks in libations; or coerced by means of magic. This notion formed the basis of many ancient religions, the idea of a supreme ruler of the universe not being recognized at first. ‘The belief in magic,’ says Dr. Budge, ‘is older in Egypt than the belief in God—the prehistoric dwellers in Egypt believing that the earth, the sky, the air, &c., were peopled with countless beings who were supposed to direct the operations of nature.’ The Babylonian gods were personifications of natural forces, their number being prodigious. Mr. King, in his work on the Babylonian religion, describes a tablet inscribed on each side with six columns of minute writing, each column containing over one hundred and fifty lines, and nearly every line giving the name of a separate deity. This, he adds, is only one out of many tablets inscribed with lists of the names of the gods.

‘All recent researches prove that the religion of the aborigines of Hindostan and the adjoining Eastern countries consisted in a reverence, or, more properly, an awful dread, of invisible spirits, with which they peopled hill and dale, rock and tree, mountain, plain, and stream—spirits who were believed to influence the destinies of the human race, whose aid was sought, and whose malice deprecated, by offerings and invocations.’ *Blackwood's Magazine*, April, 1866, p. 502.

made. In this digression, I have pointed out that there is reason for thinking that, in their efforts to revivify the dead, primordial races appealed to spirits with at least two musical sounds, both made by the bodily powers of man—howling and whistling. As time went on, man, who is an inventive animal, supplemented his natural instruments by mechanical sound-producers, the tones manufactured with his musical tools being not less potent in their action on spirits than the strains produced by his unaided efforts. Orpheus with his lyre made rocks follow him. How? He animated them. *Animated*;—what is that? What we now term force, in the sense of that which tends to produce motion, was formerly known as spirit, or rather spirits, for it was divided into an infinity of separate forms, each invested with personal attributes, including perception, intelligence, and a will. The old hypothesis that motion is the work of spirits is crystallized in the word I use: Orpheus caused *anima*, or spirit, to be active in those *inanimate* or spiritless bodies the rocks, and forthwith they began to move. Now if Orpheus with his lyre could animate a stone, surely a flute-player might try to induce a spirit to return to an abode it had only just quitted, and resume functions it had long been accustomed to perform. The flute was certainly not less powerful than the lyre in conciliating incorporeal beings; so great was its influence over even such mighty spirits as the divinities of the Graeco-Roman system, that, when a sacrifice was offered, it was the duty of the flute-player, as we have seen, not to cease playing until he had so worked upon the god as to cause him to make known to his votaries that the proffered gift had been accepted. To this day, the music of the flute, gushing in floods from its ponderous and gigantic progeny the organ, is practically admitted by Western Christians of almost every denomination to be a valuable adjunct to their ritual.¹ Nor is the belief in the capability of the flute to cause a spirit to enter an inanimate body merely a matter of

¹ Luther held not only that music is acceptable to the Deity, as expressing the voice of praise, but also that it is highly distasteful to evil spirits: 'Scimus,' he says, 'musicam demonibus etiam invisam et intolerabilem esse.' Dr. Wettenhall, with pardonable pride, pronounces the music of the Church of England to be such as no devil can stand against (Hawkins, *History of Music*, Preliminary Discourse). In the present day, the purpose of Anglican Church music is often overlooked; we assume that it is intended to gratify the congregation, or to attract worshippers to the service, or else to kindle the flame of religious fervour; it is forgotten that we sing and play 'to the praise and glory of God', who is present and listens to our strains.

inference ; it has been embodied in a legend. According to an account of the creation of Adam received in Persia, the spirit and the body were created separately ; first, the body, then, the spirit. On the spirit being required to animate the body, it flatly refused—a noble being as it was, gifted with discernment, thought, and knowledge—to unite itself with a senseless and unconscious mass of flesh. Thereupon the Creator commanded the angel Gabriel to perform on the flageolet. No sooner was the behest obeyed than the spirit betook itself to fluttering round the body ; then it entered it, passing in by the feet, to which movement was instantly imparted, and Adam, who up to this time had been as motionless as a statue, presently began to dance.¹

THE ACTION OF BELLS ON SPIRITS

At this stage of our inquiry there arises an interesting question. Can our custom of having recourse to musical sounds at the time of death be traced to the use of the tomb-flute in the rite of wailing ? The practice of ringing a bell when a person dies is continued at the present time in most towns and villages in England. This bell is still called the *passing-bell* ; formerly it was also known as the *soul-bell*, names given to it because it was at one time rung when the *soul* was *passing* from the body. The tolling used to begin just before the death was expected to take place ; but owing probably to the disastrous results of commencing thus early (for the sick man, on hearing his own knell, would naturally be thrown into a paroxysm of either anger or terror) a change has been introduced, the bell now not being rung until the sufferer has passed away ;² the custom is still carried out, however, in its entirety

¹ Il fut créé dans le quatrième Ciel, le corps premierement, fait de terre rousse, d'où est venu le terme d'*Adam*, qui en Arabe, comme en Hebreu, signifie *roux* ; et l'*âme* ensuite : que le corps ayant été formé entierement, il demeura immobile comme une statue, pendant quelque tems ; après quoi, Dieu commanda à l'*âme* d'entrer dans le corps, et l'animer ; ce que l'*âme* refusa d'abord de faire, demandant à Dieu, comment elle, qui étoit d'une si noble essence, qui discernoit, qui pensoit, qui se connoissoit, pourroit s'allier avec une masse de chair, sans connoissance et sans sentiment ? Sur quoi Dieu commandoit à l'Ange *Gabriel* de jouer du Flageolet ; ce qu'il fit ; et aussitôt l'*âme* se mit à voltiger autour du corps d'*Adam*, et ensuite y entra par les pieds, qui furent les premières parties du corps qui se remuerent. Il faut croire que c'étoit pour danser au son du Flageolet, car les *Talmudistes*, de qui ces fables paroissent être tirées, étoient de l'avis de ces Philosophes qui définissent l'*âme* une Harmonie. *Voyages du Chevalier Chardin*, vol. ix, p. 296.

² The ringing of the *passing-bell* is enjoined in the sixty-seventh Canon :

in the case of criminals condemned to death, for whose feelings no such consideration is shown, but for whom the bell begins to toll as soon as they leave the condemned cell on their way to the scaffold. Now did the passing-bell originate in the old practice of making a last attempt by the agency of music to prevent the soul from deserting the body? Looking at the time at which it was rung, corresponding, as it does, with that at which the wailing was set up, and also to the circumstance that church bells were said to sometimes bring the dead to life, it would seem at first sight that the passing-bell is the modern representative of the tomb-flute. A closer examination, however, makes it improbable that a connexion between the two can be established. The effect on spirits usually ascribed to bells, cymbals, and such instruments is the very opposite to that attributed to the flute. Instead of pleasing and attracting them, instruments of percussion were supposed to repel and drive them away: a notion of which we have an illustration in the Chinese custom of beating gongs during an eclipse with a view of putting to flight the demon who is imagined to be engaged in devouring the sun, or moon, as the case may be.¹ The belief in

‘When any is passing out of this life, a bell shall be tolled, and the minister shall not then slack to do his last duty.’ The practice of tolling the bell before the death had taken place was kept up in England as late as the seventeenth century. Bishop Montague in his visitation articles (A. D. 1638) inquires: ‘When any party is in extremity, is there a passing-bell tolled, that the neighbours thereby moved may (remembering their own mortality) recommend his state unto God in their private prayers?’ By the middle of the eighteenth century the custom had died out, for Wheatly, writing in 1755, says, ‘The passing-bell indeed is now generally disused, and only the short peal continued, which the canon orders to be rung after the party’s death.’ Ellacombe, *The Church Bells of Devon*, p. 247.

¹ The sound of the bell is rhythmic, whereas the cry of those who beseech and implore is sustained and unmetrical. The bell may be regarded as the successor of the drum and rattle by the recurrent beat of which the medicine man, as he sings and sometimes emphasizes the rhythm of his music by dancing, seeks to terrify the spirit who is causing the disease for which he is treating his patient. Thus the Patagonian ‘physicians always carry a drum with figures of devils painted on it, which they strike at the beds of sick persons to drive out of the body the evil demon;’ amongst the Dacotas, who ascribe disease to evil spirits entering the sufferer, ‘the medicine-man’s cure consists in reciting charms over him, singing “He-le-li-lah”, &c., to the accompaniment of a gourd rattle with beads inside.’ The drum, and with it the bell, can thus be referred to the domain of magic, an art by which man, instead of endeavouring to prevail on spirits by entreaty and persuasion, moves them to do his bidding by compulsion. To get an idea of magic in a highly developed state, we have

the power of bells to scare away spirits crept into Christianity with so many other pagan ideas. In the Middle Ages, when pestilence was abroad, recourse was had to the church bells with a view of driving off the destroying spirit ;¹ when thunderstorms prevailed, bells were rung to rout the demons who were believed to be troubling the air.² The explanation offered of the object of the passing bell

only to turn to the pages of the *Arabian Nights* ; but we may find the subject dealt with playfully by Shakespeare in *The Tempest*, where Prospero, having become possessed of a book which reveals the secrets of the art, makes himself so expert a magician that he is able first to let loose, and then to enslave for himself, a spirit who has been imprisoned in the cleft of a pine-tree by the supernatural 'ministers' of a witch. So completely is Ariel in Prospero's power that a whisper of discontent is instantly silenced by the threat,

If thou more murmur'st, I will rend an oak
And peg thee in his knotty entrails till
Thou hast howl'd away twelve winters.

Ariel, however, is not Prospero's only ghostly agent ; with the aid of his magic robe, and wand, rod, or staff—an implement perhaps at first a magic drumstick (?)—he can bring bodies of the dead from the grave, and even compel spirits once thought to work minor operations of nature to obey his behests ; so that he boasts,

I have bedimm'd
The noontide sun, call'd forth the mutinous winds,
And 'twixt the green sea and the azured vault
Set roaring war : to the dread rattling thunder
Have I given fire and rifted Jove's stout oak
With his own bolt, the strong-based promontory
Have I made shake, and by the spurs pluck'd up
The pine and cedar : graves at my command
Have waked their sleepers, oped, and let 'em forth
By my so potent art.

¹ Laudo Deum verum, Plebem voco, congrego Clerum,
Defunctos ploro, *Pestem fugo*, Festa decoro.

Two monkish lines preserved by Sir Henry Spelman, and quoted in Brand's *Popular Antiquities*.

² 'In the times of popery, bells were baptized and anointed *oleo christmatis* : they were exorcised and blessed by the Bishop ; from a belief, that, when these ceremonies were performed they had the power to drive the devil out of the air, to calm tempests, and even to revive the dead' (Grose, in an article on Bells in the *Encyclopaedia Perthensis*). The Church of Rome still claims for bells the power of banishing spectres and controlling storms, as a reference to the Service for the Benediction of Bells will show. The following is an extract from one of the prayers : 'Ubique sonuerit hoc tintinnabulum, procul recedat virtus insidiantium, umbra phantasmatum, incursio turbinum, percussio fulminum, laesio tonitruorum, calamitas tempestatum, omnisque spiritus procellarum.'

leaves little doubt that it likewise owed its origin to the belief that bells are held in dread by incorporeal beings, for it is said to have been rung to disperse evil spirits, which were thought to have a tendency to congregate in the neighbourhood of a dying man.¹

It appears from an article entitled 'At the Alps again', published in *Blackwood's Magazine*, November, 1867, that 'bellringing as the companion of the thunderstorm' is still 'a permanent institution' in a part of the Tyrol visited by the author. It is the duty of a recluse, who has charge of a chapel opposite Jembach, to be always on the look out for thunderstorms, and to begin the bellringing, which is quickly caught up by a dozen or more churches in the valley. It was a common practice in England up to the early part of the seventeenth century. Reginald Scot, in his *Discourie of Witchcraft*, published in 1584, says, 'A clap of thunder or a gale of wind is no sooner heard, but either they run to ring bells or crie out to burne witches, or else burne consecrated things, hoping by the smoke thereof to drive the divell out of the aire.' Even then, however, sceptics were beginning to speak out, for Mr. Scot adds, 'If all the divels in hell were dead, and all the witches in England burnt or hanged, I warrant you we should not faile to have raine, haile, and tempests as we now have.' As the eighteenth century advanced, men's minds became greatly impressed with the wonders the science of electricity was beginning to unfold, and more especially with the discovery that a flash of lightning was a gigantic electric spark, and could be drawn from the clouds, and conducted harmlessly to the earth. Even then, however, some still continued to put their trust in bells. Dr. Burney, in one of the continental tours he undertook to collect materials for his *History of Music*, made his way in 1771 from Munich to Vienna down the Danube in a cabin built on a timber-raft, and he gives a ludicrous account of his fright and discomfort during a thunderstorm, as he lay all night cooped up in his hut with the rain pouring through the ill-constructed roof. 'I had been told,' he says, 'that the people of Bavaria were, at least, three hundred years behind the rest of Europe in philosophy and useful knowledge. Nothing can cure them of the folly of ringing the bells whenever it thunders, or persuade them to put up conductors to their public buildings; though the lightning here is so mischievous, that last year, no less than thirteen churches were destroyed by it, in the electorate of Bavaria. The recollection of this had not the effect of an opiate on me; the bells of the town of Freising were jingling the whole night, to remind me of their fears, and the real danger I was in. I lay on the mattress, as far as I could from my sword, pistols, watchchain, and everything that might serve as a conductor. I never was much frightened by lightning before, but now I wished for one of Dr. Franklin's beds, suspended by silk cords in the middle of a large room.'

¹ 'The passing-bell was rung for two purposes: one to bespeak the prayers of all good Christians for the soul just departing; the other to drive away the evil spirits which stood at the bed's foot, and about the house, ready to seize their prey, or at least to molest and terrify the soul in its passage: but by the ringing of that bell (for Durandus informs us, that evil spirits are much afraid of bells) they were kept aloof: and the soul, like a hunted hare, gained the start, or had what is by sportsmen termed *law*. Hence, perhaps, exclusive

So, too, the funeral bell, the bell tolled during a funeral (a bell which must be carefully distinguished from the passing-bell) can be traced to the notion that bells can intimidate a spirit and prevent it from doing harm. The ringing of this bell has been transferred from the funeral party to the church tower, the largest of the church bells being usually used for the purpose; but the practice of ringing a handbell before the coffin in the funeral procession was kept up in England in Chaucer's¹ time, and had not been discontinued in Scotland at the end of the eighteenth century.² However, to find the custom still retaining its primitive significance, we must go to Samoa, where they beat a drum during their funerals for the express purpose of keeping off the spirit of the dead man; and so preventing it from killing or injuring the mourners; or to Celebes, where a maiden sits on the bier in front of the corpse, and rings a bell³ with the same object, her efforts in this direction being supplemented by those of a man who makes cuts in the air with a drawn sword. The idea that the spirit of a dead man has a tendency to attack those attending the funeral is very widespread, and is still entertained as near to us as Eastern Europe.⁴

of the additional labour, was occasioned the high price demanded for tolling the greatest bell of the church; for, that being louder, the evil spirits must go further off to be clear of its sound, by which the poor soul got so much more the start of them: besides, being heard further off, it would likewise procure the dying man a greater number of prayers. This dislike of spirits to bells is mentioned in the *Golden Legend* by W. de Worde. "It is said, the evill spirytes that ben in the regyon of thayre, doubte moche when they here the belles rongen: and this is the cause why the belles ben rongen whan it thondreth, and whan grete tempestes and outrages of wether happen, to the ende that the feinds and wicked spirytes should be abashed and flee, and cease of the movynge of tempeste." GROSE.

¹ And as they satte, they herde a belle clinke
 Before a cors, was carried to his grave.

The Pardoner's Tale, 664-5.

The bell was carried by the sexton. See Skeat's note on the passage.

² 'In the *Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xv (8vo, Edinb., 1795), p. 636, Parish of Avoch, Ross-shire, we read: "At common funerals in this district, the Corpse is preceded by the Parish Officer tolling a hand bell." Brand's *Popular Antiquities*.

³ *A Naturalist in North Celebes*, Hickson, p. 296. Compare the scholium on Theocritus alluded to by Kirschmann in note 3, p. 388.

⁴ The following is an account of an occurrence which took place in Servia, as reported from Belgrade in *The Times* of Feb. 14, 1888. It will be seen that on it being thought that the spirit of a dead man was preparing to bring the body out of the coffin in the form of a vampire, and attack a funeral

FUNERAL MUSIC

With the Romans leading out the funeral was a rite of not less importance than the conclamation, and in such request were flutes for this ceremony that it was deemed necessary to have recourse to a legislative enactment to place a limit on the number to be employed. By the laws of the Twelve Tables, a code of Greek origin adopted by the Romans, it was provided that not more than ten flute-players should be engaged for any one funeral. Some idea of the need of such a sumptuary regulation may be formed from the statement of Josephus that amongst the Jews,



FIG. 108. INSTRUMENTS OF THE TRUMPET FAMILY



FIG. 109. FLUTES

party, the driver of the hearse, whose courage and good sense did him infinite credit, instead of running away along with the clergyman and the mourners, promptly drove the being from whom a breach of the peace was apprehended to the nearest police station:—‘The police found some nights ago, lying in the street, the body of a man apparently frozen to death. Efforts to revive him failed, and his identity having been ascertained, he was handed over to his family for interment. The cemetery was a considerable way distant; and as it was being reached, the driver of the hearse told the pope, who attended for the religious service, that he heard some noise in the coffin. The clergyman and others drawing near also heard the noise, and all ran away lest a vampire should issue from it and attack them. The driver, terrified at finding himself alone, turned about and drove the hearse to the nearest police station. By this time a knocking was distinctly audible. The coffin was forced open and the man found alive, but in a very exhausted state. He complained pathetically of the attempt made to bury him despite his remonstrances. He was taken to the hospital and had nearly recovered. He had been spending the evening with some boon companions, and wandering in a state of intoxication fell and became insensible from the cold. Probably the jolting of the hearse revived him.’

on whom no such restriction was imposed, it was not unusual when a wealthy person died to hire several hundred flute-players.¹

The Roman funeral band was not confined to flutes, instruments of the trumpet family were also employed. Figs. 108 and 109 show the musicians in the procession, the instruments depicted being four flutes, two horns (*cornua*), and a *lituus*. The musicians are supposed to be ranged in two parallel lines. The music was loud. Horace, referring to a demagogue who owed his popularity to the strength of his voice, declares that he could be heard above two hundred carts and three funerals with their horns and trumpets, all meeting in the Forum.

No satisfactory explanation of the origin of funeral music seems to have been given. One old writer expresses the opinion that it was intended to heighten the sorrow of the mourners; another, that it was designed to assuage the grief of the bereaved; a third, that it was used under the idea that after death the spirit was believed to return to the source of musical sweetness, i. e. heaven.² Kirschmann connects it with the ancient custom of beating cymbals and ringing bells when a person died, and suggests that its object was to drive away spectres; ³ but he does not attempt to account for

¹ In a search made since writing I have been unable to discover the passage in which Josephus makes the statement. I will therefore give it on the authority of Dr. Burney, who says in the chapter of his History devoted to Hebrew Music, 'Josephus tells us that the pomp and expense of funerals among the Jews were carried to a ruinous excess; the number of the flute-players who led the processions sometimes amounting to several hundred.' We must in any case make allowance for the habit of exaggerating numbers into which most Hebrew writers have fallen; even, however, should it prove that the processions headed by hundreds of flute-players are the offspring of Burney's too prolific imagination, we should still not be without evidence that flute-players were employed in large numbers by the Jews on the occasion of a death; for instance, an allusion quoted by Lightfoot (*Hor. Heb.* on Matthew ix. 23), 'he that hireth an asskeeper, or a waggoner to bring pipes to a bride, or a dead person,' would seem to imply that flutes were required at weddings and wailings by the cartload.

² The following is from Macrobius (lib. ii, Som. Scip., cap. 3): 'Mortuos quoque ad sepulturam prosequi oportere cum cantu, plurimarum gentium vel regionum instituta sanxerunt: persuasione hac, qua post corpus animae ad originem dulcedinis musicae, id est, ad caelum redire credantur.'

³ Kirschmann writes: 'Fortassean etiam spectra huius modi cantibus voluerunt abigere: qua fine olim, si quis e vita excessisset, aera campanasque pulsatas, per vetus Theocriti Scholiastes annotat; quod is sonus credebatur esse *καθαρὸς καὶ ἀπελαστικός τῶν μασμάτων*, hoc est, *avertere spectra et daemonum ludibria*, monente Had. Iunio, lib. 3, animadvers. cap. 11.' Two other

the absence of instruments of percussion, which, had his supposition been well founded, we should expect to find in the band. It seems never to have been suggested that it might have arisen out of the use of the flute in the rite of wailing. Wailing did not always cease when the body was removed from the house. Figs. 110 and 111 represent Greek funerals. At both, the wailers are tearing their hair, and holding up and stretching out their hands in the customary

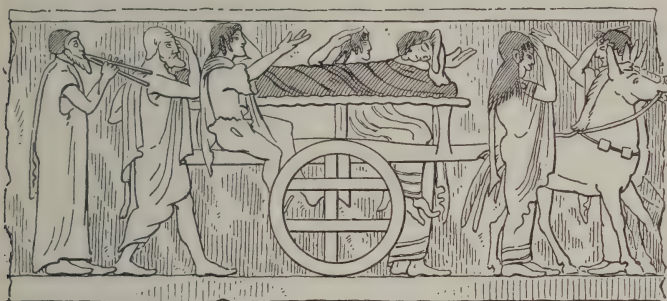


FIG. 110. WAILING ROUND A FUNERAL CAR



FIG. 111. WAILING AT A FUNERAL

reasons are cited by Kirschmann for the use of music at funerals ; one, that it was intended to prove that the defunct had not perished by the sword or by poison ; the other, that it was designed to show that the corpse was buried, not eaten. The last-named explanation serves to remind us that there are indications which beget the suspicion that anthropophagy was widespread, if not universal, amongst our primaeval ancestors. The practice survives in the human sacrifice which forms a rite in so many religions. A sacrifice in its original sense is an offer of food to a deity ; and it may be taken for granted that man did not set before his god what he himself refused to eat. The idea prevails amongst some savages that by eating the dead their virtues can be made to pass into the living ; sometimes the dead are eaten by their relatives from motives of affection. See the article on Cannibalism in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 9th ed.

way ; at both, the flute-player is busy with the duties of his office. But the typical place for the flute in the ceremony of wailing was at the feet of the corpse, an objection to the idea that funeral music might have sprung out of wailing, for the position assigned to the funeral band was at the head of the procession.

We may suspect that the Romans had another way of accounting for the practice of playing instruments at funerals, there being reason for thinking that there existed amongst them a notion that the flute was intended to conduct the spirit to the grave. That such a belief was entertained can be deduced from the well-known lines of Statius, in which, referring to a funeral, he speaks of the custom of leading forth the *Manes* of the young to the deep lowing of the tibia with the hooked horn in the mournful Phrygian mode,¹ a periphrasis for the tomb-flute and its music. I am aware that

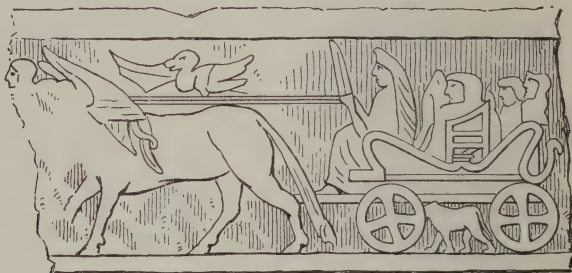


FIG. 112. THE SPIRIT ACCOMPANYING THE FUNERAL IN THE FORM OF A BIRD (Etruscan)

it has been sought to explain the passage by supposing that *Manes* ought not to be taken in its ordinary acceptation, to denote disembodied spirits, but that it refers to dead bodies. But if *Manes* is sometimes used to signify corpses, the context shows that it should not be so rendered here, for immediately afterwards Statius says that the music mentioned is useful for the *shades* of children. That the Romans considered that Statius was referring to the spirit, not to the body, may be gathered from the remark of Lactantius, the Grammarian, in his commentary on the *Thebaid*. He writes,

¹ Tunc signum luctus cornu grave mugit adunco
Tibia, cui teneros suetum producere Manes
Lege Phrygum moesta. Pelopem monstrare ferebant
Exsequiale sacrum, carmenque minoribus umbris
Utile.

Stat. *Thebaid*. vi. 120.

‘there is in music a mode called the Phrygian, which the poet says is suitable for the evocation of a spirit.’¹ We naturally ask, whence could the spirit be evoked? It may be replied that the spirit could be evoked from the house of the deceased to accompany the funeral to the place of interment. (Fig. 112.)

That the spirit goes with the body to the tomb,² that it takes up its abode there,³ that it is capable of coming out and showing itself at night, and that it has a tendency to return to the house where it resided when in the body,⁴ are religious tenets of unfathomable

¹ ‘Est in musicis modus qui dicitur Phrygius, quem poeta dicit ad evocationem animae convenire.’

² ‘The Hurons of North America fancy that the dead man’s soul, in his proper human figure, walks in front of the corpse as they carry it to the burial-ground, there to dwell till the great feast of the dead.’ TYLOR.

³ So firmly rooted amongst the Irish is the conviction that the spirits of the dead are domiciled in the grave, that they take great pains to exclude from the graveyard in which their relatives are buried obnoxious persons with whom it would be undesirable for them to associate, particularly those who have committed suicide, setting parties to keep watch and prevent by force, if necessary, the corpse of such an one from gaining admittance. Moreover they entertain the belief that on the person last buried devolves the task of bringing water to the other dwellers in the graveyard, until he is relieved in his turn by a fresh arrival. This idea leads to very unseemly scenes, and sometimes to violence; for when two funeral parties are approaching a burial-ground at the same time, as soon as they descry each other, they begin to race for the gate, and should they unfortunately reach it together, they fight for the right of first entry. Hall’s *Ireland*, vol. i, p. 231. For a Roman Catholic version of the service required of the spirit of the person last buried, see the tale entitled ‘The Battle of the Berrins’ (buryings) in Lover’s *Legends and Stories of Ireland*. The custom of racing and fighting formerly prevailed in Scotland, where the last comer was thought to have to watch round the churchyard and keep the gate. We are told in Brand’s *Popular Antiquities* (art. Funerals) that if Scottish funeral parties met at the gate they put down their corpses and ‘decided by blows whose ghost should be condemned to porter’ the churchyard.

⁴ Dr. Tylor, in the twelfth chapter of his *Primitive Culture*, gives an account of the many and varied expedients to which men have recourse in order to prevent the spirit from returning to its old home after the funeral. In one country, as the corpse is carried from the house accompanied, as is believed, by the spirit, water, a fluid to which spirits have a great aversion, is thrown after it; in another, red-hot stones; in another, they brandish a firebrand and call out ‘there is nothing more to be had here’. Some endeavour to confuse the spirit, which does not seem to be credited with a very high degree of intelligence, and so to prevent it from finding its way back, by carrying the body, which it is supposed to follow, several times round the house; some take the corpse out through the window, others through a hole made

antiquity. In later religions, a Hades, that is, a special place, or places, for disembodied spirits was generally introduced; but the older belief had become so ingrained in man's nature that it could not be eradicated, and, as we all know, it still survives, for many even now object to visit a churchyard after nightfall for fear of seeing one or more of its ghostly denizens,¹ and only a courageous person specially in the wall and afterwards closed up, instead of by the doorway. The Pomeranian mourners, returning from the churchyard, leave behind the straw from the hearse, that the wandering spirit may rest there and not come back so far as home. Some savages take a bath after a funeral, as a protection against the spirit, a practice which still survives in Europe in the custom of washing hands when the ceremony is over; spirits, as has been already pointed out, having so invincible a repugnance to water, as not to approach one to whom it has been applied.

These precautions are taken in deference to the belief that the spirits of the dead have a tendency to injure the living; a belief still entertained amongst ourselves, as the terror inspired by the idea of a ghost testifies. Our practice of changing the colour of our clothes after the death of a relative, or going into mourning, as we term it, would seem, so it is said, to have been intended at first to be a method of disguising ourselves in order to prevent the spirit from recognizing its old friends. In some parts of the world it is still the practice to paint the face to correspond with the hue of the garments worn, black being adopted by white races, white, by black, the colour in each case best adopted for concealment.

However, the spirit is not everywhere treated with hostility; it is sometimes invited to return to the house, as the following Ho dirge shows:—

We never scolded you; never worried you;

Come to us back!

We ever loved and cherished you; and have lived long together

Under the same roof;

Desert it not now!

The rainy nights and the cold blowing days are coming on;

Do not wander here!

Do not stand by the burnt ashes; come to us again!

You cannot find shelter under the peepul when the rain comes down.

The saul will not shelter you from the cold bitter wind.

Come to your home!

It is swept for you and clean; and we are there who loved you ever;

And there is rice for you; and water;

Come home, come home, come to us again.

¹ The danger of coming into contact with a spirit from a grave is well illustrated in the lines entitled 'Cold Blows the Wind':—

Cold blows the wind of night, sweetheart, cold are the drops of rain,
The very first love that ever I had, in greenwood he was slain.

I'll do as much for my true love, as any fair maiden may,
I'll sit and mourn upon his grave, a twelve month and a day.

can be induced to sleep in a room which has the reputation of being haunted.

In *Hamlet*, where such remains of these ancient religions as survived in Shakespeare's time lie skilfully embalmed, the two beliefs, the older that disembodied spirits reside in the grave, and the newer that they have special abodes assigned to them, appear side by side. Hamlet first conjectures that the apparition of his father has come from the Christian Hades,¹ then that it has come from the tomb;² but it subsequently appears from information vouchsafed by the ghost itself that it has not come from the tomb, nor the Christian Hades, but from an ancient temporary Hades, where it is confined in a fiery prison-house during the day, but 'doomed' to go out and 'walk', or roam about, at night.³ The

A twelve month and a day being up, the ghost began to speak :

'Why sit you here by my grave side, from dusk till dawning break ?

'Cold are my lips 'in death, sweetheart, my breath is earthy strong,
If you do touch my clay-cold lips, your time will not be long.'

Then thro' the mould he heaved his head, and thro' the herbage green
There fell a frosted bramble leaf, it came their lips between :

'O well for you, that bramble leaf, betwixt our lips was flung,
The living to the living hold. Dead to the dead belong.'

¹ Be thou a spirit of health or goblin damn'd,
Bring with thee airs from heaven or blasts from hell.

Hamlet, I. iv. 40.

² Tell . . . why the sepulchre,
Wherein we saw thee quietly inurn'd,
Hath oped his ponderous and marble jaws,
To cast thee up again.

Horatio gives utterance to the same idea :—

There needs no *ghost*, my lord, *come from the grave*
To tell us this.

In the *Midsummer-Night's Dream* (v. i. 386) Shakespeare writes,

Now it is the time of night
That the *graves*, all gaping wide,
Every one lets forth his sprite,
In the church-way paths to glide.

Other passages might be cited; for one, see note, p. 384; for another, note, p. 305.

³ I am thy father's spirit ;
Doomed for a certain time to walk the night,
And for the day confined to fast in fires
Till the foul crimes, done in my days of nature,
Are burnt and purged away.

spirit was not admitted to the Graeco-Roman Hades until the body had been buried ; indeed, such was the importance attached to

It is generally thought that we have here an allusion to the Roman Catholic doctrine of purgatory. This, however, is not so, except in so far as that doctrine represents an older belief incorporated into Christianity ; a belief that disembodied spirits, before they are admitted to the abodes of happiness, have to undergo a process of purification by exposure to a current of air, or by being submerged in running water, or brought under the cleansing action of fire. This immensely old notion held its own under the Graeco-Roman religious system, as we learn from *Aeneid* vi. 735-45 : a passage to which full justice is done in the quaint translation of the *Aeneid* into Scottish verse by Gawain Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld :

And thus aluterly (*altogether*) it is a nedeful thyng
The mony vicis lang tyme enduryng,
Contrakkit in the corpis be done away,
And purgit in sere (*several*) wonderful wyse to say.

Sum stentit (*extended*) bene in wisnand (*parching*) wyndis ake :
Of sum the cryme committit clengit be
Under the watter or depe hidduous se :
And in the fyre the gilt of uther sum
Is purifyit.

It still lingers with other relics of pre-Christian faiths in Ireland. Mrs. Hall, after giving an account of the banshee and certain kindred survivals of ancient religious beliefs, adds : ' Another idea is that spirits in a middle state preparatory for heaven are placed on this earth, suffering different kinds and degrees of punishment, according to the character of their guilt—some freezing in rivers, others shivering on bleak hills, &c.' (*Ireland*, p. 108). It would seem that this belief had not disappeared in England when Shakespeare wrote, for he makes Horatio say (*Hamlet* i. i. 149) :—

I have heard,
The cock, that is the trumpet to the morn,
Doth with his lofty and shrill-sounding throat
Awake the god of day : and at his warning,
Whether in sea or fire, in earth or air,
Th' extravagant and erring spirit hies
To his confine.

Dr. Johnson and Warton, who have attempted to explain this passage, have both supposed that the spirit here referred to is one of the spirits which were once thought to reside in and control the four elements, earth, air, fire, and water, and that Horatio means to say that at the crowing of the cock these spirits have to return each to his own element. But Horatio is not referring to any such spirits, but to the ghost of Hamlet's father, the disembodied spirit of a dead person ; the meaning of the passage being (at least, so I conceive) that, at the crowing of the cock, the spirit ' extravagant ' (or wandering outside the place where he is confined during the day), and

the rite of burial,¹ as a passport to the realms of Pluto, that, when the body was burnt on the funeral pile, they are said to have sometimes gone through the ceremony of burying one of the fingers, previously cut off for the purpose. The Romans, like ourselves, had their ghosts and haunted houses, vestiges of ancient faiths which more recent religious influences could not efface. When the spirit returned and got a footing in the house, it could only be dislodged by a process not less elaborate than the ceremony of laying a ghost as carried out in modern Christendom. One who turns to the Fifth Book of Ovid's *Fasti* will learn how the nephew of the deceased, or other person into whose hands the property had come, on a certain day at a certain time of the year, rose from his bed in the dead of the night when all was hushed; how he snapped his finger and thumb to give notice of his coming, lest the phantom, unaware of his presence, as he walked with the silent falling of unsandaled feet, should unwittingly meet him face to face; how thrice he washed his hands with water fresh from the bubbling spring, a trusted safeguard against a ghostly attack, then, turning, took the black beans, designed for the redemption of himself and his family, and, with averted face, threw them on the ground for the spectre, who unwatched, followed his footsteps, to collect; how, to complete the rite, he again touched water, and clashing cymbals of Temesaeian copper, whose sound was of acknowledged virtue in searing apparitions, ordered 'the paternal Manes' no less than nine times to quit the premises. Then, but not till then, he looked behind him.

JEWISH WAILING

It is a curious circumstance which may have a bearing on the subject we have been discussing, viz. the object of flute music at wailings, that the Jews seem to have attached more importance

'erring' (that is, roving, rambling, or, to use the word usually applied to ghosts, walking), 'hies to his confine,' hastens to his place of confinement, whether that place be 'in earth' (the grave), or (should the spirit be undergoing purification) 'in sea', or 'fire', or 'air'. The word confine (the accent is on the last syllable) does not here signify the border or limit of a region or territory, it denotes a place of confinement. The word is again used in *Hamlet* (II. iii. 252) in the same sense: 'a prison . . . in which there are many confines, wards, and dungeons.'

¹ All that was necessary to complete the rite of burial from a religious point of view was to sprinkle a little dust on the remains. This ceremony is retained at our funerals, some earth being scattered on the coffin at the words 'dust to dust and ashes to ashes'.

to the flute-players than to the wailers. When a Jew lost his wife, he was enjoined by the Talmud, however poor he might be, to engage not less than two flute-players,¹ although one wailing-woman was deemed sufficient.² The Jews were much given to wailing; the Old Testament abounds with allusions to it. Tearing the clothes and rolling on the ground are repeatedly mentioned,³ reference is made to calling the name⁴ and using flutes,⁵ the professional wailers are alluded to, and are termed 'cunning women'⁶ and 'such as are skilful of lamentation',⁷ whilst the ululatory cry is graphically described as resembling the howling of jackals, the roaring of ostriches (or the laughing of hyenas, or the hooting of owls),⁸ and the bellowing of a heifer of three years old.⁹ Cutting the

¹ 'The husband is bound to bury his dead wife, and to make lamentations and mournings for her, according to the custom of all countries. And also the very poorest amongst the Israelites will afford her not less than two pipes and one lamenting woman: and if he be rich, let all things be done according to his quality.' Maimon, quoted by Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.*, Matt. ix. 27.

² Since writing the above, I have been told by a gentleman who has resided in Burmah, that the Burmese never use less than two wind instruments in their funeral ceremonies.

³ Gen. xxxvii. 34; 2 Sam. iii. 31; Lev. x. 6; xxi. 10. See note 1, p. 356.

⁴ Jer. xxii. 18; 2 Sam. xix. 4.

⁵ Jer. xlviii. 36; also Job xxx. 31.

⁶ Jer. ix. 17.

⁷ Amos v. 16. See also Eccles. xii. 5.

⁸ 'I will wail and howl . . . I will make a wailing like the dragons, and a mourning as the owls' (Micah i. 8). 'I am a brother to dragons, and a companion to owls' (Job xxx. 29). There is a difficulty in identifying the animals mentioned. That for dragons we should substitute jackals is generally admitted, but that the Hebrew word (*tannim*) which is rendered owls should be translated ostriches is not so certain, although the weight of authority is on the side of this interpretation. Some think, however, that the hyena is meant; nor are the owls without their advocates. A roar is a deep and solemn howl, the voice rising and falling in the same way. The roar of the ostrich closely resembles that of the lion. The following description of it is from Martin's *Life on an Ostrich Farm*, p. 110: 'After a good rain, ostriches soon begin to make nests; the males become very savage, and their note of defiance—brooming, as it is called by the Dutch—is heard in all directions. The bird inflates his neck in a cobra-like fashion, and gives utterance to three deep roars; the first short and *staccato*, the third very prolonged. Lion-hunters all agree that the roar of the king of beasts and that of the most foolish of bird are identical in sound; with this difference only, that the latter, when near, resembles the former very far away. J—, when hunting in the interior, has often been deceived by the sound—expecting a lion and finding only an ostrich.'

⁹ Isa. xv. 5; Jer. xlviii. 34.

flesh for the dead was prohibited in the Pentateuch,¹ but so deeply rooted was the custom, that, like similar injunctions by Solon and Mahomet, the prohibition seems to have been disregarded:² indeed, with such tenacity do the people of this ancient race cling to their old usages, that even to this day they keep up the practice of addressing the dead, repeatedly calling the name of the deceased, and sometimes, in a paroxysm of excitement, throwing themselves shrieking on the ground.³

We catch a glimpse of a Jewish wailing, as the rite was carried out soon after the commencement of our era, in the Gospel narrative of the raising of Jairus's daughter. I have already mentioned that flute-players were engaged in large numbers for the funeral ceremonies of wealthy Jews. Jairus was the ruler of a synagogue, an office which implied that he was a man of importance, and so thronged was his house on the occasion referred to that the Evangelist speaks of those assembled there as forming a multitude (ὄχλος). We are not to suppose that the multitude was wholly made up of flute-players, it included the wailing-women as well as the members of the family with their friends and neighbours, possibly also casual passers-by might have entered and swelled the gathering. How many flute-players were engaged we cannot tell, but we know that they were so numerous as to attract our Lord's attention.

It will be remembered that when Jairus addressed our Lord, his little daughter on whose behalf he sought his aid, although she was at the point of death, had not yet passed away. Whether or not the flute-players were sent to in the Roman fashion, whilst the damsel still 'lay a-dying', there is nothing in the sacred narrative to show; it is significant, however, that they had already assembled, and the wailing had commenced, before our Lord reached Jairus's residence, although, according to St. Mark, he was actually

¹ Lev. xix. 28: xxi. 5.

² Jer. xvi. 6: xlviii. 37.

³ 'There is a rite among the Jews denominated "pardon". Before the dead are buried, the relatives, one after another, enter the room where the corpse lies, and, going up to it, call out the name several times and invoke forgiveness for any injustice or wrong they may have been guilty of towards the deceased when living, ending with the repetition three times of the word, "Pardon! pardon! pardon!" When it came to Sarah's turn, the consciousness of her many shortcomings rushed over her with such force, that she threw herself on the ground shrieking the name of her sister, and calling, with sobs and tears, for forgiveness. The actor Laferrière and a lady who were present, raised her and led her away. When they returned, Madame Félix said to them, "It is Rachel's turn now. For God's sake, go! Do not look at her; do not stop." Kennard's *Rachel*, ch. xv.

on his way to it when tidings of her death were brought to him. St. Matthew records that our Lord on coming to the house saw the flute-players and the crowd raising its tumultuous voice;¹ St. Luke

¹ Ἰδὼν τοὺς αὐλητὰς καὶ τὸν ὄχλον θορυβούμενον (Matt. ix. 23). *θορυβεῖν* means to make a noise at a meeting: it is sometimes used of shouts of applause, but more frequently of groans, or other sounds uttered to interrupt a speaker. It thus comes to signify to make an uproar, Latin *turbare*, or as we say, to create a disturbance. The uproar at an Asiatic wailing is prodigious. There is a manuscript, relating to this subject, by Sir John Chardin, preserved in Vallancey's *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis*, No. 12, vol. iv, p. 582. Sir John states that the cries of the people of Asia in cases of death are frightful, and their mourning downright despair, and an image of hell. 'I was lodged,' says he, 'in 1676, at Ispahan, near the royal square; the mistress of the next house to mine died at that time. The moment she expired, all the family, to the number of twenty-five or thirty people, set up such a furious cry that I was quite startled, and was above two hours before I could recover myself, for it was in the middle of the night. These cries continue a long time, then cease all at once; they begin again as suddenly, at daybreak and in concert. It is this suddenness which is so terrifying, together with a greater shrillness and loudness than one would easily imagine: this enraged kind of mourning, if I may call it so, continued forty days, not equally violent, but with diminution from day to day; the longest and most violent acts were, when they washed the body, when they perfumed it, when they carried it out to be interred, and at making the inventory, and when they divided the effects: you are not to suppose that those who were ready to split their throats with crying out, wept as much; the greatest part of them did not shed a tear through the whole tragedy.' On this, Dr. Vallency remarks, 'This is the exact description of an Irish wake and funeral, and if an Englishman should happen to be circumstanced in one of the great towns of Ireland as Sir John was at Ispahan, I believe he would likewise say that it was an *image of hell*, and if he was a Greek scholar, he might possibly call it a *θόρυβος*.'

The following extract from Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* (art. Mourning) shows that not only is the custom of raising loud wails still kept up in the East, but also the practice of beating the body, tearing the clothes, hiring professional wailers, and calling the name. Lane, speaking of the modern Egyptians, says, 'After death the women of the family raise cries of lamentation called *welweléh* or *wilwál*, uttering the most piercing shrieks, and calling upon the name of the deceased, "O, my master! O, my resource! O, my misfortune! O, my glory!" (See Jer. xiii. 18.) The females of the neighbourhood come to join with them in this conclamation: generally, also, the family send for two or more *neddabehs*, or public wailing-women. Each brings a tambourine, and beating them they exclaim "Alas for him". The female relations, domestics and friends, with their hair dishevelled, and sometimes with rent clothes, beating their faces, cry in like manner, "Alas for him! . . ." The art of mourning is only to be acquired by long practice, and regular professors of it are usually hired on the occasion of a death by the wealthier classes.'

relates that those present wept and beat themselves ¹ for the maiden ; St. Mark tells how vehemently they howled the death-cry.²

¹ Ἐκόπτοντο αὐτήν (Luke viii. 52).

² Ἀλαλάζοντας πολλά (Mark v. 38). Ἀλαλάζω is used in the Septuagint (Jer. xxv. 34 ἀλαλάξατε ποιμένες, 'howl ye shepherds'), as here, to denote wailing. The cry *alala* is properly a warwhoop, but the word is applied to any loud shout, and is said to be allied to our *halloo*.

When our Lord brought the dead to life, in every case he wrought the miracle by a word of command addressed to the defunct (Luke vii. 14 ; John xi. 43). The language spoken by him was Aramaic ; but the Gospels have come down to us in Greek. In St. Mark the Aramaic words used by our Lord in raising Jairus's daughter are given in the text. It has been suggested that the object of the Evangelist in quoting them was to make it plain that our Lord had not caused the little girl's spirit to come again by means of a magic formula ; the expression employed (*talitha cumi*) meaning nothing more than, little darling, get up (cf. Mark vii. 34, where the Aramaic word used in working another miracle is mentioned).

The influence over spirits once ascribed to word-magic is almost incredible. Dr. Budge, in his volume on Egyptian magic, summarizes its effects, as elaborated in the religious system of the Egyptian, thus : ' By pronouncing certain words or names of power in the proper manner and in the proper tone of voice he ' (one who was skilled in magic) ' could heal the sick, and cast out the evil spirits which caused pain and suffering in those who were diseased, and restore the dead to life, and bestow upon the dead man the power to transform the corruptible into an incorruptible body, wherein the soul might live to all eternity. His words enabled human beings to assume divers forms at will, and to project their souls into animals and other creatures ; and in obedience to his commands, inanimate figures and pictures became living beings which hastened to perform his behests. The powers of nature acknowledged his might, and wind and rain, storm and tempest, river and sea, disease and death worked evil and ruin upon his foes, and upon the enemies of those who were provided with the knowledge of the words which he had wrested from the gods of heaven, and earth, and the underworld. Inanimate nature likewise obeyed such words of power, and even the world itself came into existence through the utterance of a word by Thoth ; by their means the earth would be rent asunder, and the waters forsaking their nature could be piled upon a heap, and even the sun's course in the heavens could be stayed by a word. No god, or spirit, or devil, or fiend, could resist words of power.'

We have a record of the skill of Egyptian magicians in Exodus (vii. 11, 12), where their rods are stated to have become serpents. Dr. Budge mentions a case in which a bird was decapitated ; the magician then spoke the word of power, whereupon the head and body drew themselves together and the bird came to life ; the experiment was repeated on a large mammal, an ox, with the same result. The magician wished to be allowed to try his hand on a man, but permission was refused. There is an illustration of the influence of word-magic over lifeless matter in the familiar story of Ali Baba and the

The sordid and despicable corpse-players,¹ thinking of their professional remuneration, would be the first to resent the interruption and laugh the laugh of scorn when told to withdraw, as the maiden's sleep was not the sleep of death. These ignoble scoffers were not worthy to behold the mighty spectacle of the wresting of his prey from the King of Terrors, and the tender scene which must have followed when the only child was folded once more in her mother's arms, the privilege being reserved for the favoured apostles Peter, James, and John.

THE APOSTLES AND THE FLUTE

The mention of the Apostles leads me, in bringing this Lecture to a close, to devote a few words to a discussion of the opinion which I have heard expressed that one of them might have played the flute. The supposition rests on the slender foundation that they had a glossokomon,² or flute-box. They used it to receive the money they collected. As it is not likely that they would purchase a flute-box for such a purpose it has been suggested that it belonged to one of them, and that the owner might naturally be expected to have a flute also. In conjecturing as to who might have been the owner St. John has been named, as it is he who makes mention of the

Forty Thieves, the door of a cave in which the robbers store their plunder being opened by a word of power. A man having surreptitiously learnt the magic phrase, gets into the cave in the absence of the robbers, but, forgetting the compelling word, is unable to make his escape, and is cut to pieces by them on their return. The word was *sesame*, the name of a kind of grain, but the unfortunate prisoner could only think of barley, to which the spirit of the door turned a deaf ear.

¹ See above, note 1, p. 353.

² The word glossokomon in its strict etymological sense signifies a case for the *tongues*, i. e. the *reeds* of wind instruments: ἀγγείον τῶν αὐλητικῶν γλωττῶν, Phrynichus. So, too, Julius Pollux, γλωττοκομείον τὸ τὰς γλώττας ὑποδεχόμενον ἀγγείον (Onomastikon, lib. ii, cap. iv, sect. 108). Again, τὸ μὲν ἀγγείον τὸ τὰς γλώττας ἔχον, γλωττοκομείον. ἡ δὲ τῶν αὐλῶν θήκη, συβήνη. (lib. vii, cap. xxxiii, sect. 153). We learn, however, from another passage in the same author that a flute-case also was called a glossokomon, so that the word was used to denote the case for the reeds and also that for the flutes themselves, of which the reeds may have formed a part: γλωττοκομείον μὲν οὖν, ἡ θήκη τῶν αὐλῶν καὶ συβήνην δέ, τὴν τῶν αὐλῶν θήκην καλοῦσι (lib. x, cap. xxxiii, sect. 153). The word is usually translated a case for the mouthpieces of flutes. The reed might not have been so completely detachable from the body of the flute as it is from our hautboys and clarionets, but might have been united to a small joint, or mouthpiece.

glossokomon,¹ whilst the amiability of his disposition favours the idea that he was fond of music. It was placed in the custody of Judas Iscariot. It does not appear that it was his; he only had charge of it, and carried,² or as some would translate the word used in the original (ἐβάσταζεν), carried off,³ what was put into it. We may be sure that *he* was not a flute-player. If he played at all, it could only have been in the base and degraded capacity of a tomb-piper. It is certain that there could have been no music in *his* soul.⁴ So much for this view.

¹ John xii. 6, xiii. 29.

² 'This' (used to bear) 'is the ordinary sense of the word, as in Matt. iii. 11, Luke xxii. 10. There seems no reason to adopt the sense assigned to it by Origen, Theophylact, and some moderns, "used to steal."' Webster and Wilkinson's Greek Testament, on John xii. 6. 'Βαστάζω never signifies to steal.' Alford's Greek Testament, first edition.

³ 'It is plain that the sense commonly assigned to ἐβάσταζεν cannot be tolerated; and that of *managed*, proposed by some, is destitute of even probability. Almost all the best commentators, ancient and modern, are agreed that it must signify *surripuit, intervertit*. . . . Indeed, as at xx. 15, the word signifies to carry off by stealth, so it may here very well mean to steal.' Bloomfield's Greek Testament.

⁴ Judas is said to have worn a leathern apron, such as tanners used to wear, a circumstance to which some think that his name of Iscariot owed its origin; Judas Iscariot being equivalent, in the opinion of those who hold this view, to Judas with the leathern apron. According to them, the apron was furnished with a receptacle or pocket in which Judas carried the money (see Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.*, on Matt. x. 4). Whether he carried the money in his apron or not, the expression used by the Evangelist, 'he had the glossokomon, and bare that which was put therein,' certainly favours the opinion expressed by Lightfoot, that he did not carry it in the glossokomon. The glossokomon, having seemingly become confounded with the pocket in Judas's apron, was rendered in certain old Latin translations a wallet or pouch (*crumena sive marsupium*). This view of its meaning found its way into Wiclif's Bible, where the glossokomon is called 'the pursis', and subsequently into Tyndale's Version, where it is rendered 'the bagge', the latter word being retained in the version of this Bible with which we are familiar as the King's Bible, or the Authorized Version, in which the glossokomon appears as 'the bag'. A more fitting translation would be the money-box. I have failed to discover that a passage can be found in any existing Greek author in which glossokomon denotes a bag. Lightfoot, enumerating the various significations of the word, says that, in addition to its primary meaning of a reed-case, it stands for a case of wood to keep relics in, a coffin, a chest, a box, a purse, or rather a coffer (note that, says Lightfoot), in which they used to lay up their money. Galen, when describing a surgical contrivance of this name in which broken legs and thighs were placed, says that the word was employed by the Attic Greeks to denote a receptacle for valuable writings, adding that such a case

On the other hand, we are not bound to believe that because the box mentioned by St. John is called a glossokomon it must of necessity have been made for a flute-box. That it was used for receiving gifts of money offered to the little community, of which Judas was the treasurer, is unquestionable; but whether it was originally designed for that purpose, or whether it was converted to it from some other use, we are not told. The word glossokomon, although it signifies etymologically a box for the tongues, or reeds, of flutes, was applied to boxes of many other kinds. In the Septuagint (2 Chron. xxiv. 8) it is used to denote a box for making a collection. In the reign of Joash, the fabric of the Temple at Jerusalem having become dilapidated, the king had recourse to a glossokomon in order to raise the funds required for executing the necessary repairs. On turning to the twelfth chapter of the Second Book of Kings, where is another account of the collection, we obtain further information respecting the glossokomon; we there learn that it was made by boring a hole in the lid of a coffer or chest (κιβωτός). Through the hole the princes and the people *cast* in (ἐνέβαλον) their contributions. Now it is worthy of note that the contents of the glossokomon mentioned by St. John are described as τὰ βαλλόμενα, i. e. that which was *cast*, or let fall.¹ This affords a certain presumption that it too had a hole in the lid through which coins were dropped. I should men-

was used by some persons when travelling. (*Commentaries on Hippocrates, περὶ ἀγμῶν*, lib. ii, textus lxxv. See also Gorraeus, *Definit. Med.*) Longinus appears to use glossokomon in the sense of a coop, cage, or place of confinement. The Emperor Galba, when greatly delighted with the performance of Canus, the flute-player, called for his private cash-box (τὸ γλωσσόκομον, Plutarch's *Life of Galba*, *loculos peculiares suos*, Suetonius, *Galba*, 12), and took money from it to make him a present. In Hero's description of the hydraulic organ, a small box with a sliding lid in which was a hole through which wind passed into the organ-pipe, is called a glossokomon. Lightfoot thinks that nothing hinders but that the glossokomon mentioned by St. John might have been a coffer of money, fixed at home, of which Judas kept the keys; but, if the Apostles had left their homes, where could Judas have fixed it? I am going to bring forward, as will be seen on reading above, the idea that the glossokomon which belonged to the Apostles might have been one of those boxes into which money can be introduced through a hole in the cover, but cannot be withdrawn without opening the box. There is nothing to show that its contents might not have been transferred from time to time to the bag in Judas's apron, just as the money in King Joash's glossokomon, of which I am about to speak, was taken out every day, and put up in bags.

¹ John xii. 6.

tion that the Gospels contain other passages in which the same word (*βάλλω*) is used of putting money through the hole in the cover of a glossokomon. For instance, it was into such an aperture that the poor widow in the oft-told story¹ *cast* (*ἔβαλε*) the two mites—her little all. It will be remembered that our Lord, when teaching within the precincts of the temple, raised his eyes from the objects immediately about him, and observed persons in the crowd which thronged the sacred edifice, *casting* (*βάλλοντας*) gifts of money into the treasury. Now the treasury, or strictly speaking the treasuries, here mentioned were thirteen glossokoma which stood in the Court of the Women. They were called the trumpets, either on account of their shape, tapering from below upwards,² or more probably from the circumstance that the aperture for receiving the coins was fitted with a funnel-shaped tube resembling the bell-mouth of a trumpet.³ The glossokomon belonging to the Apostles could not, however, have been a large chest; it was small enough to be quite portable, for Judas had it at Bethany, and had it again at Jerusalem.⁴ Even if we consider ourselves bound to believe that it must have been large enough to hold three hundred *denarii* (the estimated value of spikenard belonging to Mary Magdalen)⁵ it might still have been quite a small box, for a *denarius* was not a penny in our sense of the word, but a silver coin a little larger than a sixpence. If, then, the glossokomon to which we are referring was a small box with an opening on the top for collecting money, it requires no stretch of imagination to suppose that it was handed round when our Lord was preaching, or placed on the ground to receive contributions. But are we bound to believe that it had an opening on the top? This depends on the meaning we assign to *τὰ βαλλόμενα*. If *τὰ βαλλόμενα* refers to coins dropped or thrown into the box, we can scarcely refuse to admit that there was a hole through which they were passed. But the expression may have a different signification. Money given to the poor is often thrown, or let fall; again, in Matt. xxv. 27, *βάλλω* is used of handing

¹ Mark xii. 41-4; Luke xxi. 1-4.

² Lightfoot; *Prospect of the Temple*.

³ *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible* (American Edition), Art. Treasury. There was an inscription on each, showing the use to which the money found in it would be applied; so that, for all we know, the widow, small as was the amount at her disposal, might have contributed to two separate funds by casting her mites into two different glossokoma.

⁴ John xiii. 29.

⁵ John xii. 5.

money to a banker to be placed at interest on a deposit account, literally, *throwing* it on the banker's counter (Luke xix. 23). Τὰ βαλλόμενα, then, may signify nothing more than gifts made to our Lord and the Apostles. This is the interpretation put on the expression in Wiclif's translation, where it is rendered *those things that were sent*, the verse in which it occurs being translated thus : ' But he seid this thing, not for it pertheyned to hym of nedi men : but for he was a theef, and he hadde the pursis, and bare tho thingis that weren sente.' Again, in Tyndale's Version it appears as *that which was given* : ' This sayde he, not that he cared for the pooer : but because he was a thefe, and kept the bagge, and bare that which was geven.' If we accept this interpretation of τὰ βαλλόμενα, we are at liberty to regard the glossokomon of the Apostles as a cash-box, like that used by the Emperor Galba to which reference has just been made, a view adopted in the Vulgate, where the word is translated *loculi*.

EXCURSUS

WAILING AMONGST THE IRISH

THE ceremony of wailing is termed in Ireland the wake, and the wailers are said to wake the corpse. The expression is not to be taken literally. The rite does not derive its name from the circumstance that the wailers are attempting to rouse the corpse and thus bring the dead man to life; the word *wake* is used in its once common but now obsolete sense of a vigil, or abstention from sleep;¹ the liche-wake, or corpse-wake, being a sitting up with, and keeping watch over, the dead body.

The resemblance which can be traced between the wakes of the Irish and the wailing of the ancients is very striking, and has attracted the attention of more than one writer. In each case we find the corpse pillowed, ornamented with flowers, and placed on a bier, or at least more or less raised, with the face exposed and the rest of the body enveloped in a covering of a white colour. The practice of beating the breast, tearing the hair, and dashing the body against the ground,² was common to both. Some of these usages have fallen into disuse in Ireland, but we learn from an account of the rite of waking given in O'Curry's *Manners and Customs of*

¹ 'And he cam to hise disciplis and founde hem slepinge and he seide to Petre, so wher ye mighten not oon our *wake* with me? *Wake* ye and preie ye that ye entre not into temptacioun, for the spirit is redy but the flesch is syk.' Wiclif's translation of Math. xxvi. 40-1. The word was used in this sense as late as Shakespeare's time:

The king doth *wake* to-night.

Hamlet I. iv. 8.

²

Then the son of Ronan screams,
And he falls upon the ground;
He casts his beautiful body down,
He plucks his hair and beard.'

O'Curry's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, Introduction, p. cccxxv.

The breast is beaten at modern Irish funerals; see below, page 437. Stanihurst in his work *De Rebus Hibernicis*, 1584 (Lib. I, p. 47) notices tearing the hair, striking the forehead, beating the sides, and opening the hands and raising them to heaven (*palmas dilatant, manus in cælum extollunt*). He also mentions the wolf-like howlings and the practice of embracing and kissing the corpse. It was obvious to him that such exhibitions were not genuine expressions of sympathy, but being in the dark as to the real object of the proceedings, he supposes that those who took part in them were simulating sorrow, and points to the English saying, *to weep Irish*, meaning to feign grief. He also tells the story, afterwards brought up by Miss Edgeworth, of a little old woman, who, after howling herself hoarse, asked what was the dead man's name. See below, p. 438.

the Ancient Irish, a work published as late as 1873, that the custom of hiring professional wailers still prevails, and that the professional wailers, as of old, are women. We are also told that the wailers continue to divide themselves into separate bodies, and to make their utterances in the form of alternate responses, whilst the correspondence between the description given by O'Curry and that of Lucian of the way in which the wail is extemporized by the leader of the wailers, and the theme or subject, thus given out, taken up and repeated by the rest of the assembly is, as has been pointed out elsewhere,¹ extraordinary.

The Latin and Irish names for the death-cry closely resemble each other, a circumstance observed by Pennant, the Naturalist, whose books of travel were so popular towards the close of the eighteenth century. In his account of his first tour in Scotland, made in 1769, after describing the ceremony of the Late-wake as performed in that country, and quoting Chaucer to show that this custom was once an English one,² he goes on to say, 'The *coranich*, or singing at funerals, is still in use at some places. . . . I had not the fortune to be present at any in North Britain, but formerly assisted at one in the south of *Ireland*, where it was performed in the fullness of horror. The cries are called by the *Irish* the '*Ulogohue* and the *Hállulu*, two words extremely expressive of the sound uttered on these occasions, and being of *Celtic* stock, etymologists would swear to be the origin of the *ὀλογγὸν* of the Greeks and the *ululatus* of the *Latins*.'

The opinion here expressed by Pennant that the Greek and Latin words he mentions are derived from the Celtic would not now be generally accepted. Since he wrote, the views held by philologists on the significance of the affinity of speech which exists between different members of the European family of nations have undergone a change. Modern researches have led to the conclusion that the several peoples of which the mass of the population of Europe is made up originated in a series of colonies given off by a race located, some think, in Central Asia, others, in Northern Europe, the colonies flowing in successive waves over Europe and displacing the earlier inhabitants. The etymological connexion which Pennant traced would not, therefore, be now held to indicate that the Latin *ululatus* and the Greek *ὀλογγὸν* are derived from the Erse '*Ulogohue*, or *Hállulu*, but that all these words have a common descent, or that they have sprung from the same root, the root representing a word in the language of the ancestral race. The root from which they are derived is *UL*, a syllable imitative of the sound it indicates. Amongst its many derivatives, besides those just named, is our

¹ *Supra*, p. 358, note.

² Ne how the *lichewake* was yhold
All thilke night.

The Knights Tale.

Aubrey states that howling at funerals was kept up in Yorkshire to within seventy years of the time he wrote (1688).

word *howl* (in Chaucer *houlen*), which appears as *heulen* in German, and *huller* in Old French ; also *owl*, in Anglo-Saxon *ule*, in Sanscrit *uluka*, and in Latin *ulula*, a name given to the bird from its tremulous, wailing cry.

The Celtic race is believed to be one of the earliest, if not the earliest, of the swarms which left the paternal hive, whilst the Graeco-Roman stock is considered to have been given off at a much later period. That the names used by the Greeks, the Romans, and the Irish, to designate the wail resemble each other so closely as to appear to be only different forms of the same word may be taken, then, to indicate that the utterance was in use amongst, and the rite it accompanies practised by, the parent race before either of these colonies had left their native home. This brings us to another and a more important question. To account for the physical peculiarities of the various races of mankind is a great difficulty with the anthropologist. If, for instance, such differences of colour and form as those which distinguish the fair-haired Saxon from the African Negro have been produced by the varying influence of climate and habits of life as the human family spread farther and farther from the land of its birth, so enormous a lapse of time would be required to bring about such changes that some writers have proposed to solve the problem thus raised by supposing that mankind did not spring from one centre only, but that the typical races came into existence at separate spots on the surface of the earth with their leading physical characteristics stamped upon them from the first.

In investigating the question, if we could trace such a connexion between the various languages of the mass of mankind as has been shown to exist between those of the nations which constitute the Aryan, or Indo-European family, we should be able to say that all languages must have sprung from a common mother-tongue, and it would further follow that there must have existed a race which spoke that tongue, even if the race had disappeared so completely as to leave no trace behind it either in history or tradition. Unfortunately, we can get no help from a study of language, for the roots from which the Aryan words spring cannot be traced even into the Semitic, much less into such forms of speech as the Mongolian or Melanesian tongues. Here, however, does not the rite of wailing come to our assistance ? If we find this rite practised by the Irishman, the Chinaman, the Fijian, and the American Indian, with traces of what was originally its essential part, the act of appealing to the spirit with a view to restore animation, are we not at liberty to assume that there was a time when the ancestors of those diverse and widely scattered peoples formed members of one family ? But here another reflection is forced upon us : is wailing (and with it perhaps whistling, poppyssing, hissing, and crooning, or cronaning, in connexion with religious rites ¹) antecedent

¹ Remarks on whistling in its religious aspect have been made in note 2, p. 377. Poppyssing is described in note 1, p. 287. I am about to notice

to speech? Should it be, man must have believed in the existence of spirits before he could converse with words.¹ We are thus driven to ask the question, how did man make known to his fellows

the *crónán* (p. 411). In the *Century Dictionary*, *crónán* appears in English as *croon*, a word there said to have been introduced from the Scotch, the Middle English form, *croynen*, to hum, being stated to be equivalent to the Dutch *kreunen*, to groan, lament. This singular guttural humming, purring, droning, or buzzing musical sound is sometimes employed as an inarticulate accompaniment to a vocal solo. An example will be found in Bunting's *Ancient Music of Ireland*, No. 56, p. 42. The circumstance that this curious kind of singing is still in use without words, taken in connexion with its association with funeral rites, begets the suspicion that if we had the means of tracing its history we should find that it was one of the sounds by which man used to express himself before he acquired the art of speech, words having been applied to it in later times. According to Ramsay, the poet, who was conversant with Scottish folklore, this kind of voice can act as an incantation in summoning supernatural beings; he speaks of a witch able to 'make the deils obedient to her *crune*'.

¹ Is it likely that primitive man would have appealed to spirits by howling, poppyssing, and whistling, if he had been able to make his petition in words? Would spirits have conversed with each other by chirping and whistling if they had known how to speak? Why do ghosts chirp, whistle, twitter, squeak, and gibber? Why do wizards peep, that is, chirrup like a young bird, and mutter (Isa. viii. 19)? Why do we supplement our prayers with singing? How are we to account for the gestures used in wailing and other rites, except on the supposition that they are vestiges of a language in which spirits were addressed before the introduction of speech? It is true that one of the wailing gestures can be explained in a different way. In representations of Greek wailing, the wailers, if near, stretch their hands over the corpse, if at a distance, extend them towards it. We may perhaps get a clue to the practice from the description given by Good of Irish wailing, as carried out in his time. He tells us (*supra*, p. 378) that the keeners used to spread their hands when trying to prevent the egress of the spirit from the body as they stood in a four-part figure at the head, feet, and sides of the expiring man. After the lapse of three hundred years, we find the hand-movement still continued, though its purpose was no longer understood, the hands being reached out over the body from which the spirit had departed. Mrs. Hall saw a keener hold her hands over a dead person before beginning to chant the *cepóg*, or song addressed to him. She also noticed that the keener, after holding her hands over the body, tossed them 'wildly above her head' (*infra*, p. 431; see also note 2, p. 405). The hands would be held up in appealing to the spirit after it had quitted the body. Raising the hands when spirits are addressed is a gesture too well known to need illustration; so great was the influence once attributed to it that Moses was believed to have won a battle by its means (Exod. xvii. 11-12). Greek wailers hold up their hands, and sometimes, in a mixed gesture, hold up one hand and stretch out the other. See Figs. 106, 110, 111, pp. 360, 389. Stretching the hands over the body may have an unknown meaning.

Another gesture used by wailers is rocking the body. Mrs. Hall observed that when uttering the *hüllulu*, or death-howl, the keeners kept their hands apart, and swayed their bodies slowly to and fro (*infra*, p. 432; see also note 1, p. 431). I learn from an eyewitness that in Scotland women, when wailing, move their bodies backwards and forwards, and bring their hands together, then draw them apart. Oscillating the body is a religious gesture. In the Highlands of Scotland, worshippers in the kirk sway their bodies during the prayers and the singing, and sometimes during the sermon. Compare note 1, p. 317.

the workings of his intellect before he was acquainted with articulate language? We now—so we are told—think in words, but can it be true that man was unable to think and to disclose his thoughts before he had learnt to speak? Vocal sounds, gestures, the play of features, the language of the eye, would reveal passions; but could there not have been a method of expressing conceptions, before words were introduced?

Leaving such attempts to pierce the darkness which envelops the early history of our species, let us return to firmer ground. Attention was called by Pennant, as we have seen, to the etymological connexion between certain words associated with wailing. This was not all. Being a scholar as well as a man of acumen, Pennant detected a similitude in the rite itself as carried out by the Romans and the Irish; indeed, he even went so far as to notice that in both ceremonies it was usual, when delivering the speech to the dead, to address reproaches to the corpse, and that the professional wailing-women, whom he, like Horace—and indeed every one else—imagined to be engaged in expressing grief, ‘overdid their parts.’ ‘It was my fortune,’ he says, ‘to arrive at a certain town in *Kerry*, at the time that a person of some distinction departed this life: my curiosity led me to the house, where the funeral seemed to be conducted in the purest classical form.

Quodcunque aspicerem luctus gemitusque sonabant,
Formaque non taciti funeris intus erat.

In short, the *conclamatio* was set up by the friends in the same manner as *Virgil* describes that consequential on *Dido's* death.

Lamentis gemitisque et foemineo ululatu
Tecta fremunt.

Immediately after this followed another ceremony, full described by *Camden*, in his account of the manners of the antient *Irish*; the earnest expostulations and reproaches given to the deceased, for quitting this world, where she enjoyed so many blessings, so good a husband, such fine children. This custom is also of great antiquity, for *Euryalus's* mother makes the same pathetic address to her dead son.

Tune illa senectae
Sera meae requies? potuisti relinquere solam
Crudelis?

But when the time approached for carrying out the corps, the cry was redoubled,

Tremulis ululatibus aethera complent,¹

¹ Pennant seems to have omitted to refresh his memory by referring to *Virgil* when he was writing. The words quoted are from *Aeneid* vii. 395, and the howls spoken of are not those of wailers but Bacchantes. The passage Pennant intended to quote is perhaps,
resonat magnis plangoribus aether,
which occurs in *Virgil's* description of the death of *Dido* (*Aen.* iv. 668).

a numerous band of females waiting in the outer court, to attend the hearse and to pay (in chorus) the last tribute of their voices. The habit of this sorrowing train, and the neglect of their persons, were admirably suited to the occasion : their robes were black and flowing, resembling the antient *Palla* ; their feet naked, their hair long and disheveled : I might truly say,

Vidi egomet nigrâ succinctam vadere pallâ
CANIDIAM ; pedibus nudis, passoque capillo,
Cum SAGANA majore ululantem.¹

Among these mourners were dispersed the females who sung the praises of the deceased, and were in the place of the *mulieres praeeficae* of the *Romans*, and like them a mercenary tribe. I could not but observe that they overdid their parts, as Horace acquaints us the hiring mourners of his days did.

Ut qui conducti plorant in funere, dicunt
Et faciunt prope plura dolentibus ex animo.

The corps was carried slowly to the verge of a most beautiful lake, the *ululatus* was continued, and the whole procession ended among the venerable ruins of an old abby.’

Pennant was thus convinced of the identity of the *ululatus* with the *húlluloo* ; but it escaped his observation that a resemblance can be traced between two other musical utterances employed in the conclamatory rites of the *Romans* and the *Irish*. The *ululatus* was not the only sound made use of by the *praeeficae* ; they had recourse to another, known as the *naenia* ;² so, too, the *Irish*, in addition to the *húlluloo*, have a cry called the *cepóg*. The *naenia* admitted of words, so does the *cepóg* ; in the *naenia*, the praises of the dead were sung,³ so are they, as I shall show, in the *cepóg* ; the *naenia* was a low murmuring voice suitable for lulling children to sleep ; the *cepóg* is spoken of in a passage I am about to quote, as sung ‘in tones of a sweet lullaby’ ;⁴ the *naenia* was a subject of

¹ It is needless to remind those who are familiar with the works of Horace that these worthies, Canidia and Sagana, were not attending a funeral, and that their howling, though it was addressed to spirits, was in no way connected with wailing for the dead. Pennant, whose quotation is from the 8th Satire of the 1st Book, must surely have forgotten that he was putting himself in the place of the wooden Priapus set up as a scarecrow in Maecenas’s garden, at whose explosive fracture the old ladies were so terribly startled.

² The *naenia* has been noticed in note 1, p. 371. See also note 3, p. 357.

³ ‘Honoratorum virorum laudes in concione memorentur, easque etiam cantu ad tibicinem prosequantur, cui nomen naenia: quo vocabulo etiam Graeci cantus lugubres nominant.’ Cicero, *De Legibus*. See also *Festus*, s.v. *Naenia*.

⁴ Dr. Joyce, in his *Ancient Irish Music* (No. 66) remarks: ‘The lullaby airs, though sufficiently varied in structure, are all plaintive, and somewhat sad in character ; it will be observed that they resemble in expression the *keens* or laments, and the plough whistles.’ Of No. 88 he says: ‘The following fine melody is a good illustration of the remark already made regarding the

ridicule and scorn with the Romans ; what can be more absurd than a *cepóg* the translation of which is given below (p. 415) ? We have reason for believing that the *ululatus* differed but little in sound from the *húllulu* ; is it not therefore likely that the *naenia* resembled the *cepóg* ? We learn from O'Curry that the *cepóg* is a kind of guttural singing. The art of chanting it effectively cannot be easy to acquire, for O'Curry states that, although he had often heard it, knew how it was produced, and could even attempt an imitation of it, he had only known two men who were proficient in it. The murmuring sound, he says, ' though produced in the throat, was not monotonous, but capable of various modulations of distinct musical tones, ascending from the lowest bass to the shrillest treble. . . . The only distinction that appears to attach to the *Aidbsi* or *Cepóg* is, that it was a *Crónán* or purring, commenced in the chest or throat, on a low key and rising gradually to the highest treble.' It seems likely that O'Curry was not gifted with an ear for music, or he would not have thought that a purr was a musical sound ;¹ but on turning to Armstrong's *Gaelic Dictionary* I find that *crónán* signifies not only the purring of a cat, but any murmuring sound ; a lulling voice ; the buzzing of a fly ; the humming of a bee ; the bellowing of a deer ; bass in music ; the noise of a bagpipe drone ; the purling sound of a brook ; a dirge ; a pathetic ode.²

Sullivan, in his Introduction to O'Curry's Lectures, gives the following description of a *cepóg* followed by a *húllulu* or wail : ' I once heard in West Muskerry, in the county of Cork, a dirge of this kind ' (a *cepóg*) ' excellent in point of both music and words, improvised over the body of a man who had been killed by a fall from a horse, by a young man, the brother of the deceased. He first recounted his genealogy, eulogized the spotless honour of his family, described in tones of a sweet lullaby his childhood and boyhood, then changing the air suddenly, he spoke of his wrestling and hurling, his skill at ploughing, his horsemanship, his prowess at a fight in a fair, his wooing and marriage, and ended by suddenly bursting into a loud, piercing, but exquisitely beautiful wail, which was again and again taken up by the bystanders.' Later I shall have occasion to quote an account given by Mrs. Hall of a *cepóg* sung, not as here by a man, but by a professional wailer.

It appears that the Irish bards at one time got a footing in the rite of wailing ; they did not exclude the professional wailing-women, or *keeners* as they were called ; they took upon them-

resemblance that often exists between lullabies and *keens* or laments, for if the reader were not told beforehand that it is a lullaby, he would perhaps find it difficult to determine to which of the two classes it belongs.'

¹ Since writing I have been told by a person familiar with this kind of singing that the sound is musical, but is combined with a vibration, or rattle, similar to that heard in the purr of a cat. My informant made several attempts to let me hear it, but could not succeed in producing it. A favour would be conferred on musicians if it were recorded with the gramophone.

² O'Curry expresses the opinion that old women are called *crones* from the habit they have of *cronaning*, or murmuring to themselves.

selves, however, to chant the *cepóg*, singing it to their harps, as the Greeks and Romans sang the *naenia* to the flute, but leaving it to the keeners to fill up the intervals between the verses with a chorus of wails. The subject attracted the attention of Irish antiquaries who flourished towards the close of the eighteenth century, their patriotism imparting a high colour to their descriptions. Thus, according to Walker, the author of *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards*, a bardic funeral included a solemn and affecting scene, an impressive sermon, and a musical requiem for the repose of the departed soul.¹ But how could the presence of women

¹ Walker perceived that the 'funeral song' was intended to affect the spirit, but he reproduced an old notion that it was designed to give the spirit rest. Moreover, he believed that it was chanted over the grave, not being aware, seemingly, that the keening was begun long before the funeral. The following is his flowery description:—

'As several classes of Bards were concerned in the *Caoine* it will be necessary to give a particular account of that solemn ceremony. When a prince or chief fell in battle, or died by the course of nature "the stones of his fame" were raised amidst the voices of Bards. On this occasion, the Druid having performed the rites prescribed by religion, the pedigree of the deceased being recited aloud by his *Seanacha*—the *Caoine* (or funeral song), which was composed by the *Filea* of the departed, and set to music by one of his *Oirfidigh*, was sung in recitativo over his grave by a *RACARAIDE* (or Rhapsodist), who occasionally sustained his voice with arpeggios swept over the strings of his Harp: the symphonic parts being sustained by Minstrels, who chanted a chorus at intervals, in which they were joined responsively by attending Bards and *Oirfidigh*; the relations and friends of the deceased mingling their sighs and tears. Thus Hector was lamented:

A melancholy choir attend around,
With plaintive sighs and music's solemn sound;
Alternately they sing, alternate flow
Th' obedient tears, melodious in their woe,
While deeper sorrows groan from each full heart,
And Nature speaks at every pause of art.

A scene how solemn! how affecting! But the custom was founded in sound policy. The Bards were directed to seize this favourable opportunity—when the mind was softened by sympathetic sorrow, and every tumultuous passion soothed to peace by the plaintiveness of the music—to impress on the minds of their auditors, a reverence and imitation of virtue, or of what (as Mr. O'Connor observes), in those days of Heathenism, was deemed virtue. This they endeavoured to effect, by first lamenting, in pathetic strains, the loss they sustained in the death of their patron:—(thus they *grappled* the attention of their hearers, and awoke all their finer feelings):—then they dwelt on his virtues and heroism, recounting all his acts of humanity and all his valourous achievements, closing every stanza with some remarkable epithet of their hero. This ceremony was considered of such moment, that the man to whom it was denied, was deemed accursed, and his ghost supposed to wander through the country, bewailing his miserable fate. Thus the woods and wilds became peopled with shadowy beings, whose cries were fancied to be heard in the piping winds, or the roar of foaming cataracts. "Such apprehensions (as an elegant critic remarks) must indeed

Deepen the murmur of the falling floods,
And breathe a browner horror o'er the woods;

and give sadder accents to every whisper of the animate or inanimate creation."

amongst the bards be accounted for? This was admitted to be a difficulty, but Walker was ready with an explanation. He did not deny that his efforts to discover that there had existed 'female Bards, or BARDESSES properly so called', had failed, but he would have us believe that such was the gallantry of his chivalrous ancestors that they deemed 'the melting sweetness of the female voice' necessary to heighten 'the melancholy the solemn ceremony was calculated to inspire'. Women, therefore, he tells us, 'whose voices recommended them, were taken from the lower classes of life, and instructed in the *cur sios*, or elegiac measure,' so as to fit them for admission into 'the chorus of the funeral song'.¹ Walker failed to perceive that the sermon was preached to the dead man, nor did he know that in 'the chorus of the funeral song' 'the melting sweetness of the female voice' was devoted from the earliest times to the production of unrhythmical and inarticulate sounds which have been compared to the howling of wild beasts.

In the year 1791, Mr. William Beauford, A.M., an Irish antiquary well known in his day, read a Paper before the Royal Irish Academy, entitled, *Caoinan; or some account of the Antient Irish Lamentations*. In the Paper, Mr. Beauford not only described the ceremony of wailing as he believed it to have been carried out by the bards, but even introduced his hearers to a bardic wake, giving them both the words and the music used on the occasion. The words of Mr. Beauford's 'Funeral Song' are those of an old Irish poem in four verses, addressed to the corpse over which the wake is held. The poem is sung as a solo by two chief bards who take alternate verses; but every verse is followed by a ululation, or chorus of howls. It is scarcely necessary to say that a cursory examination suffices to show that the musical sketch is an article of modern manufacture. Mr. Beauford, it is true, does not admit us into his workshop, nor does he give references to let us know from whence he obtained his materials; but a little exploration leads to the discovery that the production seems to have originated as follows.

Five years before Mr. Beauford read his Paper, Walker's book on the Irish Bards appeared. In this work, the author, when treating of the music of the ancient Irish, describes the Ceanan, or Irish death-cry, which he regards as the oldest Irish music extant; 'its high antiquity,' says he, 'is unquestionable from the circumstance of its obstinately refusing the accompaniment of a base.' Now the Irish pipers used to play a fantasia, or piece of descriptive music, in which was introduced an imitation of four such cries, corresponding to the four great divisions of Ireland: a Connaught cry, a Munster cry, an Ulster cry, and a Leinster cry. Mr. Gore Ousley, a young gentleman of Limerick, exercised his musical skill in recording the fantasia in notation, and communicated the result to Walker, who printed it at the end of his *Memoirs of the Irish Bards*. The piece begins with a furious movement intended to represent a battle; it is followed by the four death-cries; next

¹ Walker, *Irish Bards*, p. 53.

comes a melancholy tune, or dump, said to have been sung by Irish women while searching for their dead husbands on a battle-field; 'the whole is supposed to conclude,' writes Walker, 'with a loud shout of the auditors meliorated by affliction.' On comparing Mr. Beauford's *Caoinan* with the bagpipe music which Walker obtained from Mr. Gore Ousley (both are given below), it will be seen that Mr. Beauford has taken the four cries and divided each of them into three parts; the first part is assigned to a 'semi-chorus', or party of wailers stationed at the foot, the second to another party at the head, of the corpse; the third to a 'full chorus' in which the voices of all present are combined. Each of the cries is preceded by a verse of the poem, the music of the first verse being adapted from that of the dump.

Mr. Beauford does not say from what source he obtained the poem, but he assigns it to the fifteenth century, and states that it bears evident marks of bardic origin. On examining the words, we learn that it was written for the wake of a chieftain of the name of O'Connal. He seems to have died a violent death; nothing, however, is said about the encounter in which he fell, but from the circumstance that spoils are mentioned we may suspect that he perished in one of the marauding expeditions once so common in Ireland. Notwithstanding his death, the foray appears to have been successful, for booty was brought to the 'hall of the nobles'. Mr. O'Connal is represented as the owner of highly desirable landed property; it comprised luxuriant and well-watered meadows, affording pasturage for cattle, as well as hill-land, which, as it was conspicuous for its verdure, must have been well adapted for sheep farming; moreover, he was the lord of a valley of such beauty and fertility that it was denominated the golden vale; as he was wealthy in sheep and cattle we may conclude that he kept at least a part of his estate in his own hands.

Viewed as an address to a dead person, the poem conforms to the usual type of such productions, the composition of which has already been explained.¹ The chief point calling for notice is the omission of the reproaches usually addressed to the defunct for deserting his wife and family. The circumstance that Mr. O'Connal is not upbraided on this account, taken in connexion with allusions made to his youth, may be considered to indicate that he was unmarried. The name is called three times, and each time the question, why didst thou die, is put to the corpse, a question still repeated over and over at every Irish wake. The usual reasons are given to show by inference how ill-judged it was on the part of the spirit to quit the body, and how desirable it would be for it to come again: in the first verse the departed is reminded of his learning, his bravery, his activity, and his eloquence; in the second, his attention is called to his lineage, he is told of his descent from Heber, the progenitor of the Munster tribes, who was the eldest son of Milesius, an Irish king whose pedigree has been traced

¹ p. 359.

to Noah; the third describes his magnificent landed property, so richly stocked with flocks and herds; whilst in the fourth and last, he is asked why he did not live at least until the spoils his victorious arm had captured and his shield with the ancient, or banner, were brought to the 'hall of the nobles'. Mr. Beauford translates the poem thus:—

I

O Son of Connal, why didst thou die? Royal, noble, learned youth, valiant, active, warlike, eloquent! Why didst thou die? Alas! awail a day!

II

Alas! alas! He who sprang from nobles of the race of Heber, warlike chief. O men (*sic*) of Connal, noble youth, why didst thou die? Alas! alas!

III

Alas! alas! he who was in possession of flowery meads, verdant hills, lowing herds, fruitful fields, flowing rivers and grazing flocks, rich, gallant, Lord of the Golden Vale, why did he die, alas! awail a day!

IV

Alas! alas! why didst thou die, O Son of Connal, before the spoils of Victory by thy warlike arm was (*sic*) brought to the hall of the nobles and thy shield with the Ancient. Alas! alas!¹

The account given by Mr. Beauford of the ceremony of wailing as performed by the Irish bards does not differ in its essential features from a modern Irish wake as described by Sullivan. In both, the *cepóg* and the *ullaloo* are sung in the form of alternate responses followed by a general chorus in which all join; but Sullivan represents those present as grouped into four parties, Mr. Beauford, into two only. Mr. Beauford alludes to the ornamentation of the corpse with flowers, and states that it was placed in an elevated position, particulars mentioned, as has been pointed

¹ Below are extracts from a more modern Irish Lamentation, which appeared in the *Dublin Penny Journal*, Jan. 19, 1833. It will be seen that the original pattern of these effusions can still be traced, the dead person being addressed, reminded that she has left her friend, her praises sung, questions put to her, and her name repeatedly called. The poem, which is translated from the Gaelic, is entitled 'The Lament of Morian Shehone for Miss May Bourke':—

'Yes, thou art gone, O Mary! but Morian Shehone will raise the song of woe, and bewail thy fate.

Snow-white was thy virtue; the youths gazed on thee with rapture; and old age listened with pleasure to the soft music of thy tongue.

Thy beauty was brighter than the sun which shone around thee, O Mary! but thy sun is set, and has left the soul of thy friend in darkness.

Thou didst not fall off like a withered leaf, which hangs trembling and insecure: no, it was a rude blast which brought thee to the dust, O Mary!

Hadst thou not friends? Hadst thou not bread to eat, and raiment to put on? Hadst thou not youth and beauty, Mary? Then mightst thou not have been happy?

out, in Lucian's account of an ancient Greek *πρόθεσις*. How far Mr. Beauford's idea of a bardic wake is based on existing statements of contemporary writers, and how far it represents what Mr. Beauford imagined that the ceremony might have been like, I must leave to those who are competent to decide.¹ My chief object in bringing

¹ Mr. Beauford describes a bardic wake as follows:—

'The body of the deceased, dressed in grave-clothes, and ornamented with flowers, was placed on a bier or some elevated spot. The relations and Keeners ranged themselves in two divisions, one at the head and the other at the foot of the corps. The bards and croteries had before prepared the funeral Caoinan. The chief bard of the head chorus began, by singing the first stanza in a low doleful tone, which was softly accompanied by the harp: at the conclusion, the foot chorus began the lamentation or Ullaloo, from the final note of the preceding stanza, in which they were answered by the head semi-chorus; then both united in one general chorus. The chorus of the first stanza being ended, the chief bard of the foot semi-chorus sung the second stanza, the strain of which was taken from the concluding note of the preceding chorus; which ended, the head semi-chorus began the second Gol or lamentation, in which they were answered by that of the foot, and then, as before, both united in the general full chorus. Thus alternately were the song and the choruses performed during the night. The genealogy, rank, possessions, the virtues and vices of the dead were rehearsed, and a number of interrogations were addressed to the deceased, as, why did he die? If married, whether his wife was faithful to him, his sons dutiful, or good hunters or warriors? If a woman, whether her daughters were fair or chaste? If a young man, whether he had been crossed in love? or if the blue-eyed maids of Erin treated him with scorn?

'We are told (Lhuyd, *Archæolog. Brit.*, p. 309) that each versicle of the Caoinan consisted only of four feet, and each foot was commonly of two syllables: that the three first required no correspondence, but the fourth was to correspond with the terminations of the other versicles. This kind of artificial metre was much cultivated by the Irish bards, but, on the decline of that order, the Caoinan fell into the hands of women, and became an extemporaneous performance. Each province was supposed to have different Caoinans, and hence the Munster cry, the Ulster cry, &c., but they are only imitations of the choruses of the same Caoinan independent of provincial distinctions. As the Caoinan was sang extempore, there being no general established tune, each set of Keeners varied the melody according to their taste and musical abilities, carefully, however, preserving the subjects or burden of the song throughout, both in the vocal and instrumental part, as began by the leading Keener.

At present the Caoinan is much neglected, being only practised in remote parts, so that this ancient custom will soon finally cease, English manners and English language supplanting those of the aboriginal natives. The following example bears evident marks of bardic origin, both in its versification and language: it is probably a production of the fifteenth century. The music of the Gol or choruses is the same or nearly so with that played by the modern pipers, and by them denominated the Irish cries. This example, being an imitation of extreme and violent grief with broken lamentations, is wild and irregular, and can have but little merit as a musical composition; but may be of some account, as preserving the last remains of a very ancient and universal custom.'

Sullivan writes thus: 'Whether the body was burnt or buried, the operation was accompanied by certain rites, which, as we have just stated, consisted in the recitation of dirges. One of these dirges, which specially

forward the Paper is to reproduce the Funeral Song appended to it for the sake of the Irish cries it contains. It will, of course, be understood that a direct imitation of a sound of the nature of a howl, though it might possibly be attempted on a violin, is quite beyond the capabilities of an Irish bagpipe, or any instrument with fixed intervals. Still, the production is not without interest, inasmuch as it adds to our knowledge on the subject of wailing by making us acquainted with the means adopted by the pipers to awaken in the minds of their auditors the impression that would be produced on hearing the wail; thus giving us a succession of notes which those conversant with the sound of wailing would recognize as an attempt to express that sound on a musical instrument. The cries are raised by the first and second semi-chorus at the conclusion of each verse of the *cepóg*. An inspection of them shows that the wail rises from a lower to a higher pitch, then remains stationary on a tremulous sound indicated by the alternation varying in rapidity of two notes, after which it falls. The part styled by Mr. Beauford a 'full chorus of sighs and groans' appears to be of less value, it being made up seemingly of embellishments introduced by the pipers, instead of being intended to be an imitation, as Walker expresses it, of 'a loud shout of the auditors, meliorated by affliction'. Those assembled at a wake do not indulge in wails of their own, but, as Sullivan tells us, follow as closely as they can the cry given out by the professional wailers.

recounted the descent and exploits of the deceased, was called, at least in mediæval times, a *Cepóg*.

The dirge was chanted by the mourning bard, assisted by his pupils and the family mourners, while the professional mourners engaged for the occasion sang the accompaniment in melancholy strains and measured notes, to correspond with the metre of the dirge. The *Mná Caointe*, or professional mourning women, who used to attend the wakes and funerals in the Irish-speaking districts of Ireland up to the period of the famine of 1848, and perhaps still do so in some of the remoter districts of the west and south, preserve, I have no doubt, a true tradition of the ancient *Cepóg* or *Guba*. The usual number was at least four; one stood near the head of the bed or table on which the corpse was laid, one at the feet, who was charged with the candles, and one or more at each side; the family and immediate friends of the deceased sat around near the table. The mourner at the head opened the dirge with the first note or part of the cry; she was followed by the one at the foot with a note or part of equal length, then the long or double part was sung by the two side mourners, after which the members of the family or friends of the deceased joined in the common chorus at the end of each stanza of the funeral ode or dirge, following as closely as they could the air or tune adopted by the professional mourners. Sometimes one or more, or even all the principal singers were men.

. . . Sometimes the panegyric on the deceased was begun by one and continued by another, as many as three or four taking part in the improvisation. In the case of the *Flaths*, *Rigs*, and other distinguished personages, the historian or bard of the family, or some other qualified person selected for the purpose, delivered, in ancient times, the panegyric or funeral oration, recounting the genealogy, deeds, and virtues of the deceased, and the loss his friends had sustained.' *Introduction to O'Curry's Lectures*, p. ccxxiv.

CAOINAN, OR IRISH FUNERAL SONG.

Largo.

Æ muc Con-nal, coid-huim baisaogh, Ruir - each, rath - mar,
O Son of Connal, why didst thou die? Roy - al, no - ble,

racht-mhar eachthach, Cro - dha creachach, cath - ach cead - thag
learn - ed youth, va - liant, ac - tive, war - like, elo - quent!

Coid - huim bai - faogh U - cha oin - nagh.
Why didst thou die? A - las! awail a day!

FIRST SEMI-CHORUS.

Fermante.

Ulla lulla lulla lulla

lù lù ucht o ong.

SECOND SEMI-CHORUS.

tr

O ong ulla lulla lulla lulla lulla lulla

lulla lù ucht o ong.

FULL CHORUS OF SIGHS AND GROANS.

Ucht o ong ucht o ong o ucht o

ong ucht o ong o ong o

o ong ucht o ong o ong ucht

o o ong o o o o

o o ong o o ong ucht o

ong ucht o ong o ong.

Uch - ta oin - naoh! boot hach bear tach
A - las! alas! he who sprang from nobles

Sli ochd an race Heber cath - ach coin - nagh.
of the race of Heber, war - like chief.

A muc Con - nal each agh earl tach Coid henin bais - aogh
O men of Connal,¹ no - ble youth, why didst thou

uchta o oin - - nagh.
die, alas! a - las!

FIRST SEMI-CHORUS.

Ulla lulla lulla lulla lù lù o ong.

¹ It should of course be 'son of Connal', not 'men of Connal'. There are other errors, both in the words and music, too apparent to need pointing out.

SECOND SEMI-CHORUS.

O ong ulla lulla lulla lulla lù

lù ucht o ong.

FULL CHORUS.

Ucht o ong o ong o o o

ong ucht o ong o ong o ong

ucht o ong ucht o ong o

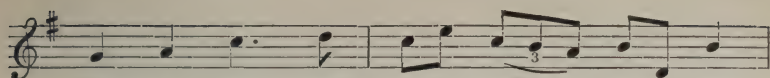
ong ucht o ong o ong

ucht o ong o ong ucht o ong

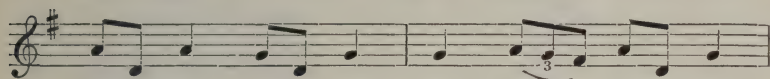
ucht o o o o

ong ucht o ong ucht o ong o

ong ucht o ong.



Ucht o oin nagh moin teagh aig - neach,
Alas! Alas! he who was in possession of flowery



Beith ach magh - rach abh - neach caor - teach
meads, ver - dant hills, lowing herds, fruitful fields,

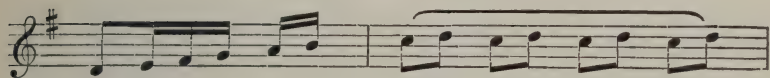


Toic - eagh moirgh - nteach lean ruire cir - teach,
flowing rivers and grazing flocks, rich, gallant, Lord of the Golden vale,

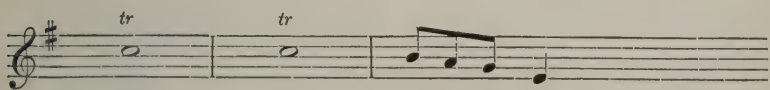


Coid - huim bai - saogh ucht a oin - nagh.
why did he die, alas! a - wail a - day!

FIRST SEMI-CHORUS.

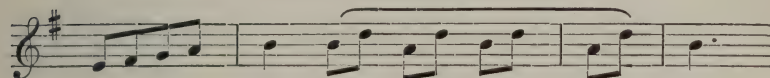


Ulla ulla lulla lulla



lù lù o ong.

SECOND SEMI-CHORUS.

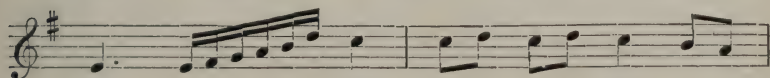


O O ong ulla lulla lulla lulla lù.

FULL CHORUS.



Ucht o ong ucht o ong ucht o ong o



ong. O ong o o ong o

ong o o o o ong o ong

o o o o ong uch o ong

uch o ucht o o o ucht

o ong ucht o ong o o ong

ucht o ong o ong.

Ucht o oin - nagh coid huim bai -
Alas ! alas ! why didst thou die, O

- saogh Amuc Con - nal roim - creadh cloidh
Son of Connal, before the spoils of

each diogh - brach, gliadhach do - nal neitheach
Victory by thy warlike arm was brought to the

Sgaith le feanna ucht a oin - nagh.
hall of the nobles and thy shield with the Ancient. Alas ! Alas !

FIRST SEMI-CHORUS.

Ulla ulla lulla lulla

lù lù o ong.

SECOND SEMI-CHORUS.

Ulla lulla lulla lulla lulla lulla lù

lù lul lù ucht o ong.

FULL CHORUS.

Ucht o ong o ong ucht o ong ucht

o o ong o ong ucht o ong

ucht o o ong ucht o o

o o o o o o

ong ucht o ong ong o ong.

MUSIC PLAYED BY IRISH PIPERS.

From Walker's *Irish Bards*.

[It has been thought best not to attempt to correct obvious errors.]

CATH EACHROMA (BATTLE OF AGHRIM).

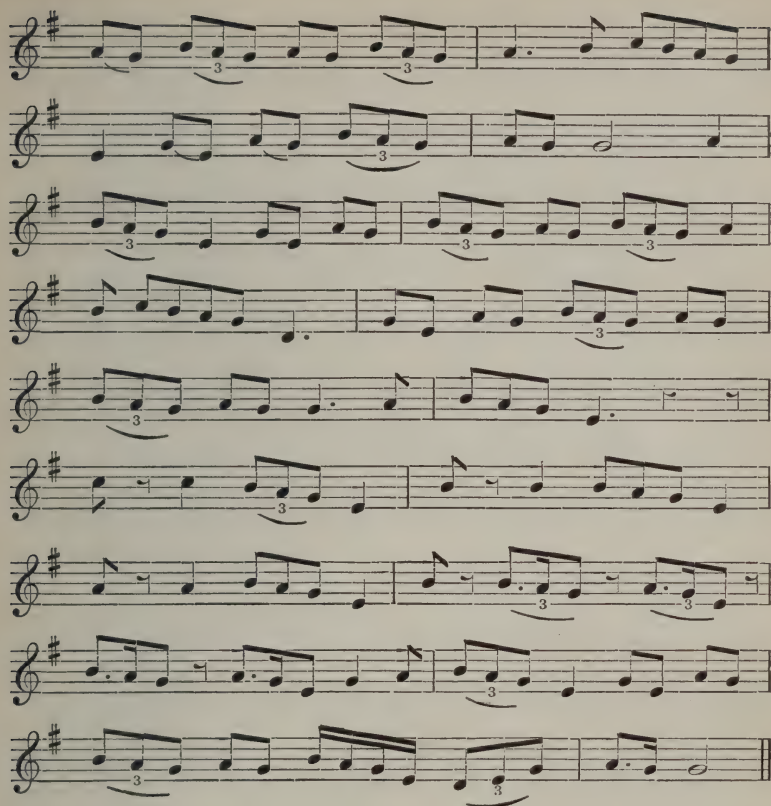
Presto and furioso.

No. I.

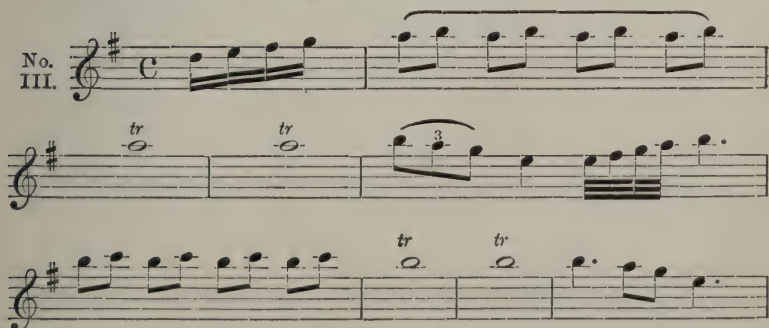
GAIR CHONNACHTACH (CONNAUGHT CRY).

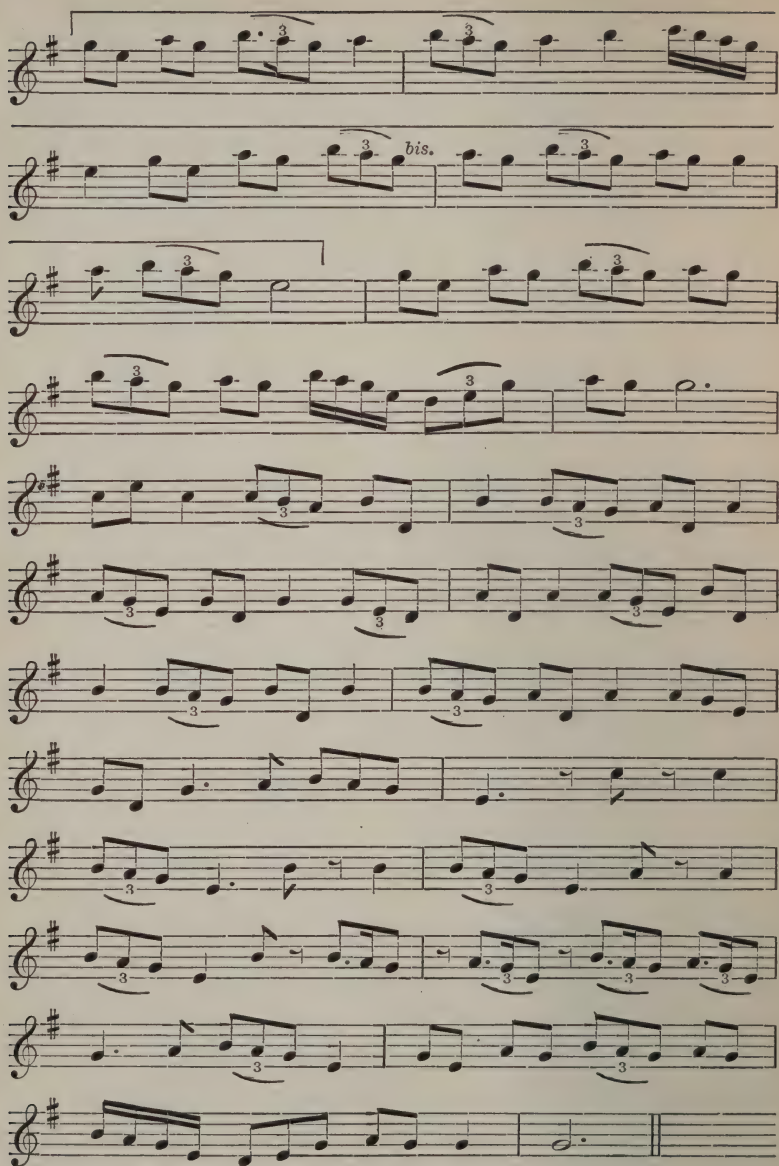
Largo.

No. II.



GAIR MHUIMHNEACH (MUNSTER CRY).





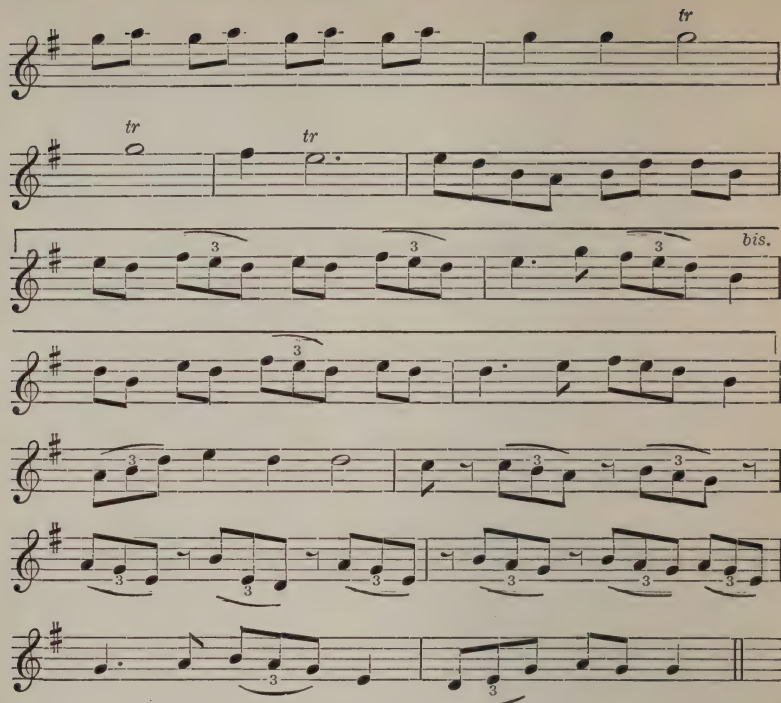
GAIR OLLTACH (ULSTER CRY).

No.
IV.

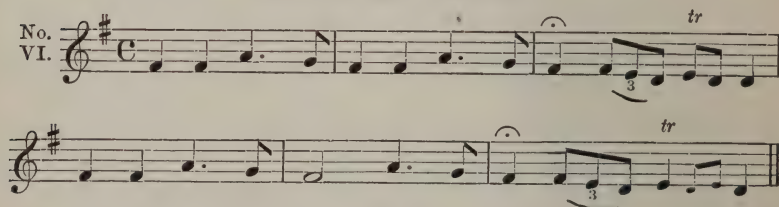
A musical score for a piece in G major, consisting of 12 staves. The notation includes various musical symbols such as treble clefs, key signatures (one sharp), and time signatures. The score features several trills (tr) and triplets (3) throughout. The melody is written in a single line, with some staves containing multiple measures of music. The piece concludes with a double bar line.

GAIR LAIGHNEACH (LEINSTER CRY).

A musical score for a piece in G major, consisting of two staves. The notation includes treble clefs, key signatures (one sharp), and time signatures. The score features several trills (tr) and triplets (3). The piece concludes with a double bar line.



GOL NA MNA' SAN AR.

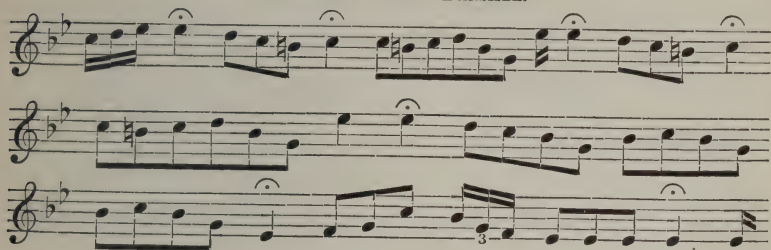


The cries here imitated may be of enormous antiquity. Even in the distorted shape in which they are represented it is possible to trace a resemblance in form to the animal cries to which the sound of wailing has been likened.¹ The similitude, however, is not so well marked in all wails, as will be seen from the following, which is taken from Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Hall's *Ireland*, where it appears under the title of 'The Wail of the Banshee'. I extract from the same work another cry similar in style; it is termed a keen, but it is probably a wail, for it is stated to have been sung by a chorus. 'This keen,' writes Mrs. Hall, 'is very ancient, and there is a tradition that its origin is supernatural, as it is said to

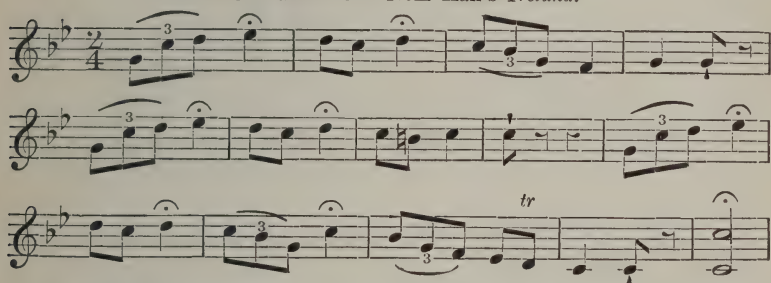
¹ The slow beats are suggestive of the bellowing of a bullock, the quick vibrations indicated by shakes, of the hooting of an owl.

have been first sung by a chorus of invisible spirits over the grave of one of the early kings of Ireland.'¹ And here I should note that

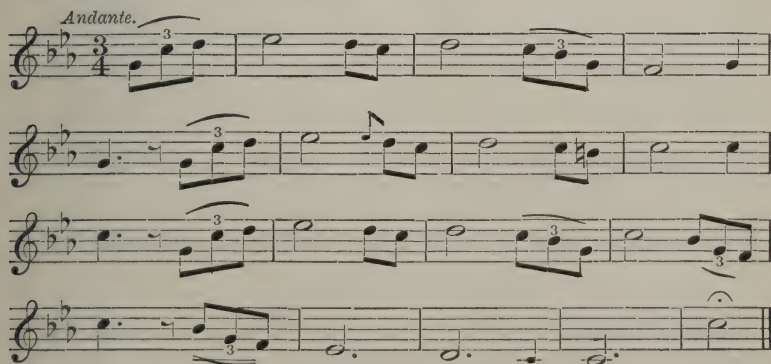
THE WAIL OF THE BANSHEE.



AN OLD IRISH CRY from Hall's *Ireland*.

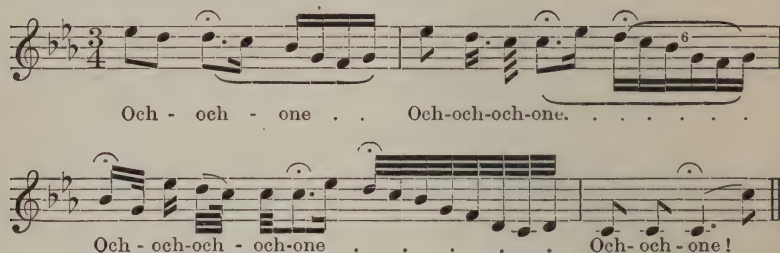


¹ In Hall's *Ireland* this cry, as given above, is thrown into $\frac{2}{4}$ time, but eight pauses are introduced in the fourteen bars into which it is divided, so that its original unrhythmicality is discernible. Two attempts to further rhythmize it may be seen in Petrie's *Collection of Ancient Irish Music* (Nos. 1036-7). Here the work of the transformer can be studied. The cry is barred in $\frac{3}{4}$ time and developed into two phrases of eight bars each. In the version numbered 1036, all the pauses, except that over the last note, are ignored, a death-howl being thus metamorphosed into a ballad tune, or, if the time be quickened, a waltz, as follows:—



writers do not always distinguish between the *cepóg*, or *dirge*, to which words are chanted by a single voice (the sound which I have attempted to connect with the *naenia*), and the inarticulate *Ohone*, *Ullogaun*, *Ullaloo*, *Húllulu*, *Death-cry*, or *Death-howl*, in which all join, but apply the name *keen* to the latter as well as the former. I ought also to call attention to the injury, in some cases irreparable, done to death-cries, perhaps by Irish harpers, but seemingly by collectors, or editors, who not knowing that they are plain songs unrhythmical in their nature,¹ have unwittingly falsified them, introducing bars and endeavouring in other ways to phrase them and convert them into rhythmical compositions, sometimes even adding harmonies.²

The following is taken from Joyce's *Ancient Irish Music* (No. 59). Although it is barred, its unrhythmical character is apparent, there being seven pauses in its four bars. Dr. Joyce calls it a *Caoine*, but there can be no doubt that it is a *Ullaloo*, or *Ohone*, for he states that it is 'a choral cry' led by the *keeners* at the conclusion of each verse of the lament, they 'repeating throughout "Och-ochone!" or some such words.'



Perhaps the attempts to convert wails into rhythmical music may have sprung out of the mistaken belief that the Irish death-cries, instead of being cultivated howls, are debased tunes, which it is possible to restore to their supposed original state. Mr. Beauford (see note, p. 416) and other Irish antiquaries, not aware of the antiquity and universality of wailing, looked upon the cries as the outcome of decayed Bardic compositions. Walker writes, 'On the abolition of the order of Bards, the business of lamenting over the dead was entirely performed by mercenary female mourners. This is still the case in almost every part of Ireland; but particularly in Munster and Connaught, where, when a person of distinction dies, a certain number of female mourners attend the funeral, dressed sometimes in white and sometimes in black, singing, as they slowly proceed after the hearse, extempore odes, in which they extol, in fulsome panegyric, every private and every public virtue of the deceased, and earnestly expostulate with the cold corse, for relinquishing the many blessings this world affords. The female chorus (says the venerable O'Connor) is continued to this day at our funerals in Ireland, and in the Highlands of Scotland; but so remotely from its original institution, and so disagreeable from unequal tones, that no passion is excited. It is at present a truly barbarous, but an innocent custom.'

It is to be regretted that Irish Cries have not been recorded with a gramophone.

¹ See above, note 1, p. 373.

² A version of the Ulster Cry arranged for the pianoforte (!) will be found in Bunting's *Ancient Music of Ireland*, 1840 (No. 81, p. 59). It consists of

It appears that in Mrs. Hall's time (her work was published in 1841) the remuneration of a keener varied from a crown to a pound, according to the circumstances of the employer. In describing the ceremony of wailing Mrs. Hall speaks with the authority of an eyewitness, but unfortunately the wake at which she was present seems to have been that of a person in humble life so that only one keener was engaged. Mrs. Hall gives the following account of the way in which the keener sang the *cepóg*. 'The woman, when we entered the apartment, was sitting on a low stool by the side of the corpse. Her long black uncombed locks were hanging about her shoulders; her eyes were deep-set greys peculiar to the country, and which are capable of every expression, from the bitterest hatred and direst revenge to the softest and warmest affection. Her large blue cloak was confined at her throat; but not so closely as to conceal the outline of her figure, thin and gaunt, but exceedingly lithesome. When she arose, as if by sudden inspiration, first holding out her hands over the body, and then tossing them wildly above her head, she continued her chant in a low monotonous tone, occasionally breaking into a style earnest and animated; and using every variety of attitude to give emphasis to her words, and to enforce her description of the virtues and good qualities of the deceased.'¹

Although the Irish no longer begin the wake whilst the sick man is still alive, as Good tells us they did in the sixteenth century, they still assemble at a house where a death is expected.² We are

five movements, entitled respectively, the Goll, the little Lamentation, the second Goll and half-chorus, the great Lamentation, and the half-chorus of sighs and tears. See also No. III, p. 2, in the same work, for 'an Irish Cry sung by a single voice,' followed by a 'Caoinan or Lamentation chorus', both arranged for the pianoforte.

¹ Crofton Croker, in his work on the Keen of the South of Ireland (Percy Society, *Early English Poetry*, vol. xiii), describes the procedure of a keener, from whom he obtained some of his dirges, as follows: 'Before she began to repeat, she usually mumbled for a short time (probably the commencement of each stanza, to assure herself of the arrangement) with her eyes closed, rocking her body backwards and forwards, as if keeping time to the measure of the verse. She then commenced a kind of whining recitative; but, as she proceeded, and as the composition required it, her voice assumed a variety of deep and fine tones, and the energy with which many passages were delivered, proved her perfect comprehension and strong feeling of the subject; but her eyes always continued shut.' Wailers rock their bodies when uttering the death-howl, to which there are neither words nor measure, as has been noticed in note 1, p. 408. It is not uncommon for persons to shut their eyes when addressing a spirit. Last night I happened to pass a group of members of the Salvation Army standing round an old man who was praying. I observed that his eyes were closed, and that he did not once open them until the prayer was ended.

² 'Mr. Wakefield mentions the following circumstance which occurred to him at a cottage where he called to inquire after a poor man who was ill of consumption, but who, having a good constitution, seemed likely to live for some time. "I found," says he, "the kitchen full of men and women, all dressed in their Sunday clothes; I, therefore, asked one of them, "What are

thus reminded of the Romans who used to send to the flute-players beforehand in preparation for the conclamation. But it is not only to the wailing of the Greeks and Romans that points of resemblance present themselves in the Irish wake, Mrs. Hall mentions a circumstance which has its counterpart in Turkish wailing, viz. the sudden outburst of the death-cry when a woman enters the chamber where the wake is held.¹ After stating that the formalities commence immediately after life has ceased, and alluding to details already described, such as the position of the body, raised on a table, or bed, the white linen with which it is covered, and the candles surrounding it, which are kept constantly lighted day and night, Mrs. Hall goes on to describe the raising of the ullaloo, or death-cry, as follows: 'The women of the household range themselves at either side, and the keen (*caoine*) at once commences. They rise with one accord, and, moving their bodies with a slow motion to and fro, their arms apart, they continue to keep up a heart-rending cry. This cry is interrupted for a while to give the *ban caointhe* (the leading keener) an opportunity of commencing. At the close of every stanza of the dirge, the cry is repeated, to fill up, as it were, the pause, and then dropped; the woman then again proceeds with the dirge, and so on to the close.'² The only interruption which this manner of conducting a wake suffers, is from the entrance of some relative of the deceased, who, living remote, or from some other cause, may not have been in at the commencement. In this case, the *ban caointhe* ceases, all the women rise and begin the cry, which is continued until the new-comer has cried enough. During the pauses in the women's wailing, the men, seated in

they going to do?" and the answer was, "we are waiting for the wake." I inquired who was dead. "No one; but the man within is all but dead, and we are chatting a bit that we may help the widow to lift him when the breath goes out of his body." Hall's *Ireland*, vol. i, p. 222.

¹ Russell, speaking of the Turks at Aleppo, says, 'the instant the death takes place, the women who are in the chamber give the alarm by shrieking as if distracted, and are joined by all the other females in the harem. This conclamation is termed the wulwaly: it is so shrill as to be heard, especially at night, at a prodigious distance. . . . Some of the female relations, when apprised of what has happened, repair to the house, and the wulwaly, which had paused for some time, is renewed upon the entrance of each visitant into the harem.'

² It will be noticed that Mrs. Hall calls the *cepóg* sung by the leading keener (the chant in which the address to the dead is embodied) the dirge, and that she terms the wail, ullaloo, or howl, the keen. It will also be observed that the wailers do not sit as they sing the ullaloo, but 'range themselves at either side' of the body and stand, as did the wailing-women who surrounded the dying man in Good's time. See above, p. 378. Women, when wailing round the corpse, usually stand (see Fig. 106, p. 360); but in Ireland the men remain seated whilst the women are wailing, they being engaged in a different ceremony, that of drinking with the spirit. In some of the very numerous representations which have come down to us of feasting with the dead, the spirit appears seated at the table taking drink and sometimes even pouring it out.

groups by the fire, or in the corners of the room, are indulging¹ in jokes, exchanging repartees, and bantering each other, some about their sweethearts, and some about their wives, or talking over the affairs of the day—prices and politics, priests and parsons, the all-engrossing subjects of Irish conversation.’ The strange behaviour here alluded to by Mrs. Hall is generally looked upon as reprehensible, and has often been made the subject of unfavourable comment. This seeming callousness, however, is not confined to Irish wakes; Sir John Chardin noticed with surprise the absence of tears at a Persian wailing, the account of which has been transcribed in note 1, p. 398. To those who believe that the wailers are met together to vent their grief for the loss they have sustained, such indifference must appear unintelligible; but if we consider that they are assembled for the purpose of endeavouring to resuscitate the inanimate body, their conduct seems more capable of explanation.

There is another particular in which the Irish wake resembles the Persian wailing as described by Sir John Chardin, the increased violence of the cries when the corpse is about to be carried out of the house.² The paragraph in which Mrs. Hall mentions this

¹ The lack of manifestations of sorrow at Irish wakes has frequently attracted attention. Brand (s. Music at Funerals) states that in Dutton’s *Statistical Survey of the County of Clare* the Irish Cry is called a *dry-ey’d yell*, and that Barnaby Rich in his *Irish Hubbub* tells us that Stanhurst, in his *History of Ireland*, says that one who heard the hired women at Irish funerals would think that they sing rather than weep, and would never see them shed any tears.

² In Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland it is customary to tie together the toes, feet, or ankles of the dead, and to place on the chest a plate of salt. It appears from the following in the story of *The Sleeper and Waker*, told in the *Arabian Nights* (Burton’s edition, *Supplemental Nights*, vol. i, p. 26), that these are also Eastern usages: ‘I will die before thee and lay myself out, and do thou spread over me a silken napkin and loose my turban over me, and tie my toes and lay on my stomach a knife and a little salt.’ On this Burton remarks, “‘Kalb’ is here not heart but stomach. The big toes of the Moslem corpse are still tied in most countries; but I am not aware that a knife and salt (both believed to repel evil spirits) are so used in Cairo.’ A passage I take from the tale entitled ‘The Party Fight and Funeral’, in Carleton’s *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry*, seems to show that in Ireland the ligatures are removed before the corpse is buried:—

“‘Ned,” said his brother, “are his feet and toes loose?”

“Musha, but that’s more than myself knows,” replied Ned, “Are they, Katty,” said he inquiring from the sister of the deceased.

“Arrah, to be sure, avourneen,” answered Katty. “Div you think we would lave him to be tied that-a-way, when he’d be risin’ out of his last bed? Wouldn’t it be too bad to have his toes tied thin, avourneen?”

The practice of placing salt on the body is not confined to Ireland and Scotland, as the following shows: ‘It is customary to this day, in some parts of Northumberland, to set a pewter plate containing a little salt upon the corpse. . . . [Train, in his *Historical and Statiscal Account of the Isle of Man*, 1845, ii. 136, says, “when a person dies, the corpse is laid on what is called a *straightening board*; a trencher with salt on it, and a lighted candle, are placed on the breast, and the bed on which the straightening board bearing the corpse rests, is generally strewed with strongly-scented flowers.”]’ Brand’s *Antiquities*, Bohn’s Edition.

contains an allusion to the custom of kissing the corpse, which, as we have seen, was an ancient Greek practice ;¹ it also includes a description of another proceeding of interest : the coffin is not transferred at once to the bearers, but, after being taken out of the house, is placed on chairs in the open air, with the still lighted candles duly grouped around it.² 'The wake,' continues Mrs. Hall, 'usually lasts two days ; sometimes it is extended to three and occasionally to four. Where the survivors are "poor and proud", however, the body is consigned to earth within twenty-four hours after death ; for it is obvious that the expenditure³ is too great

Various reasons have been given for the use of salt ; but, as it is associated with a candle, it seems to me most likely that it was originally intended to keep evil spirits away from the heart above which it is placed.

¹ The Irish have funeral games, a usage which takes us back to Homer. For a detailed account see Larry McFarland's *Wake*, in Carleton's *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry*. See also an extract from the Irish Hudibras given in Brand's account of the Late Wake.

² The custom of placing the coffin on chairs outside the house is still kept up in the Highlands of Scotland, but it is not surrounded by the candles ; for there, although the body is never left unwatched, the candles are only lighted at night. Before the coffin is placed on the chairs it is turned round ; and, as it is carried away, water laved with the hand from a basin, and sometimes salt, is thrown on the ground behind it. The funeral party do not go straight to the burial-ground, but take a roundabout way. My informant, Flora Fraser, who comes from the Western Highlands, has known coffins taken out through windows. She tells me that the board on which the body was laid is placed upright in a garret, or other dark place, under the belief that if it were left in a horizontal position the spirit might come back and rest on it. Often a bucket of water is put in front of it and salt sprinkled on the floor. Both water and salt are hateful to spirits, so that we have here obvious vestiges of the precautions taken, as described in note 4, p. 391, to guard against the danger of the spirit returning from the burial-ground and establishing itself in the house. Moreover, the notion that the voice can act on the spirit of a dying man is not yet extinct in Scotland ; but Christianity has succeeded in putting down the practice of attempting to prolong life by this means, wailing before the death has actually taken place being strictly forbidden on the ground that it prevents the spirit from leaving the body. Any one who utters the cry whilst the sick person is still alive is at once removed from the room, it being considered wicked to try to interfere with the spirit, the Highland women thinking that God and the Devil (the Christian God and Devil) are both present in the chamber on the occasion of a death. A case came under Flora Fraser's observation, in which, just as a person who was suffering from the effects of an apoplectic stroke seemed to be passing away, her daughter entering the room raised a loud wail. Although she was promptly ejected, the patient lingered in an almost unconscious state for some weeks, the wailer being greatly upbraided by the family for prolonging her mother's sufferings. I ought to mention that Flora Fraser has not left the Highlands more than twelve or thirteen years, and that I am adding this note in 1908, so that these beliefs prevailed up to the end of the nineteenth century.

³ The expense is chiefly due to the liberal hand with which alcoholic drinks are dispensed, even by the poorest, to those attending the wake. So great is the importance attached to drinking on the occasion that persons in humble life, and even beggars, sometimes hoard money to be expended in a

to allow of its continuance longer than is absolutely necessary. When the corpse is about to be taken out, the wail becomes most violent ; but as then *nature* is most predominant, it is less *musical*.

symposium at their death. The following is taken from the Glossary to Miss Edgeworth's *Castle Rackrent* :—

' At night the dead body is waked, that is to say, all the friends and neighbours of the deceased collect in a barn or stable, where the corpse is laid upon some boards, or an unhinged door supported upon stools, the face exposed, the rest of the body covered with a white sheet. Round the body are stuck in brass candlesticks, which have been borrowed, perhaps at five miles' distance, as many candles as the poor person can beg or borrow, observing always to have an odd number. Pipes and tobacco are first distributed, and then, according to the *ability* of the deceased, cakes and ale, and sometimes whiskey, are *dealt* to the company.

" Deal on, deal on, my merry men all,
Deal on your cakes and your wine,
For whatever is dealt at her funeral to-day
Shall be dealt to-morrow at mine."

Before condemning the Irish for carousing in the presence of the dead, we ought to consider the original purpose of the potations, a subject on which we are partially in the dark. That at first they drank to the spirit of the dead man, which was believed to be present and to drink with them, there can be little or no doubt, but whether they hoped by this means to induce it to return to the body, or only intended to please and honour it, there is nothing, as far as I know, to guide us in forming an opinion. Drinking, or offering strong drink, to spirits was a widespread religious rite (see above, note 1, p. 328) of such high antiquity that its origin cannot be traced, it being, perhaps, coeval with the discovery of how to make fermented liquors. At Greek funerals drink was offered to the spirit before the corpse left the house, and again at the grave. The practice of drinking and feasting over the dead from religious motives is mentioned by Saint Augustine. He writes (*de Mor. Eccl. Cath.*, cap. 34), ' Novi multos homines esse qui luxuriosissime super mortuos bibant, et epulas cadaveribus exhibentes, super sepultos seipsos sepeliunt, et voracitates ebrietatesque suas deputent religioni.' Aubrey says, ' M^{rs} Venables (widowe of y^e Baron Venables, of Kinderton) tells me that in North Wales (and I think in Cheshire adjoining to it) they doe sett Dishes of meate on the Coffin at a Funerall, and eate over the Defunct.' In Brand's *Antiquities* (s. Funeral Entertainments) a passage is quoted in which it is stated that at a lord's burial at Shrewsbury, in the beginning of Charles II's reign, ' there stood upon the coffin a large pot of wine, out of which every one drank to the health of the deceased.' Mention is made in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1780, p. 129) of a testator who ordered a sum of money ' for a drinking for his soul'. For a further notice of such customs see above, note 2, p. 337. Holinshed in his *Chronicles* (vol. i, *Description of England*, ch. i) couples ' soule-ales, also called dirge-ales' with waks (wakes), guilds, fraternities, church-ales, helpe-ales, and bride-ales—institutions all of which sprang out of, or were associated with, sacred drinking. (The wakes mentioned are not the wakes we are considering, but Christian wakes, in which they waked, or watched, in the church during the night, and feasted in the churchyard the next day.) The Greeks thought that they could induce Hermes to send them pleasant dreams by drinking to him before going to bed, and endeavoured to act upon other spiritual beings by the same means. The Scandinavians drank to Alfardir for victory in battle, to Njord and Frey for a plentiful season ; after their conversion to Christianity they drank ' healths to the Almighty and the angelic host'. When they drank to

Before the coffin is nailed down, each of the relatives and friends kisses the corpse, then the coffin is brought out and placed on chairs before the door ; and in some districts the candles (which from the first were kept constantly lighted¹) are brought out also, and

St. Michael, 'a person taking the cup cried in a loud voice, "In the name of the blessed archangel St. Michael, let us drink this cup, begging and praying that he will think worthy to introduce our souls to eternal happiness." To this the rest answered "Amen", and the toast was drunk.' (*The History of Toasting*, by the Rev. R. V. French, chaps. ii and iii, pp. 27 and 50.) An indication that drinking at wakes is religious in its nature can be found in the Highlands of Scotland, where the rite, though brought into harmony with Christian ideas, has not yet died out. The carousal has disappeared, but in the room where the corpse lies there is a table covered with a white cloth, and round it chairs, the other furniture, with the exception of the chairs, being also draped in white. On the table are oatmeal-cakes, cheese, and whiskey, of which every one who enters is invited and expected to partake. The visitor drinks the health of any present, and adds in Gaelic, 'God bless the spirit.' The drinking is still accompanied by vocal music, but psalms have taken the place of the *cepóg* and the *ullaloo*.

¹ Lights were kept burning at Roman *wailings*; see Fig. 107, p. 360. There is perhaps an allusion to the use of candles on such occasions in Persius (*Hinc tuba, candela*, Sat. iii. 103), where candles are named in connexion with a trumpet. Commentators suppose that the poet is alluding to the trumpet played in the funeral band, and to the torches which accompanied the procession; for the Romans, like the modern Russians and our own countrymen in former times, carried torches at funerals, even when the ceremony was conducted by daylight. But there seems reason for thinking that the trumpet was sometimes blown at the conclamation (see note 2, p. 359), and Persius here places the trumpet and the candles before the laying out, and the laying out, before the bearing of the body from the house. To understand the significance of lights at wakes and funerals we have to turn to Asia. 'Even in broad daylight,' says Dr. Tylor (*Primitive Culture*, ch. xv), 'the Hindu lights lamps to keep off the demons, a ceremony which will be noticed again at a Chinese wedding.' It is at night, however, that demons are most dreaded: 'in the dark especially evil spirits swarm.' Dr. Tylor tells of the firesticks carried by the Australians, who 'dare not quit the firelight without a brand to protect them from the evil spirits'; of the torches borne by the South American Indians 'for fear of evil demons when they ventured in the dark'; how in Southern India, 'for fear of pervading spirits only pressing need will induce a person to go abroad after sundown, the unlucky wight who has to venture into the dark will carry a firebrand to keep off spectral foes.' The Church of Rome adopted candles, and with them the notion that lights can terrify spirits, and drive them out of houses. The following is an extract from a quaint translation, quoted in Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, of the prayer in the 'Halowing of Candles': 'O Lord . . . blesse thou this creature of a waxen taper . . . that in what places soever it be lighted or set, the Diel may avoid out of these habitacions, and tremble for feare.' The Devil, that is, Satan, is not named in the prayer as the translator would have us believe; the expression used in the *Benedictio Candelarum* of the Roman Catholic Service is *principes tenebrarum*, which is rendered in another version given by Brand, 'Fearfulle sprites that walke by night.'

It is scarcely possible that the Irish can have derived the practice of using lights at wakes from the Romans, nor is it likely that they learnt it from Roman Catholic priests; it seems far more probable that it is one of the many funeral usages which sprang from some unknown but common source.

placed on other chairs in the same relative position they occupied within, and they are not taken away until the coffin is settled in the hearse, and the procession beginning to move.'

The cries do not cease when the body is borne away; they are continued during the funeral. Pennant's account of the wailing on such occasions has already been quoted.¹ Mr. Campbell writes,² 'On this road I met an Irish funeral, one or two of which I had seen before, but this one might have proved fatal to me, for I met it unexpectedly on turning a corner, and no sooner did the mourners see me, than they set up a yell which frightened my horse not a little. The cry, however, which had been raised on my account, ceased at the sight of my danger, but the girls, who set it up, could not help laughing at my situation.'

'It is the custom in this country to conduct the dead to the grave in all the parade they can display; and as they pass through any town, or meet any remarkable person, they set up their howl. A gentleman and his servant were, it seems, thought to deserve this compliment. Being now out of danger, I can calmly inquire into the antiquity of this custom. Spencer, so often mentioned, says that it is heathenish, and proceeds from a despair of salvation.'

The following, from a more sympathetic pen, is extracted from an article on *The Irish Funeral Cry* in vol. i of the *Dublin Penny Journal* (Jan. 19, 1833): 'A faint wailing sound, so wild and indescribable, that it seemed something unearthly, came floating on the light morning breeze, but so indistinct and so faint from distance, that it was repeated more than once before I could be quite certain it was more than mere imagination. . . . At length reaching a turn in the road, I perceived at some distance a vast crowd of people advancing towards me, and stretching along a considerable extent of ground; part of them only I was able to see, the remainder were concealed from my view by the windings of the road. In front where the crowd was most dense, I distinguished by their cloaks (several of which being scarlet gave a highly pictorial effect to the group) twenty or thirty females, and in the midst of them a bier carried by men, who were occasionally relieved by others of those nearest to them. I soon perceived that the funeral song was begun by some of these women, that it was gradually swelled by the voices of the remainder, and the men joined occasionally their deeper tones. The effect of the whole was most striking, and had something even grand in it; the song was guttural, but by no means monotonous. . . . Some of the women especially gave way to the most unrestrained and vehement expression of the liveliest sorrow, weeping loudly, throwing up their hands and clapping them together, or striking them violently against their bosoms. . . . the other women, who by their undisturbed countenances, and unagitated demeanour, pointed themselves out as the professional keeners who assisted on the occasion. . . .' What

¹ p. 409. Another description will be found in note 2, p. 405.

² *Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland*, Letter 23.

follows serves to explain how such great numbers assemble at Irish funerals, even a casual traveller on horseback being expected to turn and join the gathering: 'As soon as the foremost persons came up to me, I raised my hat for a moment, and turned my horse's head about, aware that it is deemed unlucky if any person meeting a funeral passes it without turning back to accompany it at least some short distance. I am always anxious to yield to such prejudices as this amongst my countrymen; it costs not much trouble to show some slight respect to their feelings.' The writer computed the number of the concourse at upwards of two thousand, and considered that it extended over more than a mile of the road.

Miss Edgeworth calls attention to the waste of time involved in attending funeral ceremonies, estimating the loss in money at from half a million to a million a year. In the Glossary to *Castle Rackrent* she writes, 'The crowd of people who assemble at these funerals sometimes amounts to a thousand, often to four or five hundred. They gather as the bearers of the hearse proceed on their way, and when they pass through any village, or when they come near any houses, they begin to cry—Oh! Oh! Oh! Oh! Oh! Agh! Agh! raising their voices from the first *Oh!* to the last *Agh!* in a kind of mournful howl. This gives notice to the inhabitants of the village that *a funeral is passing*, and immediately they flock out to follow it. In the province of Munster it is a common thing for the women to follow a funeral, to join in the universal cry with all their might and main for some time, and then to turn and ask—"Arrah! who is it that's dead?—who is it we're crying for?"' Miss Edgeworth, like other writers I have quoted, little thought that wailers at a funeral are lending a hand, or rather a throat, in an attempt to bring a dead fellow-creature to life; still less did she suspect that the cries are addressed to the spirit which is going with the body to the grave. 'Certain old women,' she adds, 'who cry particularly loud and well, are in great request, and, as a man said to the Editor, "every one would wish and be proud to have such at his funeral, or at that of his friends." The lower Irish are wonderfully eager to attend the funerals of their friends and relations, and they make their relationships branch out to a great extent. . . . Even the poorest people have their own burying-places, that is, spots of ground in the church-yards where they say that their ancestors have been buried ever since the wars of Ireland; and if these burial places are ten miles from the place where a man dies, his friends and neighbours take care to carry his corpse thither.'

How they guard their burial-places to keep them select socially for the spirits of their departed relatives, and how, when two funeral parties, each with its spirit, draw near to a burial-ground at the same time, they race and fight for the sake of the spirits by which the parties are respectively accompanied, has already been told.¹

¹ Note 3, p. 391.

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n. signifies note.

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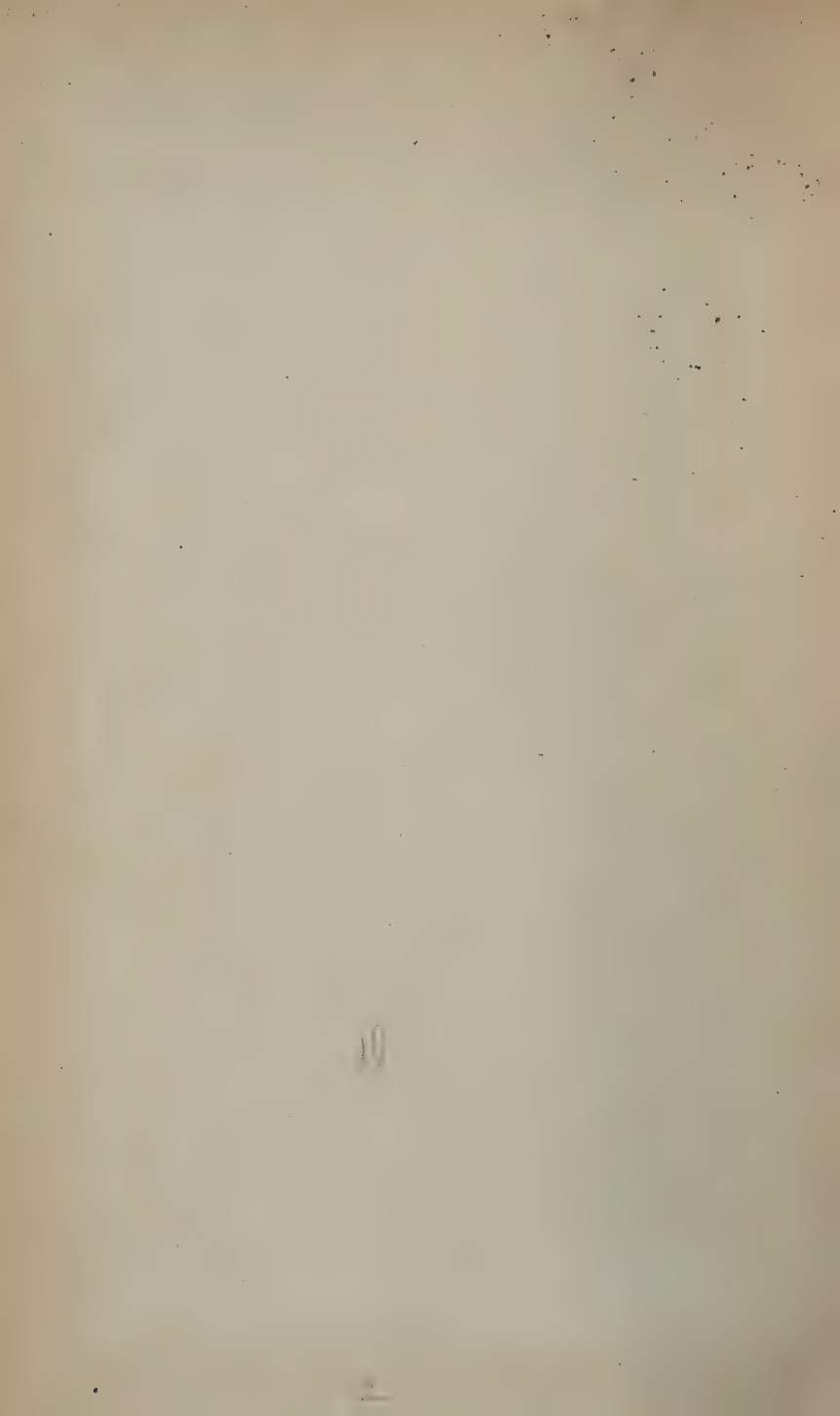
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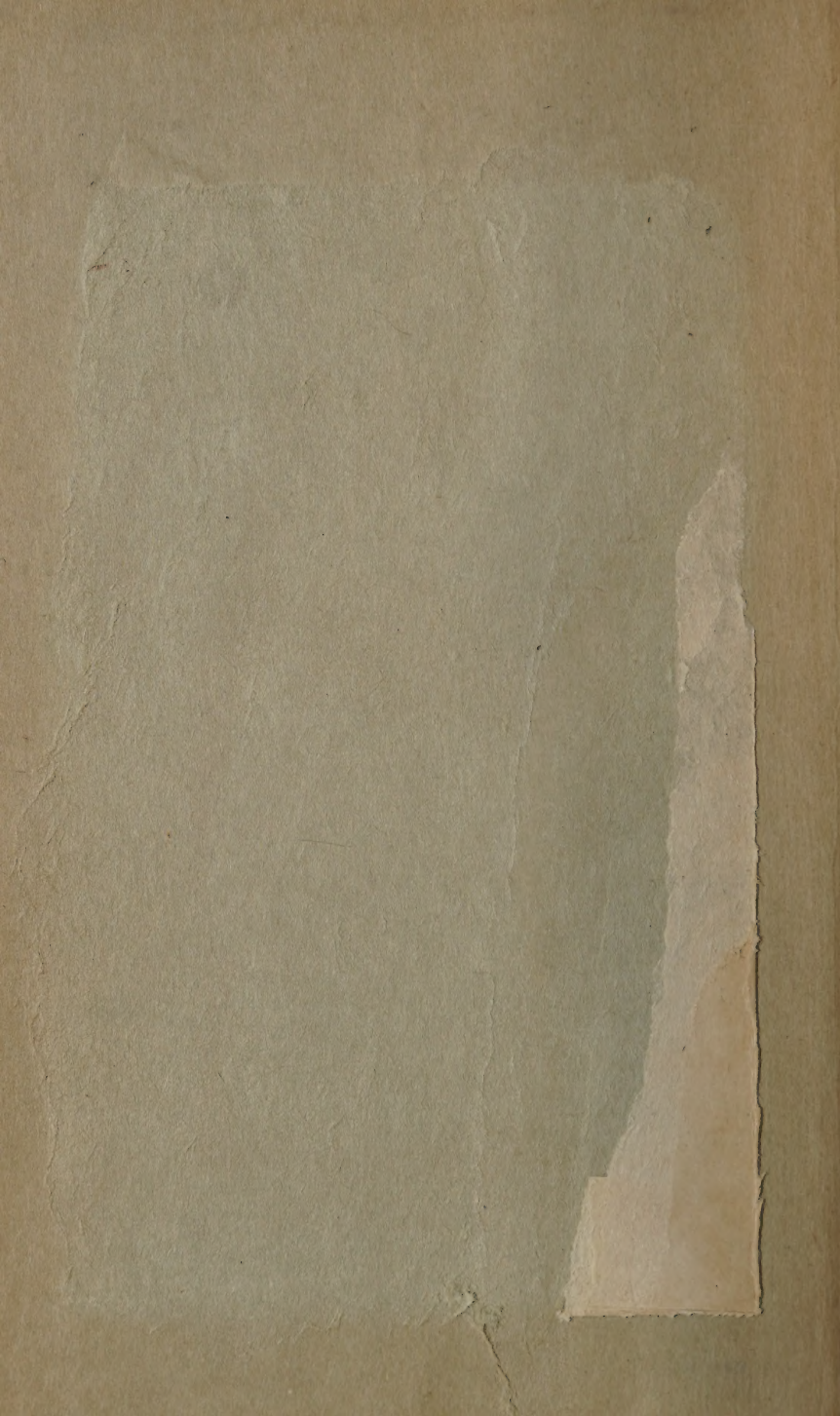
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